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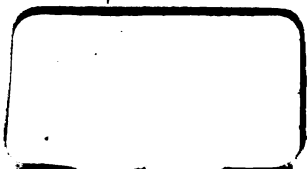


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THE

CIVIL-SERVICE REFORMER.

VOLUME V.

January—December,

1889

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INDEX TO VOLUME V.

JANUARY-DECEMBER, 1889.

Archer, Treasurer, 117.
American Commonwealth, The, 17.

Ballot reform, in Louisville, 22; and the Australian system, 52.
Bannon, Michael, 85.
Baughman, Comptroller, and Talbott, 117.
Bell, J. L., letter of, dismissing subordinate, 57; to editor, 81.
Berry, J. M., 71.
Blaine, Walker, Examiner of Claims, 43.
Bonaparte, C. J., on suppressing vice, 12; at Baltimore Conference, 28; report to Reform League, 67; address before Maryland Civil Service Reform Association, 77; on Reform as a moral question, 123; letter of, 148.
Bond, James, 85.
Bowers, "Hen," 71.
Brown, Frank, 14, 130.
Bryce, Prof. James, 17.
Budnitz, Councilman, 70.
Burt, Silas W., removed, 117.
Business Men's Democratic Association, 107, 119, 132.
Business principles in city business, 136.

Candor and courtesy in the Postoffice Department, 94.
Carson, T. E., 77.
Carter, Chas. H., answers *Sun's* questions, 129.
Caulk, James T., appointed Special Treasury Agent, 58; course in 1885, 93.
Charities of Baltimore, The, 5.
City Government, The problem of, 48.
Civil Service Commission, appointments to, 69; needs of, 94; report on Milwaukee postoffice, 102.
Civil-Service Chronicle, The, 82.
Civil service reform and the Democratic party, 88.
Civil service reform as a moral question, 122.
Civil Service Reform Association of Maryland, annual meeting, 76.
Civil service Reform under President Harrison, 77.
Colton, George, on reform, 129.
Conference, Baltimore, announced, 1; the proceedings, 27.
Congressional "prerogative," 114.
Consular service, Our, 114.
Cowen, John K., on reform, 89; on city government, 140.
Curtis, Geo. Wm., address before National League, 123.

Daddy Rat as a censor of the registration lists, 112.
Dana, R. H., at the Conference, Baltimore, 29, 31.
Davidson, Robt. C., 120, 132.
Defects in our city government, 139.
De la Hunt, Mrs., 82.
Democratic State Central Committee, 60, 85.
Despairing bosses and the race question, The, 58.

Eaton, Dorman B., at the Conference, Baltimore, 29, 30.
Edgerton, A. P., removed from Civil Service Commission, 25.
Elections of 1889, The, 147.
Eligible lists, The, 70.
Fair elections, 134.

Financial condition of the city, The, 53.
Fisher, Wm. A., 108, 119, 132.
Fitzgerald, Ed. D., on reform, 129.
Fledderman, Henry G., 85.
Foulke, Wm. Dudley, at the Conference, Baltimore, 25, 28.
Goodman, Chas., his disclosures, 129.
Gorman, "Cal," 70, 81.
Gorman, A. P., State Director of B. & O., 4; views and votes of, 59; an open letter to, 137; as a fiduciary, 142.
Great moral question, A, 109.

Harig, Wm. F. (Bill), his disclosures, 129.
Harrison, President, causes of his election, 10; and Railway Mail Service, 69, 77; and Census Bureau, 106; message, 141.
Harmison, F. J., 117.
High license versus the saloon, 132.
Hill, Snowden, 81.
Hodges, James, rewards treachery, 81; on fixed tenure, 129.
Hopkins, Louis, 81, 117.

Independent Democrat, letter of, to A. P. Gorman, 137.
Independent platform of 1889, The, 138.
Ingalls, Senator, 24.

Jackson, Governor, and appointment of Fred. Talbott, 117.
Jefferson Democratic Association, 81.
Judiciary, A non-partisan, 139.

Key, Charley, and Business Men's Primary, 117.
Keplinger, John B., answers *Sun's* questions, 129.
Kirkland, B. K., 118.
Kirkus, Wm., 75.

Lane, J. Clarence, 90.
Latest sham battle, The, 118.
Latrobe, F. C., claims there is no floating debt, 62; appoints Harig, 130.
Lowell, J. R., speech on reform, 149.
Lyman, Civil Service Commissioner, 57, 69.

Mahon, John J., 85.
Marbury, Wm. L., 106.
Mason, John T., candidate, 117, 129.
Mayoralty, The, 45.
McClure, Jas., 79.
McElroy, Jas. W., 70, 85.
McIntyre, W. W., 70.
Moran, Chas. S., 81.
Morrison on Rayner's defeat, 15.
Movements and movers, 82.
Muddle and the way out of it, The, 107.
Mulligan, Jas., 71.
Mullin, M. A., on municipal affairs, 106, 139.

National League, meeting of, 121.
Nicolai, Chas. H., 70.
Noble's, Secretary, order to all heads of bureaus in the Interior Department, 44.

Oberly, Indian Commissioner, 74; removed, 87.
Obstructive registrars, 113.
Oil contract scandal, The, 70.
Owings, Wallace, appointed gauger, 26.
Oyster navy, 3.

Parsons, Louis D., 70.
Pearce, Jas. A., 88.
Pearson, Postmaster, President refuses to re-appoint, 57.
Penn, Richard J., appointed bailiff, 1.
Philbin, Chas. J., answers *Sun's* questions, 129.
Platform, The Independent, 1889, 138.
Poe, John P., 121, 132.
Police force under spoils system, The, 96.
Potter, Bishop, sermon of, 69.
Potts, William, at the Conference, Baltimore, 28, 29.
Pressure, 86.
Preston, J. Harry, on reform, 129.
Prospect ahead, The, 143.
Pulpit and political morality, The, 75.

Quinn, "Hack," 71.

Railway Mail Service placed under Civil Service Rules, 1; removals in, 69.
Rasin, "Free," 70.
Raynor, Mr., on futures, 71.
Registration law, 79, 97.
Reform League, Committee on Legislation of, 20.
Reilly, Patrick, appointed bailiff, 1.
Republican party, of Maryland, on reform, 105, 127; on trial, 146.
Rings and bosses, 42.
Robson, J. Q. A., 85.
Roosevelt, Theodore, at the Conference, Baltimore, 31; appointment of, 69, 82, 93, 111; on Baltimore postoffice, 130; Boston speech, 150.
Rose, John C., Reports of, 7, 20, 21, 58, 63, 113.

Sanner, Isaac, 85.
School Board ordinance, The new, 54.
Schurz, Carl, 21.
Society for the Suppression of Vice, 12.
Solid for Mulhooly, 89.
Sutherland, Councilman, 54.
Spilt milk, 27.
Stabler, E., Jr., 45, 70.
Smith, Bart. E., 85.
Smith, Willoughby, gets one vote, 117.
Swift, Lucius B., at the Conference, Baltimore, 29, 82; letter of, 149.

Talbott, J. F. C., 85, 117.
Tax levy, The, 61.
Thomas, Morris A., 10.
Thompson, Hugh L., 26, 69.
Tribune, The, on reform, 105.
Trott, Jas. E., 81.
True issue not to be dodged, 130.

Ultimate triumph of reform, The, 21.

Veazey, I. P., removals by, 130.

Wallace, William, Postmaster, 44.
Wanamaker, John, 81, 95, 141.
Warning, A, 47.
Webb, Wm. G., 71.
Welsh, Herbert, on Commissioner Oberly, 74, 88; his "sermon plan," 93, 109, 141.
Weyler, John F., 85.
Wheeler, E. P., letter to *Civil-Service Record*, 1.
Wigmore, John H., ballot reform, 52, 53.
Windom, Wm., 100, 105, 141.

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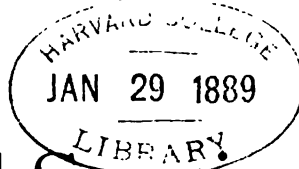
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VOL. V.—No. 1.

BALTIMORE, JANUARY, 1889.

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THE MONTH.

ONE of the results accomplished by the "new judge movement" in 1882 was the relegation of the bailiffs of the courts from the position of active members of the ring, to that occupied by other private citizens in political matters. The bailiffs are the servants of the court, and it is a gross impropriety that they should be "offensive partisans," as is of course equally true of all officers of courts of justice. To make the place of bailiff a reward for political activity will inevitably lead to the absurd situation that was seen prior to the election of 1882, when the vital question with the ring in considering the nomination of a judge seemed to be whom he would appoint bailiff. It is to be hoped that the recent appointment by the Supreme Bench of two such notorious politicians as Messrs. Patrick Reilly and Richard J. Penn does not indicate a tendency to return to the old order of things. This subject is of much interest to the public; and we shall deal with it at greater length in a future issue.

THE practical effect of the spoils system is perhaps nowhere productive of so much inconvenience to the people as in the postal service. To have one's letters scattered about over the country, merely because it has been found necessary to make quarters for a bumner, is a most effective object-lesson in spoils politics, though trying to the temper. Doubtless, therefore, none of Mr. Cleveland's shortcomings was brought more clearly home to the people than his connivance at the abuses which Mr. Vilas and Mr. Dickinson permitted to flourish in their department. The placing of the Railway Mail Service under the Civil Service Rules, but recently ordered by President Cleveland, will meet with approval from every one except a few greedy place-hunters. If it had been done earlier in his term it would certainly have increased the President's popularity. The Washington correspondent of the *Evening Post* gives the following explanation of why the change was made at this time:

The results of the election determined the Postmaster-General and the President to extend this civil service system to the Railway Mail Service at the earliest possible day. The promulgation of the order has been hastened for this reason: it has been found that a great many resignations have been tendered since the election, and a great many more are expected before the 4th of March. The service is at best a very laborious one, and it is underpaid. Those who are in it, assuming that they will not be retained in office after March 4, are availing themselves of every opportunity to enter into permanent business, and as fast as a clerk finds a position he resigns. The same cause operates to prevent applications for appointment in this service, as Democratic clerks, whom alone it has been the custom to appoint under this Administration, do not seek a place which they fear they might hold only two or three months. Accordingly, the Postoffice Department has actually already found itself embarrassed because of the resignations on the one hand, and of the diminishing applications on the other. It has, therefore, been decided to apply the civil service rules to this service at the earliest practicable moment, in order that applicants may be assured that those who pass the tests for admission will have at least a reasonable expectation that they will be retained in office.

It is very unfortunate that, at a time when the work of the

Civil Service Commission has been greatly increased by the various extensions of the rules which have been made in the past six months, Congress should have refused the reasonable request of the Commission for an increase of clerical force. Civil service reformers should bring such pressure to bear upon the new Congress as to compel that body to grant the Commission effective support.

THE sets of resolutions which we print elsewhere show that civil service reformers throughout the country realize the importance of concerted action on their part, to prepare to aid General Harrison in the struggle with the spoilsmen, which has already begun. As Mr. E. P. Wheeler well says, in a letter to the *Civil-Service Record*, "the voice of those who have selfish interests to subserve is the loudest and most eager. In this outcry, the voice of reform is too apt to be unheard. If the new President should yield to partisan pressure, should fail to enforce the civil service law, and should make a clean sweep of those who hold offices for fixed terms, let it not be said that this was due to the silence or indifference of civil service reformers."

Silence and indifference are qualities in which the Maryland Association has by no means abounded during the past four years, and that body has shown that its former note will continue to be heard. The following letter has been sent to a number of gentlemen prominently identified with the cause of reform in various parts of the country, and is intended to lead to a gathering in this city, which in point of numbers and influence must command respect:

BALTIMORE, *January 1, 1889.*

Dear Sir:—On behalf of the Civil Service Reform Association of Maryland, we invite you to attend a conference of prominent friends of Civil Service Reform throughout the Union, to be held in this city on Saturday, February 23, next. This day has been selected because visitors can thus make the necessary journeys hither and to their homes with but little interruption to their business. The conference will include a private session in the morning and a public session in the afternoon. A public meeting will be held in the evening. It is hoped that a full and friendly interchange of views among those in sympathy with our cause, and a clear and outspoken expression of their common sentiments, may do much to guide and enlighten public opinion in dealing with questions rendered urgent by the approaching change of Administration, and to assist the President-elect in fulfilling the pledges of his letter of acceptance and his party's platform. We are aware that your attendance may involve serious personal inconvenience; nevertheless we venture to urge you, in the interest of honest government and pure politics, to be present, if possible, and ask further that you send us with your reply the names of all persons either in your own State or elsewhere who ought, in your judgment, to be invited.

We remain, sir, yours very respectfully,

C. J. BONAPARTE, W. C. BRUCE,
JOSEPH PACKARD, JR. JOHN C. ROSE,
WM. WINCHESTER, *Committee.*

P. S.—Address your answer to Wm. Winchester, secretary, P. O. Box 655, Baltimore.

A conference and a public meeting will be held on Saturday, the twenty-third of February, at which all who are desirous of so doing will have an opportunity to hear the voices of several of the most distinguished reformers of the

country. Resolutions will also be offered at that meeting, calling attention to the importance of civil service reform, and to the duty of the successful party to uphold and advance it. The occasion promises to be one of unusual importance and interest, and will serve to show in concrete shape how widespread and determined is the sentiment in favor of forever abolishing the use of offices as bribes.

SUNSHINE AT LAST.

BROTHER JASPER would certainly have been right if he had said of the *Sun*—as he taught of the older but lesser luminary—that “it do move.” Nothing has been more remarkable or suggestive, among the many changes of heart which the recent election has wrought—or at all events disclosed—in Maryland, than the high, moral, virtuous and generally admirable spirit which has made itself recently conspicuous in the editorial utterances of “our esteemed contemporary.” The defeat of Mr. Cleveland having rendered it certain, that if anybody is to be turned out of office it will be the Democratic and not the Republican “rascals,” the *Sun* has suddenly become a most conservative and judicious civil service reformer. After having so long, so pertinaciously and, at times, so angrily proclaimed the excellence of our State and city governments, and denounced everybody as a “traducer” who ventured to suggest the contrary, it has now discovered, and looks back with “shame” upon the fact, that “our legislation and our legislatures, *for years back*,” have been the prey of a corrupt and notorious lobby, “which has plied its infamous trade unblushingly and too often successfully.” It has had its innocent eyes opened at last to the fact, that “measures intended to work abuses and great public wrongs *have been put through by sheer force of bribery*”; that wise and salutary laws have been defeated “if the price of corruption was not paid,” and that blackmail has been habitually levied upon “perfectly legitimate interests,” by the introduction of legislation to invade them, “in order to compel those affected by it to plank down enough money to defeat it.” “Not only this,” adds the *Sun*, “*but so controlling has been the power of money, that last winter a bill was stolen from the calendar, under the most exciting circumstances, and the thief continues to this day, if not undetected, at least unpunished.*”

It would not be easy to paint a blacker picture of corrupt misgovernment than this. We have quoted the very language in which it is described, in order that no perversion or exaggeration may be ascribed to us. And yet, during the many years that this wrong and this disgrace have been put upon our people—too insolently and too openly for any one, with the opportunities of knowledge which the *Sun* possesses, to be ignorant of its heinous details—that journal has been the persistent and conscious defender of the gang of conspirators who have taken possession of the legislative and executive departments of the government and prostituted them, as it now tardily proclaims. The knowledge, which inspired the article of the *Sun* from which we have given extracts, is not new knowledge. The *Sun* has possessed it all the time, and yet whenever an effort has been made by a large (and happily increasing) number of independent citizens, to expose those abominations and drag their perpetrators to the light, the *Sun*, with that knowledge in its possession, has systematically belittled their efforts, has vilified them, their principles and motives, and has interposed the shield of its large journalistic influence between the

criminals and exposure. Even now that it has changed its tactics for the moment, under the pressure of that unmistakable public opinion which found a voice at the November election; even now that it confesses the outrages which it so long and so scandalously denied or minimized, it does not venture to indicate, much less to name, the individuals or the combinations whose yoke of infamy has galled the necks of our people so long. Though willing at last to confess the sins, it cannot bring itself to lay hands upon its friends, the sinners. The *Sun* knows, to-day, every leading malefactor in the lobby whose bribery, corruption and theft it denounces, and could name every man of them as readily as it could name its own compositors, clerks or pressmen. Yet it will not and dares not. When the Democratic Convention, in the autumn, disgraced itself, the party and the city, by the unanimous nomination of Morris A. Thomas for a court clerkship, the *Sun* was as silent as the grave upon the subject, though it knew then, as absolutely as it knows now, that the verdict of any self-respecting people, upon such an issue and such a candidate, ought to be precisely what it was. In the very editorial from which we have quoted, it cannot lose the opportunity of a foul, backhanded blow at the Reform Party, into the ostensible support of whose principles it has been driven, by describing it as “made up of noisy cliques” engaged “*in heroic efforts to get rid of particular individuals.*” How else is rascality, will it inform us, to be exposed, without at least some noise? Are bribery and legislative theft to be got rid of by confidential whispers, or by honor and silence among thieves? Surely all the iniquities which the *Sun* enumerates are perpetrated by “individuals.” How are we to get rid of the crimes without getting rid of the individuals who commit them? The State’s Attorney does not prosecute burglary or arson; he indicts “particular” burglars and “particular” house-burners. According to the *Sun*’s theory, to name the offenders is “vituperation” and “personality,” and the true way of charging and prosecuting crime is, politely, to add that it has been committed by “some person or persons to the jurors aforesaid unknown.” According to our ideas, on the contrary, true citizenship and manly civic courage demand, that a political offender—and especially where he mingles crime with politics—shall be named by his name, and charged with his offense, and brought to justice in the flesh, and not in the abstract. Above all, is it the obligation of a free and fearless press to do this duty for the people, as some return for the freedom and the privileges it enjoys and profits by. If individual reformers in Maryland have been compelled, on more than one occasion, to accept the invidious public duty of calling political knaves into the dock by their names, it has chiefly been because newspapers like the *Sun* have not only shirked their responsibility, but have denied or ignored what they knew to be true and what it was their special duty to proclaim from the house-tops.

What is to be thought of a leading journal, in Baltimore, which makes a pretext of finding out only thus late, from the disgraceful imbecility and inefficiency of our oyster-police, that our executive government is and has been as discredibly weak and time-serving as our Legislature is corrupt? No one has known better, all the time, than the *Sun*, that the Ring which controls our politics and which it has aided with all its might in keeping control of them, has openly and systematically discarded the claims of integrity and fitness, in its appointments to office, and has made public place exclusively the reward of political and personal subserviency

to its own selfish and sordid purposes. Has not the "Oyster Navy," year after year, to the knowledge of the *Sun*, been used as a House of Refuge for needy ringsters who could be planted nowhere else, in absolute disregard of the enormous interests which it was organized to protect? A brave and capable man like Captain Howard is such a phenomenon in the service that he is actually talked of as a hero, and any skirmish in which the "Navy" did not take wings to itself and fly, is regarded as a sort of Trafalgar. Did the *Sun*, seeing and knowing what the system of appointments adopted by the Machine must needs thus come to, ever lift its voice in warning or denunciation? Did it ever even risk the suggestion that the plough-tail was not the place to seek the commander of a naval organization? Did it ever before rebuke the inefficiency and sloth which have precipitated our present disgrace, or the demagogism which has let the law "slide," lest the votes of the dredgers and their abettors be lost to "the party," *i. e.* to those who run it? On the contrary, its function has been to leave the duty of all such supervision and exposure to private citizens, and then denounce or sneer at them for endeavoring to perform it.

But whatever may have been the shortcomings—and worse—of the *Sun* in these regards heretofore, it is not to be denied that it now states the case of the people and of the wrongs that are to be righted, with earnestness, comprehensiveness and force. It does not venture, as we have said, to place in the pillory the evil-doers who have wrought those wrongs. On the contrary, it still treats them "as the political leaders of the State," and suggests to them—*i. e.* to the very Ring tricksters and manipulators who have brought the State to shame and their party to the door of ruin—to apply the remedy for the wrongs which they have themselves inflicted! But it goes farther and to the root of the matter, and urges upon "the rank and file of the Democratic party" to "take the matter in their own hands." It insists that "the nomination of first-rate men for the public offices to be filled next fall" is "the one sovereign remedy." It demands that only "men of integrity and capacity"—men "known to be above the reach of a corrupt solicitation"—shall be nominated, and calls on the people to "turn down remorselessly" all others. Nay more, it declares that "as good government is the only legitimate end of party rule, *the moment it fails, men feel themselves absolved from party obligations.*" Even further yet, it commits itself, without reserve, to the explicit declaration that if the Democratic party—*i. e.* those who control it—insist on making improper nominations, good men must be sought on the other side, let the consequences be what they may. To prevent misunderstanding on this point, we quote the concluding sentences of the leading editorial in the *Sun* of December 14th, headed

"THE KEY-NOTE OF THE NEXT CAMPAIGN."

These are its words:

Unless we greatly mistake the drift of public opinion, it intends to call a halt to the methods by which improper nominations have too often been made, and to see to it that only such men are elected as will honestly and faithfully discharge their duties. *If they are Democrats, so much the better, but when grave evils are to be remedied, and the cause of good government is at stake, it matters far less that a party triumph than that the State be well served.*

In its issue of December 18th it is, if possible, still more pronounced in its utterances.

"The Democratic party," it says, "has plenty of such material [capacity and integrity] in its ranks. *If for any reason it declines to bring them to the front, it will court the*

awful judgment pronounced upon those who are weighed in the balance and found wanting." (The italics in all the above quotations are ours.)

This, as our readers do not require to be told, is what the CIVIL-SERVICE REFORMER, year after year, has been reiterating in every issue, and what the Reformers in the Democratic party have been struggling, through good report and evil report, and under the constant misrepresentation and abuse of the *Sun* and its allies, to urge upon the people on the hustings and through the press. That they have not done so in vain, the recent election and its effect upon the policy and preaching of the *Sun* sufficiently demonstrate. It is needless to add, that under such colors we shall be only too glad to fight by the *Sun's* side and forget its sins in its conversion. But, before we finally sign the articles of enlistment, we shall not only expect to have it understood that somebody has betrayed the Democratic party, for somebody's personal ends, and has nearly compassed its ruin, and that somebody must be kicked down stairs, by "the rank and file," but we shall insist on its being distinctly stated, and in type, who somebody is, and precisely in what way the kicking is to be done. The day of riddles is over.

THE BALTIMORE AND OHIO RAILROAD.

RAILROADS, as such, are not exactly within the sphere of a political journal. They may, of course, be brought within it by circumstances which associate them properly, as in the present instance, with the subjects which our readers expect us to discuss.

The Baltimore *Sun*, as is well known, has been for some time past "reversing its engine"—in railway phrase—when-ever it has dragged the B. & O. R. R. over its editorial track. During the entire administration of the late Mr. John W. Garrett, when, as we believe every one admits, the seeds of the subsequent embarrassments of the road were slowly but surely sown, there was no more constant or subservient advocate of him and his policy than the *Sun*. It thought that the very few who ventured to criticize him and his plans and projects, financial or otherwise, were helping to cripple "our great work," and standing in the way of the gigantic development of the city and State, to which the ability, energy and public spirit of its managers were opening the way. The perpetual burden of its song was that to "strike at the road," by which was meant to question the wisdom of Mr. Garrett's administration, was to "aim a blow at Baltimore." Nor did the zeal and support of the *Sun* die with Mr. Garrett. It would be easy, if it were worth while, to show from its columns that it continued its old line of assentation, until, in sudden and singular alliance with Mr. Gorman, and in fighting his battles and those of his Ring, it began to assail "corporation attorneys." How it passed speedily from the attorneys to the corporations, and finally settled down, practically, on the one corporation and the one contumacious "attorney," who was not afraid to strike back, is a matter of public notoriety. Poetically speaking, there ought, of course, to be no anger in celestial minds, but in prose and practice the *Sun* has shown itself one of those heavenly bodies in which wrath abides—very much, sometimes, to the exclusion of every other consideration. Just now it has had a revelation or two in regard to the B. & O., and we propose to consider, for a moment, what they amount to.

The *Sun* has discovered that during all the time when it was singing hosannas to the late Mr. Garrett, and helping

him, with all its might, to do as he pleased, the apparent prosperity of the road (which it swore all the time was real) "was but the inflated fabric reared by mismanagement," and that it "went to pieces at the first touch of honest struggle"—that is to say, as soon as Mr. Gorman had himself made a State director! It finds that the city and State directors, in those days of its own equal blindness and hallucination, were "the merest figureheads, content to wear the empty honor, enjoying its little emoluments, and thanking God that everything was booming." It does not blame them a great deal, however, for, as it says, "it had grown into a custom to bow with absolute confidence and deference to the management, which it was supposed could make no mistake." It does not mention how much the *Sun* contributed to the establishment of that bad custom and followed it; how much bowing and confidence and deference it did and displayed, itself; how little it quarreled with the "figureheads" or the Ring governments, State and municipal, which set them up, and how often it thanked God, in its holiday editorials, for the "booming" that was going on. Now we are very far from intimating that the *Sun* has not a right to find out its mistakes and repent of them, and do works meet for repentance; but we do venture to suggest, that it might be just a little tolerant of those who did nothing more than it did, and who were confirmed in believing that all was right, by its own perpetual applause of what was going on. Nor should it complain, we think, of those who hesitate to pin their faith altogether to its sleeve now, when they find, from its own confession, how grievously it blundered before. A protracted mistake, extending over many years, is not the best evidence that could be desired of editorial infallibility at this moment.

But how does the *Sun* propose to set things right? It appears to assume that there is an antagonism between the interests of the State and city and the public generally, and those of the private stockholders, and that the city and State directors must be looked to, to keep the ignorance or selfishness of the latter from impairing the value of the public investments. Without entering directly or indirectly into the merits of the recent change in the directorship of the road, which is entirely outside of our province, we cannot help thinking it is very absurd to draw any line of difference between the substantial interests of the respective parties by whom the stock is held. Whatever advances the permanent prosperity of the road—increases its earnings and dividends, elevates its credit, develops its great resources—in a word, whatever the road gains from intelligent and energetic management, must redound at least as much to the advantage of the private stockholders, as to that of the city and State, as communities, not less than as holders of stock. It seems preposterous to suggest that private stockholders, owning many times more stock than the city and State put together, can have any less interest than these, in developing the growth and independence and augmenting the value of the great work on whose prosperity so large a portion of their own fortunes is and has been staked. Of course, the city and State directors ought to do their duty as well as the private directors. All interests, public and private, require that they shall be a check on each other; not a check through suspicion, or by intrigue, or under the influence of jealousies or resentments or individual or political self-seeking, but by wise supervision, harmonious and candid consultation, joint efforts in the service of a common cause. It is sheer demagogism to urge upon the public any other view of the relation of the State and city directors to the cor-

poration or the community. In fact, nominated as these directors habitually and notoriously are, for the most part, for political reasons, and very often without the slightest knowledge of their duty or fitness for it, it is idle to consider the most of them, or their possibilities, in the light in which the representatives of the State and city on the board would deserve to be regarded, if they were honestly selected "on business principles."

Take Mr. Gorman, for instance, whom the *Sun* designates, by name, as one of the State directors to whom we should especially look to take care of us. It is hard to realize the effrontery of this suggestion. We have quoted, in another column, from the *Sun*, its own humiliating confession of the shame, corruption and misgovernment to which the State has been brought, on the responsibility of the Democratic party, by the Ring of which Mr. Gorman is the head and front. The *Sun* knows the history of his entire career in that regard, and he is, to its knowledge, one of the "leaders" whom it declares that the salvation of the Democratic party requires to have driven, by the people, from the position which they have abused and disgraced. He is the most conspicuous and unworthy of the "unfaithful servants" and "presumptuous stewards" whom it urges the party to turn out (anonymously, of course), neck and heels. He is one of "the few self seeking, unprincipled men" who should not be permitted, it insists, to "work" the party any longer. And yet it is to this very man, especially, that the *Sun* calls on us to look, for the protection of our citizens and of the great interests of the State and city as stockholders in the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad, where, if anywhere, there is the largest scope and opportunity for the self-seeking, and worse, of just such men as he. Will the *Sun* venture to insult the intelligence of the public, by pretending that Mr. Gorman caused the Governor to make him a State director in the B. & O. R. R. for the benefit of the people and not for his own purposes? Has he, in all his life, ever sought a public position for any but a personal end? or ever filled a public trust that he did not abuse? If he has brought the Democratic party into sackcloth and ashes by sacrificing it to himself, are we to expect that if he had his way he would bring the railroad to anything better? The very presentation of his name, as a champion of the right and of duty, gives character to and develops the real spirit in which the *Sun* is treating the whole existing situation. Meantime, if Mr. Gorman wishes to vindicate himself and justify our neighbor in holding his brief, let him give us a scrap or two of information, as he well can, in advance of the report which is expected of him. Let him inform the public how much money has been spent by the B. & O. in politics and upon politicians, upon legislatures and legislators. Let him tell us who were the "generalissimos" of its lobby, and how much they got; how often the road or its president helped "the party," and at what figure; how many Ring-statesmen have managed to get places in its "unskilled" service, etc. Such details would be most interesting at this time to all honest inquiring minds; and, if to give them should happen to involve a little autobiography on the part of our senior Senator, they would be none the less interesting, we are sure, on that account. As to the policy and duty of the State and city governments to elect good men—business men, men of sense and moderation—to their directorships in the road, we are at one with the *Sun*, heart and soul. That done, we shall have no improper antagonism to divide the counsels and destroy the prospects of the road. But no more Gormans for saviours, gentlemen, if you

please! If it is necessary to cast out devils, we protest against beginning by leaving any of them in.

THE CHARITIES OF BALTIMORE.*

MARYLAND has no State Board of Charities, and the facts regarding her charitable and correctional institutions have never been collected and classified; especially the private charities have been a law unto themselves. One sees plainly the result of this as he turns the pages of forty or fifty annual reports of our prominent charities. Each is an exclusive narrow plea for some special form of benevolence, which leads up to an exhortation for larger contributions, and culminates in a form of a bequest whereby money can be left to the given charity. In most of them there is an implication that the thing society most needs is the proper support of the given enterprise, and, of course, there will be found in none of them the slightest hint of a possibility that their activity may be not only useless, but mischievous. In such times as our own no one has any right to quarrel with a tendency to specialization, for it is omnipresent, pervading all departments of activity, from the manufacture of shoes to the practice of law. But in any line of work, and especially in that of charitable effort, any specialization which causes the worker to lose his sense of perspective, and to forget the intimate relations existing between his work and that of others, is bad.

To feed the hungry is often necessary, but the one who has "specialized" his charitable work by confining it to the filling of stomachs may do endless mischief through forgetting that "man cannot live by bread alone," though an inferior sort of mammalian parasite, known as the pauper, can. Education is all-important, but those who specialized in this work by declaring the spelling-book to be the one thing needful, and by a memory-cram tried to develop the mind at the expense of the muscles and the morals of the children, did them a great injury. Good sanitation is absolutely essential to a better condition of the poor; but those interested in sanitary reform may spend much and accomplish little, unless other reforms are also pushed. Good legislation is indispensable to real progress, but the enginery of the state must certainly break down whenever the whole burden of educative and reformatory work is put upon it. Therefore it is evident that in work so diversified as that of attending to the poor in our large cities and the States to which these cities belong, some general co-ordinating power is needed. Some general supervisory and controlling power is also necessary. It is hard to see why charitable institutions should not be subjected to an inspection as thorough and effective as that to which the national banks submit. To have a part of the grand jury dine periodically with the managers of an institution, as is done in this State, does not seem to be the final possibility in this direction.

Although Baltimore has no public outdoor relief, yet the city spends more for charitable purposes than the State of Maryland. The estimates for the year 1888 for Baltimore amount to \$243,800, an aggregate made up of items that may be summarized under the following heads:

Almshouse, including department for the insane.....	\$ 85,000
Insane not at almshouse.....	61,000
Reformatories.....	50,000
Hospitals.....	21,000
Orphan asylums and homes.....	17,000
Dispensaries.....	8,300
Transportation.....	1,500
Total.....	\$243,800

The largest item of expense is properly for the almshouse at Bay View. From many standpoints it is an excellently managed institution. The inmates are clean, and in the main well fed, and its reports are full and clear.

But the greatest difficulties in the management of any almshouse are not to be found in the departments of scrub-

bing or bookkeeping; and to keep a large number of persons clean, by a liberal expenditure of public money, is not the chief aim of its existence. It will be seen by the following extract from Mayor Hodges' message of January, 1887, that the very excellence of such an institution in some particulars may cause it to be faulty in others:

"It is the popular belief that Bay View Asylum is the most comfortable almshouse in the United States, and hence it is always full to repletion during the winter months. It is the common habit of great numbers of tramps, who roam over the country in various directions during the summer and autumn months, to turn their steps toward Bay View Asylum for shelter during the cold weather. It is a matter of fact that more than three-fourths of these idle creatures are non-resident Baltimoreans. . . I, therefore, suggest that reforms be introduced in the management of that institution, so far as to exclude that class of mendicants. I am informed that many of the cities of the Union, conspicuously those of Massachusetts, appropriate a sufficient sum of money to be used to send back to the States to which they belong that class of applicants for admission to their almshouses. I sincerely hope that your honorable bodies (the First and Second Branches of the City Council) will take some positive action looking to the removal of this great imposition upon the benevolence of our people."

An almshouse is always called upon to provide for two vastly different classes of persons. The first class is made up of such as are dependent, because, though manly and self-respecting, they have been unfortunate; the second class is composed of those persons who cannot or will not support themselves, because they are lazy, degraded and vicious. The Mayor's criticism would imply that it is the latter class that are crowding into Bay View. Nor does it seem very easy to apply the remedy he suggests. It is not easy to tell what State a professional tramp belongs to; he is a citizen of the world, and if Baltimore should ship him to Chicago, Chicago could undoubtedly find just as good reasons for returning him as Baltimore has for sending him thither. Besides this, it would surely be hard to obtain guarantees that a vagrant, when sent back to his own State, would remain there. Such a method of overcoming the evil would not only be difficult of application, but expensive, if applicable, and might result in making it cheaper to travel about the country as a vagrant than in any other capacity.

The trustees of Bay View persistently refuse to grapple with the problem. "Let us not question," they say, "the general or the individual causes why Bay View Asylum shelters so many inmates at this period, but in the name of humanity throw the mantle of charity over those who are sheltered in this institution." The trustees having thus declined to seek the causes of the evil of which the Mayor complains, there have been those who have suggested that the cause is the failure to apply the labor test. They hold that a pauper will not gravitate to Baltimore very fast if he understands that by arriving here in the fall he will only get a chance to spend the winter months in working for his board and clothes. It is urged that this remedy would be not only effective and economical, but that it would benefit the pauper as well as the taxpayer.

The organic laws of the institution are well adapted for perfecting it in the matter of employing the inmates at such work as may be found suitable. Article 5 of the "General Rules," defining the duties of the superintendent, makes the following provision: "He shall be required to preserve strict order and discipline among the poor and others in the house, and take care that all who may be in a condition to labor shall be kept at some suitable employment." It is also provided that an account shall be opened with each inmate, who shall be charged with what he receives for his maintenance and credited for the work he does. The trustees are even given power to purchase such machinery as may be necessary to the providing of "suitable employment." As at present operated, there is most work in the summer, when the inmates are fewest and feeblest, and almost nothing to be done in the winter, when tramps and loafers are most eager for admittance, and when, in fact, they overcrowd the institution.

*Notes of a lecture on the Charities of Baltimore and Maryland, delivered before the students of Social Science at the Johns Hopkins University.

It is provided by our laws that beggars and vagrants may be committed to the almshouse by the courts, and that, when so committed, the authorities shall detain them for the time during which they are sentenced. This the authorities refuse to do. In other words, the laws and the courts regard the institution as partly penal in its character, while the trustees regard it as wholly eleemosynary, and the result is that prosecutions for vagrancy are a farce. Vagrants "sent up" for three months are out again as soon as they see fit to leave.

A large part of the remainder of the money spent by the city for charitable purposes is expended through private corporations. Autonomous and self-perpetuating boards manage most of the charitable institutions of the city. A certain amount is contributed to the support of an institution from the city treasury each year, and in return a certain number of dependents are billeted upon it. In many States this system has led to grave abuses, and here it has not been without certain bad results, among which is the provocation of sectarian jealousies.

The mailing-list of the Charity Organization Society gives the address of 120 private charitable institutions or societies in Baltimore, exclusive of those subsidiary to the churches. Many of these are of very minor importance, but others are of wide influence, and powerful agents for good or evil. Selecting twenty-five prominent and powerful institutions, we find that they have an aggregate yearly revenue amounting to \$196,280. This does not include the interest upon the value of real estate or other property actually in use for charitable purposes, and is exclusive of legacies received during the year and designed for permanent investment. Voluntary subscriptions and contributions make up 44 per cent of this income, while 25 per cent is received as interest upon funds previously invested. The next largest item of income is of proportionately more importance in Baltimore than perhaps in almost any other city in the country. It consists of the amount raised by balls, fairs, theatrical performances, etc., and amounts to \$23,714.69, or about 13 per cent of the gross income of the twenty-five societies. Of the gross amount, 10 per cent is earned; that is, the recipients of charity perform work valued at that amount; while 5 per cent is made up of subsidies from the city treasury and 3 per cent from the treasury of the State.

There are societies to relieve any need whatever of particular classes of persons. The Hebrew Benevolent will do this for Israelites, the German Society for Germans, the St. Andrew's Society for the Scotch, the denominational societies for those of their faith, and for an undetermined number of outsiders. On the other hand, there are societies that will relieve any person whatever in some particular way. The Poor Association will give coal and groceries to any applicant it considers worthy, without regard to religion, race or color. The dispensaries will give medicine, the sewing societies clothing, and so on. It will be noticed that the lines of activity intersect. The classification by race overlaps that by religion, while the classification by needs overlies them both, and several agencies for the same sort of work are superimposed upon the others, while unlimited claims upon individual benevolence supplement or duplicate the whole. Suppose the case of a German Lutheran who is in need of one thing only, say fuel. There are four organizations that he may properly apply to: (1) The German Society; (2) his church; (3) the Poor Association; (4) the police station. If he is sick, the Indigent Sick Society may also aid; if his children go to a Methodist Sunday School, help may be had from that source; if his wife is a Roman Catholic, she may apply to the Society of St. Vincent de Paul; and finally, if he is just out of jail, the Prisoner's Aid Association may help. All this, of course, does not include what may be obtained from private individuals.

What a State Board of Charities ought to do for the public charities, the Charity Organization Society is trying to do for the private charities of the city, though it has not and ought not to have any control over the other societies. It is a clearing-house and information bureau for the others, and while aiding all, competes with none.

But the basis of the charitable system of any city must be

its public charities, and until these are satisfactorily systematized and operated, all private undertakings must work at a gratuitous disadvantage. One bill for a State Board of Charities was killed by its friends because it seemed likely that the board would fall among politicians. When will it be safe for us to try again?

THE FUTURE OF CIVIL SERVICE REFORM.

AT a meeting of the Executive Committee of the Civil Service Reform Association of Maryland, held December 7, the following preamble and resolutions were unanimously adopted:

Whereas, The last Republican National Convention declared that "The reform of the civil service . . . should be completed by the further extension of the reform system already established by law to all the grades of the service to which it is applicable. The spirit and purpose of the reform should be observed in all executive appointments, and all laws at variance with the object of existing reform legislation should be repealed, to the end that the dangers to free institutions which lurk in the power of official patronage may be wisely and effectively avoided";

And whereas, In his letter of acceptance Gen. Harrison spoke as follows of this declaration: "I . . . cordially approve the clear and forcible expression of the Convention upon the subject. The law should have the aid of a friendly interpretation, and be faithfully and vigorously enforced. All appointments under it should be absolutely free from partisan considerations and influence. Some extensions of the classified list are practicable and desirable, and further legislation, extending the reform to other branches of the service to which it is applicable, would receive my approval. In appointments to every grade and department, fitness, and not party service, should be the essential and discriminating test, and fidelity and efficiency the only sure tenure of office. Only the interests of the public service should suggest removals from office . . . It will . . . be my sincere purpose, if elected, to advance the reform";

Resolved, That in the practical fulfillment of the solemn and explicit pledges of his party, thus emphatically and unequivocally endorsed by himself, the President-elect is entitled to look for the support of a bold, vigilant and enlightened public opinion.

Resolved, That the recent public utterances of Senator Ingalls, as printed in the *New York Independent*, followed up, as they have been, by the declarations of other prominent public men, make it the paramount duty of the friends of good government throughout the Union to keep before the people the words of the Republican platform and the letter of the President-elect, and to oppose, by all legitimate means, every attempt, whether open or covert, from any quarter to procure their violation or evasion.

Resolved, That it is the obvious duty of the several Civil Service Reform Associations to take the lead in this patriotic work by clearly defining and widely publishing their principles regarding such questions as must engage the immediate attention of the incoming Administration, and, consistently with its past record, the Civil Service Reform Association of Maryland cannot be backward in recognizing and discharging this duty.

Resolved, That for the purpose of giving effect to the foregoing resolutions, it is eminently desirable that public meetings should be held under the auspices of this Association, as early and frequently as may be practicable, and it is accordingly further *Resolved* that a special committee of five members, including the President of the Association and the Chairman of the Executive Committee, be appointed by the Chair to determine the times, places and character of such meetings, and make all necessary arrangements in reference thereto.

RESOLUTIONS OF THE NEW YORK ASSOCIATION.

The following resolutions were unanimously adopted at a regular meeting of the Executive Committee of the Civil Service Reform Association of New York, held December 5, 1888:

Resolved, That the declarations and pledges of the Republican platform and the views expressed by the President-elect, in his letter of acceptance, justify the hope that the progress in civil service reform already secured will be maintained and extended.

Resolved, That honest, thorough and effective enforcement of the Civil Service Law of January, 1883, can be assured only by placing sincere friends of reform at the heads of all offices in which the service is classified.

Resolved, That a general system of removals from the public service upon a party change of administration, under the plea of correcting the injustice of previous removals, is the very evil that reform seeks to correct. Reform could never begin if honest and efficient officers, devoted to their duty and not offensively partisan, although appointed for political reasons, should be removed for precisely the same reasons, to make place for partisans of the removing power. This would be a clean sweep, with the consequent demoralization of the public service and of politics, which good citizens of all parties deplore.

Resolved, That the interference of members of Congress with the exercise of the executive power of appointment and removals, and the laws which, by prescribing a fixed term for inferior offices, facilitate a clean sweep of the civil service every four years, are the chief bulwarks of the spoils system, and that the remedy lies in the repeal of the four years' laws and the prevention of the interference of members of Congress in executive appointments.

Resolved, That removals from the public service, with the exception of certain political officers, should be made only for reasons connected with the character and efficiency of the service, and that hereafter, as heretofore, we will heartily and unitedly sustain every effort of the national administration to emancipate the non-political service of the Government from mere partisan control.

The following resolutions were unanimously passed at a regular meeting of the Executive Committee of the Civil Service Reform Association of Brooklyn, held December 13, 1888:

Resolved, That in view of the action taken by the Republican Convention at Chicago, in regard to the reform of the civil service, of the statements made from time to time by the President-elect upon the same subject, and of the known views of some of his most active supporters, to all of which should be given their due weight, the friends of reform are entitled to expect that it will be carried forward with vigor, and are called upon to give their hearty support to all efforts made to that end.

Resolved, That this Association believes now, as in the past, that removals of subordinate officers and employes should be made only for causes dictated by the necessities of the service; that the reasons for such removals should be made a matter of public record; that the Civil Service Rules should be extended to cover other branches of the service, as opportunity and the means at the disposal of the Civil Service Commission may permit; and that the proper administration of the Civil Service Law requires that none but those who are honestly determined to administer the law should be appointed or retained as heads of any offices in which the service is classified.

Resolved, That the Association urges the amendment of the Civil Service Law so as to prohibit the levying or collection of political assessments from officeholders by any person either within or outside of the service; the repeal of the laws by which the term of certain offices is restricted to four years; and the prevention of the interference of members of Congress with the exercise of the power of appointment to positions within the executive department of the Government.

REPORT OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE OF THE BALTIMORE REFORM LEAGUE.

THE greater part of the work of the League, since its meeting in May last, having been done through its attorney, Mr. John C. Rose, cannot be better detailed than in the language

of his last report to this Committee, covering the period from May 12, 1888, to the present time. Mr. Rose says:

"The officers of registration had then been appointed and the investigation of their fitness completed. But during the five months over which registration extended there were a number of changes made among the officers. The new appointees were all, or nearly all, carefully investigated, and whenever the investigation revealed specific facts demonstrating the unfitness of the appointee, I filed with the Board of Supervisors a protest against the appointment. In some instances the Board of Supervisors removed the person protested against, and in others they took no action.

"I arranged with the persons who contracted to print the lists of the persons registered at each sitting, to furnish me with two copies of the lists for each precinct at each sitting of the registrars. For these lists for the 198 precincts the League paid fifty-five dollars.

"After each sitting of the registrars the printed lists were carefully examined, and whenever from the size of the vote, or other circumstances, there seemed to be reason to suspect that there had been fraud committed, a careful investigation was made. All the names registered were compared with the city directory. Every name which was not found in the directory, or which was located by the directory at some other address from that at which it was registered, was carefully inquired into. The result of these inquiries seemed to show that the registration was, with certain exceptions, approximately fair. These exceptions are as follows:

"Firstly. I have good reason to believe that a great many people were fraudulently naturalized. Papers were issued to persons who had not been the required length of time in the country. Under our present naturalization system, the courts are practically powerless to prevent the perpetration of these frauds. In many cases, the witnesses who swear the applicant through have seen him for the first time a few days before they appear for him in court. Two or three such cases have accidentally been revealed in the course of other investigations. I tried to procure a list of the persons naturalized this year, together with the witness for each of them, but so far have not been able to do so, because the naturalizations have not as yet been recorded.

"Secondly, the provision introduced in the new registration-law, for the first time in this State, by which a foreign-born citizen is allowed to prove his naturalization by swearing himself, and getting two other witnesses to swear for him, that he has been a registered voter for the last three years and had actually voted once upon such registration, has been a fruitful source of frauds and perjuries. It is true that if the registration officers were all learned lawyers and were all anxious to do their duty in good faith, this provision would very possibly have done very little harm, for there would have been very few instances, indeed, in which the persons produced as witnesses would, had they been properly examined, have been able to swear that of their own knowledge the applicant had been a registered voter for three years and had voted once. In practice, however, all that the witnesses were asked was, "Do you know this man has been a registered voter for three years and has voted once?" The witnesses said yes, and the man was registered without any further inquiry. Under these circumstances a great many people swear to a great deal more than they are conscious of. One whom they had known for some time, perhaps, whom they had seen hanging around the polls on election-day, comes to them and says, "You know that I have been a voter here for years, don't you?" and the person interrogated answers "Yes," and then upon request goes down to the registration office and swears to it. In many cases, however, the witnesses must have knowingly sworn falsely, as, for instance, John T. Murphy and George Vogelgesang, who are under indictment for perjury in swearing that a man named Smith had been a registered voter for the last three years. In at least two or three other cases prosecutions have been instituted for the same offense.

"Thirdly. Under the rule laid down by the Supreme Bench, that a voter can acquire a legal residence in twenty-four hours in a ward or precinct into which he has removed, provided

that ward or precinct is in the same legislative and congressional district with the one from which he has moved, unscrupulous workers are able to select the ward and precinct in which they wish to be registered, whether they have ever lived there before or not. I believe that a great deal of this sort of registration, unquestionably fraudulent both in law and in fact, has been done, but in any particular case it is very hard to prove the fact to the satisfaction of each one of twelve men, some of whom will almost always feel a political bias against the prosecution.

"Fourthly. Many persons have been registered who, since they became twenty-one years of age, had been convicted of larceny or other infamous crime. In some cases, where the person had been convicted of larceny and sentenced to a short term of imprisonment in the jail or house of correction, he probably registered without the slightest idea that he had not the right to do so. A number of cases, however, came under my notice in which there could have been no doubt that the applicants knew that they had no right to register, and in these I have had prosecutions begun. There is no way that I know of by which a systematic investigation of the records can be made for such cases, and, under the law as it now stands, their detection must be left to chance.

"Fifthly. Immediately after the close of the May sitting my attention was called to the fact that eighteen men were registered from one house on East Lombard Street, in the first precinct of the ninth ward, and upon inquiry about the house I found it to be a place about 12 feet front, two rooms deep and three stories high. The proprietor was an ex-policeman, named Flynn, who at the time held a sinecure position as watchman at Baker Circle, for which he received from the city treasury \$14 a week. I sent a couple of agents of the League to his place. These men managed to get on friendly and even intimate terms with Flynn and many persons who frequented his house. They repeatedly visited this place and other resorts in the neighborhood from which I had reason to suspect that men were improperly registered. At various sittings of the registrars no less than fifty-six men were registered from this place of Flynn's, No. 712 East Lombard Street. Most of them had probably no fixed home anywhere, but some may have had a legal residence in other parts of the city or State. Many of them have aliases, and it is probable that some of them are registered elsewhere either under the same or some other name. Indeed, it turned out in the course of the hearing of the petitions to have the names of some of these men stricken off the registration lists, that one man was registered twice from this very place; once as Thomas Garrett and again as Thomas B. Garrett. But as we were not able to prove that the man himself had had his name put on the second time, it was not possible to take criminal proceedings. It turned out that Flynn's barkeeper kept a book, in which were entered the names and ages of all the persons registered from his house. This book could unquestionably be used to show what names and ages might be safely given to repeaters on election-day, and no other satisfactory explanation of why it was kept has yet been furnished.

"Similar arrangements, on a somewhat less extensive scale, were found to exist at the low saloon of Emanuele Coscia, from whose place, 104 Centre Market Space, some fourteen men were registered.

"I filed petitions to have most of the persons registered from Flynn's and Coscia's stricken off. In about a dozen cases I succeeded. Judge Duffy dismissed most of the petitions, however, because, in the face of Flynn's positive testimony that the men were dredgers, etc., who made his house their home, he did not think the testimony we offered, viz. that of an agent who had paid fifty visits in the course of some five months and had never seen any such persons there, was sufficient to prove that no such persons had the right to claim a legal residence from this place. Flynn has been indicted and tried in the U. S. District Court upon the charge of soliciting one of my agents to register from his place, knowing that he had no right to do so, but the jury failed to agree. Mayor Latrobe has dismissed him from his office as keeper of Baker Circle.

"Shortly after the last or October sitting of the registrars,

complaints reached me from various parts of the city that men had been improperly and fraudulently registered. It was not clear whether the Acts of 1888 operated as a repeal of the provision of the Act of 1882, which allowed a registered voter to appeal to one of the judges of the Supreme Bench whenever he felt himself aggrieved by the registration of any person. If the method of appeal provided by the later act was intended to take the place of that furnished by the earlier, there was no way of getting these names said to be improperly registered stricken off, for no objections in writing and under oath had been filed with the registrars. Whether the new provisions annulled the old one was, therefore, a practical point of great importance, and it was fully argued before the Supreme Bench by Mr. James A. L. McClure for the registrars and Mr. Bonaparte and myself for the persons petitioning to have the names stricken off. The Supreme Bench decided that the former right of appeal was taken away in all cases provided for by the Act of 1888. The effect of this decision was to leave on the registration lists the names of a considerable number of persons, the illegality of whose registration there was no room to question. For example, one of the petitions I had had prepared was made by a father to have his son, a youth of nineteen, stricken from the books; another was by a gentleman, who had long resided in a particular house, to have stricken off the name of a man who registered from that house but who did not live there. There were forty-three soldiers in the regular army of the United States, all of whom, with possibly one exception were, at the time of their enlistment, residents of other States, registered in the first precinct of the seventeenth ward as from Fort McHenry. This registration was absolutely illegal; first, because enlisted men can neither gain nor lose a residence while serving in the army of the United States; and secondly, because, as the jurisdiction over Fort McHenry was ceded by the State of Maryland to the United States without any reservation whatever, the fort is no more a part of the State of Maryland than is the District of Columbia; and yet there was no way of getting their names stricken off the registration lists. The defect in the law, and the injustice it was likely to work, has been made even more manifest since the election than it was before; for it turns out that these men were all registered in a congressional district in which the election was so close that it is hardly certain yet who was elected. Under these circumstances, as there seemed to be good reason to believe that some at least of the soldiers who registered knew that they had no right to do so, warrants for the arrest of some of them on the charge of illegal registration were sworn out before United States Commissioner Bond. Mr. Bond, after the hearing, held the arrested men for the action of the Grand Jury. In order that the question of their right to register and vote might be decided before the election by a competent tribunal, the counsel for the soldiers and the District Attorney of the United States agreed that the former should get out a writ of habeas corpus before Judge Morris, upon the return of which the legal point could be inquired into. This was accordingly done, and Judge Morris decided, Judge Bond sitting with him by request and concurring in the decision, that the soldiers had no right to register. There being no evidence of fraudulent intent, the men were dismissed, but the judges declared that any one of them who attempted to vote would be guilty of an offense against the laws of the United States, for which he could and doubtless would be punished. As a consequence, none of these men voted.

"Some of the warrants which have been sworn out against persons accused of illegal registration have never been served, notwithstanding the fact that men for whom such warrants were out are known to have voted on election-day in the very presence of the special Deputy United States Marshals stationed at their voting precinct.

"When the Board of Supervisors published the list of persons whom they had selected for judges and clerks of election, I took immediate steps to have the characters and fitness of the 990 men designated carefully inquired into. Many of the persons at first appointed were excused or removed for one cause or another, and new men were

appointed to fill these vacancies. These new appointees were in their turn investigated, so that, all told, a careful inquiry was made concerning no less than 1200 men, scattered over every one of the 198 precincts of the city.

"While on the whole the class of men appointed was far superior to those who were named in 1885 and 1886, there were many unfit appointments among them, and the time and money expended by the League upon the inquiry were far from thrown away. Thus we discovered a man who had committed a number of forgeries in the spring and summer, who had then fled to Canada, who had been followed and brought back under the extradition treaty, and who had been appointed a Republican clerk of election in the Seventeenth Ward, although he was at the time of his appointment, and I think is still, in jail awaiting trial upon five different indictments for forgery. Of course the Board of Supervisors were not aware of these facts when they made the appointment. They are not, however, blameless in the matter, for this forger and a large number of other persons who were appointed as Republican judges and clerks were chosen from lists submitted by Democratic ward officers. I know of no case, and I do not believe there was any, where a Democratic judge or clerk was appointed upon the recommendation of the Republicans.

"Another appointment, hardly less unfit than the forger, was that of Herman Wehage, who had formerly been a registrar of voters, and in that capacity had, in 1886, acted so scandalously that Judge Duffy told him from the bench that he did not believe he had even tried to do his duty; and who, in 1887, was, during a large part of the time he sat as registrar, grossly intoxicated, and in that condition committed to jail Mr. Jno. Hemsley Johnson, one of the attorneys of the League stationed at his office, because he had quietly given some legal advice to a voter applying for registration. Another person appointed as judge had recently served a term in jail for keeping a gambling-house; still another had been in the penitentiary for larceny, and two others are at the present time generally reputed and believed to be in the policy business. In all these cases and many others, protests were filed with the Board of Supervisors. In most instances in which it was possible to prove by court records or other indisputable evidence that the person appointed had been at some time guilty of a specific offense of a serious character, the man was removed. Even in such cases, however, the necessity for such an organization as ours, doing the very work we are doing, was strikingly manifested, for in the great pressure and rush of business crowding on the Board of Supervisors in the few weeks immediately preceding the election, protests which revealed a perfectly conclusive reason for removal would probably often have been overlooked, although duly filed, had not the representative of the League diligently followed them up.

"In a number of cases in which the protests set forth in substance that the appointment of the particular person advertised would tend to excite doubt and suspicion in the precinct as to the fairness of an election of which he was one of the officers, either because of his general reputation for political unscrupulousness or because of his connections or surroundings, or because at some previous time he had been an officer of election when frauds had been committed or permitted by some one or more of the officers, it never having clearly appeared whether or not the man now appointed was or was not concerned in such frauds, the Supervisors declined to consider such allegations as sufficient ground for removing the man appointed. They seemed to consider that after a man had been appointed, an attempt to get him removed was somewhat in the nature of a criminal proceeding, and that some definite offense must be alleged against him and proved with reasonable certainty. It seems, however, to be obvious that it is almost as important that there should be absolute confidence in the fairness of elections as that the elections should be fair, and that therefore whenever it appears that the appointment of a particular person as judge or clerk of election would impair the confidence of any number of reasonable and well-informed people in the fairness of the election at that precinct, such person should be relieved irrespective of the question whether

he is or is not in fact a man of the character he is said to be.

"In one case in which I filed a protest against a person appointed as judge, on the ground of his general reputation for unscrupulous partisanship and on my personal observation of his extremely quarrelsome and discourteous manners, but whom the Supervisors declined to remove, it has become necessary since the election to institute criminal proceedings upon what appears to be clear evidence of fraudulent conduct by him at the polls.

"Immediately upon the close of registration a number of legal voters called at my office and made complaint that they had been either illegally refused registration, or having been once registered, had been subsequently illegally stricken off. Most, but not all of these men, were colored. In all cases, when, upon investigation, the complaints appeared to be well founded, I prepared petitions for them, filed the same in court and tried the cases when they came up. In some, perhaps in about one-half of the cases, the action of the registrars, though erroneous, was taken in good faith. In quite a number of the cases, however, the evidence showed clearly that the registrars had acted with a malicious disregard of the rights of the voters and with the intention of defrauding them of their right to vote. Whenever it was clearly established that the registrars had acted from such improper motives, the court imposed the costs of the appeal upon such of the registrars as were concerned in the illegal action.

"Upon the close of registration there was considerable discussion in the newspapers and on the streets, of the large increase in the number of colored voters registered, especially in the Fourth Congressional District. In so far as the rumors of fraud were based merely upon the numerical increase I attached little importance to them, because the study of the workings of the old system which I made in connection with the repeated investigation of registration lists made by the League had convinced me that under that system it was practically impossible to get a full registration of the colored vote. I, however, had certain precincts in which there was a large increase inquired into, and discovered nothing to give color to the rumor of fraud.

"More than a hundred colored men were arrested on or shortly before election-day upon charges of illegal registration. Many of these arrests were made after midnight, and involved great hardship to such of the prisoners as proved to be innocent. At least three-fourths of all so arrested were discharged by the station-house magistrates, and a majority of the remainder by the Grand Jury. As far as practicable I have investigated all these cases, and while I shall be prepared to assist the prosecuting officers in the few cases where indictments were obtained, I am convinced that nine-tenths of these arrests were groundless and malicious.

"There was some repeating on election-day; a great deal of it in the first precinct of the ninth ward, where I have reasons to believe that the fraudulent votes cast by the repeaters constituted nearly or quite one-half of the total vote returned, and more or less in other portions of the city. A prosecution has been instituted against an ex-convict who registered illegally in the twentieth ward, but whose name we had stricken off, who on election-day voted in the eleventh ward on the name of a gentleman at the time in North Carolina.

"There has been some complaint of the partizanship of certain judges and their rejection of legal votes on insufficient and frivolous grounds, but thus far I have heard of only one case in which there are any well-supported allegations of any judge having knowingly placed illegal ballots in the box. In this case a prosecution will be instituted.

"I have been directed to submit a sketch of the work to which the energies of the League should be directed within the coming six months.

"In the first place, the prosecutions which have been begun should all be followed up and pushed to conviction, if possible. This alone will amount to a great deal of work, as there are from fifteen to twenty cases pending.

"*Secondly*, a careful and systematic investigation should be made of the naturalizations of the year. This has never been

done, and I am strongly persuaded that there is a great deal of fraudulent naturalization.

"Thirdly, all information it is possible to collect, as to deaths or removals from the city and the like, should be gathered, in order that the names of such persons may be stricken from the registration lists.

"Fourthly, in April next, when the names of the officers of registration for the year 1889 are published, they should all be investigated as usual."

Respectfully submitted,

JOHN C. ROSE, *Attorney.*

"In view of the nomination of Morris A. Thomas for the responsible position of Clerk of the new Circuit Court No. 2 of Baltimore City, and the fact that no criticism of that nomination was made by any of the daily papers of this city, this Committee felt it their plain duty to earnestly protest against the nomination of Mr. Thomas, and to make publicly, over their own signatures, an appeal to their fellow-citizens not to vote for such a candidate. Such an appeal and protest, including a brief statement of the facts relied upon in justification of it, was adopted by this Committee and published as an advertisement in the *Sun*, *American*, *Herald*, *Evening News*, and *German Correspondent*. The result of the election has demonstrated the propriety of the course pursued.

CHARLES J. BONAPARTE, *Chairman.*
THOS. S. BAER, *Secretary.*

WHAT THE RETURNS INDICATE.

I.

IN December, 1886, THE CIVIL-SERVICE REFORMER declared, "The most obvious lesson of the election of 1886 is that no party has a sure thing of the country in 1888," and in December, 1887, in again reviewing the outlook, it said, "The Republicans for twenty-five years were uniformly stronger at presidential elections than in off years. Will they be so now? If they are they will win the presidential election of 1888." The returns of the presidential contest show that the old rule still holds good, and that the Republicans can poll a larger portion of the votes in a national than they can in a local campaign. Thus, in the States of Wisconsin, Minnesota, Iowa, Kansas, and Nebraska, the Republican plurality in 1886 was about 104,000. The prominence of the tariff question in the canvass of this year could not have been of advantage to the Republicans in these States. Whatever influence it had must have been favorable to President Cleveland, yet in 1888 the Republican plurality was 200,000, or, in round numbers, twice as much as it was two years ago. It is to the effect of a presidential election in bringing out the reserve Republican vote in the rural regions of the North, rather than to the influence of the tariff discussion, that we should ascribe most of those Republican gains in the country districts which have elected General Harrison. Indeed, to ascertain what part the tariff did play in the result is a question so complex and difficult, and the answer to which is so obscured by the operation of other causes, that the widest differences of opinion among those most competent to judge are to be expected.

It has been somewhat hastily assumed that because in New York City, Jersey City, Newark, Philadelphia, Cincinnati, Cleveland, Chicago, and San Francisco the Democrats gained nearly 50,000 votes, and did proportionally as well in some other manufacturing centers of less importance, that their policy of tariff reform was popular among the workingmen and factory operatives. We said that this assumption was, perhaps, hasty because it loses sight of certain other factors in the problem. If four years ago Blaine was not able to bring out the Republican vote, Cleveland equally failed to inspire the enthusiastic support of certain numerically powerful elements of the Democratic party. These elements had most of their strength in the large cities, and they very largely gave Cleveland in 1888 the support they withheld from him in 1884. Thus, in the first four Assembly districts of New York City, districts in which there has been very little increase in the total vote since 1880, Hancock had a plurality of 14,911, Cleveland had in 1884 11,740, and in

1888 13,724. It is evident here that Cleveland, in 1888, regained the larger part, though not all, of the strength lost in 1884. In like manner, although in Boston as a whole the Democrats lost considerably, in the 2d, 6th, 12th, 13th, 15th, 16th, and 22d wards Cleveland had 1302 more plurality in 1888 than in 1884. It is significant that in only one of these wards is the Republican vote one-half as great as the Democratic, in one of them it is less than one-eighth, and in the entire seven is only about one-third.

During the four years from June 30th, 1879, to June 30th, 1883, the foreign immigration to this country was greater than during any preceding period of like duration, amounting to no less than 2,514,694 persons. About one-half of these were adult males. The presidential election of this year was the first in which these immigrants could take part. There is very little doubt, we take it, that at least seventy-five per cent of the foreigners settling in our large cities vote the Democratic ticket—at all events for the first few elections after they are naturalized—although in the country districts the foreign-born citizens probably divide much more evenly between the two parties. The participation for the first time in a presidential election of this immense body of foreigners would naturally cause Democratic gains in the large cities. Then, in a number of cities the agitation of the liquor question operated to the disadvantage of the Republicans. To this cause is perhaps due the large Democratic increase in Jersey City and Newark, N. J. Outside of these two places there was a net Republican gain of 1200 in the State. The resentment of the saloon and brewing interest at the enactment and enforcement of the high license law in Philadelphia had, doubtless, a good deal to do with the reduction of the Republican majority in that city. The attempt of the Republican Legislature to enact a high license law in New York brought down upon that party the wrath of the liquor interest in that State, a wrath which would have probably cost the Republicans more than it did had not the candidacy of Governor Hill afforded the saloon-keepers there an opportunity to emphasize their dislike of the proposed legislation without sacrificing whatever advantage they derived from their connection with the Republican party. The combined influences of these various causes were probably quite sufficient to account for most of the gains made by the Democrats in the large cities, and even to make it possible that the tariff cost them a net loss of votes. In the two cities of the North in which Cleveland lost most in 1888, viz. Boston and Brooklyn, it is significant that in 1884 he gained largely over Hancock's vote of 1880. In other words, the Mugwumps were much more numerous then than the anti-Cleveland Democrats, and consequently the return this year of a part of the Mugwumps to the Republican party gave that party more strength than the defection of a part of the anti-Cleveland Democrats of 1884 took from it. The ward returns in these two cities show clearly that the explanation of the Democratic loss just given is the correct one. Thus, in the twelve wards of Brooklyn carried by Garfield in 1880, his plurality was 6611. In 1884, in these same wards Blaine had a plurality of but 1203, a Republican loss of 5408. This year in these wards Harrison's plurality was 4656, a Republican gain over 1884 of 3455, and a loss as compared with 1880 of 1956. In other words, a large portion, but not all, of the Brooklyn Mugwumps of 1884 voted for Harrison. In the Democratic wards of the city there was a Democratic gain.

The eleventh ward of Boston includes some of the best residence portions of that city. Prior to 1884 it was Republican almost two to one, but in that year so numerous in it were the Mugwumps that it gave Cleveland 1416 votes to 1340 for Blaine. This year, in a much larger vote, Cleveland had only 1376 to 2139 for Harrison, a Republican gain of 839 in the one ward. This particular ward is a Mugwump stronghold. Last year when the Democratic nominee for Governor, Lovering, was believed to be identified with the spoils wing of the party, the ward gave him but 460 votes as against 1808 for Ames. At the municipal election last month, when most of the Independents supported Hort, this ward voted Hort 2818, O'Brien 614, a Republican majority of 2204.

In 1880 there were thirty-three precincts in Boston in which the Republican vote was more than twice as great as the Democratic. In that year these precincts gave Garfield 11,431 votes and Hancock 3630, a Republican majority of 7801. In 1884, in these same precincts Blaine had 8936 votes, or 2495 less than Garfield, and Cleveland 6890, or 3260 more than Hancock. Blaine's majority was but 2046, a net Republican loss of 5755. In 1888 Harrison received 12,463, or 3525 more than Blaine; and Cleveland 6813, or 77 less than four years before; Harrison's majority being thus 5630, or 3584 more than Blaine's, but 2171 less than Garfield's. Here, as in Brooklyn, it is evident that a good many of the anti-Blaine men of 1884 voted for Harrison.

In 1884 the general rule throughout the country was that Blaine gained in the Democratic neighborhoods and Cleveland in the Republican. This year a large part of each class of converts of 1884 relapsed to their old faith, and consequently Cleveland gained in the Democratic and Harrison in the Republican communities. The changes in the balance of parties in particular localities due to these causes were oftentimes very marked, and these changes have probably been by both sides ascribed far too largely to the influence of the tariff.

We have already pointed out that the Democratic gain in many of the large cities of the country does not necessarily prove that the tariff policy of the administration was popular in these cities. It does prove conclusively, however, that there was no wholesale stampede of workmen from the Democratic party on account of their alarm at the December message and the Mills Bill. Yet it is unquestionably true that the message and the bill cost Mr. Cleveland the Presidency. If, as is almost certainly the case, the net gain of votes made by the Republicans on the tariff issue was not so great as in itself to have been decisive of the result, that issue was still of inestimable value to them in giving them a cry which stimulated the rank and file of the party and made them sanguine of success. Had not the tariff been the leading issue in the canvass, the campaign would have been dull and spiritless, the vote would have been comparatively light, and, as has always been the case under such circumstances, the Democrats would have won. The Democratic triumph would have been all the more certain, as under such circumstances the Republicans would have had the greatest difficulty in obtaining a campaign fund. Whatever allowance is made—and a good deal unquestionably should be made—for newspaper and partisan exaggeration, there does not seem to be any doubt that the Republican committee had and expended a great deal of money, the larger part of which was probably contributed by persons who supposed that a change of our tariff system would be dangerous, if not fatal, to the business enterprises in which they were largely interested.

On the other hand, there were doubtless a good many former Republicans who followed the example of Mayor Low, of Brooklyn, in voting for Cleveland because he stood for the policy of tariff reform, in the wisdom of which they believed. There is no way to determine how much this vote amounted to, because most of it does not appear in the returns, as it was probably drawn most largely from among those Republicans who four years ago voted for Cleveland because they were opposed to Blaine's candidacy, but who would have supported Harrison had not the tariff been the main issue between the parties. Of the States in which, it has generally been supposed, the tariff reform policy of the administration would be most popular, Michigan, Iowa, Kansas, and Nebraska gave Republican gains over four years ago, amounting in the aggregate to over 50,000 votes. In Illinois there was a Democratic gain of 4000, due to the fact that Harrison had 8000 less plurality in Cook County (Chicago) than Blaine had four years ago. In rural Illinois there was a Republican gain of 4000. For the reasons already fully stated, it is by no means clear that the Cleveland gains in the large cities like Chicago were due to his tariff policy. In Minnesota the Republican plurality is about 3000 less than in 1884. There can be no question that in Minnesota the large majority of the people want a lower tariff, yet it is doubtful whether any great num-

ber of Republican tariff reformers in that State voted for Cleveland. The nomination of an exceedingly unpopular candidate for governor by means which it was openly charged differed little or not at all from the open purchase of the office, and the increase of the Prohibition vote from 4600 to 15,300, would perhaps sufficiently explain the trifling reduction in the Republican plurality. In all the Rocky Mountain and Pacific Coast States and Territories, except California, the Republicans gained largely over four years ago, showing, as we have sometimes suspected before, that the heavy Republican majorities in 1884 in the Pacific Coast States were not altogether due to Mr. Blaine's personal popularity. The truth seems to be that within the last six or eight years there has been a large immigration from the Republican States of the North and West to the Pacific States and Territories, and that they have thus become, for the present at least, Republican States. The Democratic gain in California makes that State more an apparent than a real exception to the rule, as the Republican loss was confined to San Francisco. It is of course possible that the fear of tariff reduction entertained by the wool and other important protected interests on the Pacific Coast may have swelled the Republican majority, but the main cause, we are persuaded, is the incoming of Republicans from other States.

Protection, coupled with the removal of the tobacco tax, was probably a popular cry in the Southern Border States, but the Republicans have been gaining steadily in those States ever since 1876, and would doubtless have done so this time if the tariff had not been the issue.

In 1876 Tilden's plurality in the States of Maryland, Delaware, the Virginias, North Carolina, Tennessee, Kentucky, Arkansas, and Missouri was 280,791. In 1880 in the same States Hancock had only 227,841. By 1884 the Democratic plurality had sunk still lower, falling to 141,769, and now in 1888 it descends to about 126,313, or less than half it was twelve years ago.

While Cleveland will receive the electoral vote of all the Southern States, the returns show that Virginia and West Virginia are now as doubtful as Connecticut and Indiana, and that Missouri and Kentucky are no more overwhelmingly Democratic than Iowa and Michigan, which during the last campaign were supposed to be doubtful, are Republican. The total vote of Connecticut and West Virginia was probably about the same. In each State the Democratic plurality was but a few hundred. Cleveland carried Virginia by 1500 in a total vote of 300,000, and Harrison Indiana by 2300 in a total vote of 537,000. The Democratic plurality in Kentucky in a total vote of nearly 350,000 was 28,000, and the Republican plurality in Iowa in a total vote of 400,000 was 31,000. Michigan, polling a vote of 475,000, gives 23,000 Republican plurality, and Missouri in a total vote of 520,000 a Democratic plurality of 25,000.

In this connection a comparison between the balance of parties in the seven Border States of Delaware, Maryland, the Virginias, Tennessee, Kentucky, and Missouri, and in the Northwestern States of Illinois, Iowa, Wisconsin, Minnesota, Kansas, Nebraska, and Colorado, is very striking.

Each group of States has 70 electoral votes. Cleveland's majority in the former group is 85,985, Harrison's in the latter is 235,419. Of the 14 Senators from the Border South, 13 will be Democrats and one Republican; all the 14 Senators from the Northwest will be Republicans. Of the 56 Representatives from the Northwest, 10 will be Democrats and 46 Republicans. Of the 56 Representatives from the Southern Border it now appears that 15 will be Republicans and 41 Democrats.

In the far Southern States of South Carolina, Georgia, Florida, Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana, and Texas the Democratic gains are very large, Cleveland's plurality being 442,010, as against 313,678 in 1884, a gain of 128,332. This will be sufficient to wipe out the Republican gain of 53,868 in the other sections of the country and to give Cleveland a popular plurality of 97,469. The third parties have played a very small part. The vote cast for the various labor candidates was in most places in which there was a large laboring population, insignificant. Where, as in some of the Western and Southwestern States, such as Kansas,

Missouri, Arkansas, and Texas, the former Greenbackers retained their organization, they gave Streeter a fair support. The total so-called Labor vote, cast almost entirely by farmers, was 150,000.

The Prohibitionists, although they gained 66 per cent on their vote of 1884, fell far short of their expectation, in most States polling many less votes than they did at the state elections in 1886 and 1887. This was strikingly true of New York and New Jersey, where the Prohibition vote of about 60,000, polled in state contests, has been reduced to 38,000 this year. The gains over 1884 were, as a rule, small in the Northeastern States, and only in Connecticut did they exert any influence on the result. In that State the rise of their vote from 2500 in 1884 to 4200 in 1888 probably explains why the general belief prior to the election that Connecticut would go Republican turned out to be ill founded. The Prohibition party in New York and New Jersey did not make the growth reasonably to be expected for their four years of hard work and their better organization, principally because the Republicans in these States had taken up a definite anti-saloon platform. They did grow in Connecticut because the Republicans' candidate for Governor was the saloonkeepers' favorite. The saloons did exert themselves in his behalf, although not to the extent their brethren in New York did for Hill, but they gave him some votes in the cities which he would not otherwise have received; votes for which, it turned out, the presidential ticket paid heavily through the increase of Prohibition strength. In the West, as a rule, the Prohibitionists gained, more especially in those States in which they polled a small vote in 1884. Indeed, the general rule seems to have been that these gained little in those places in which four years ago they did well.

In reviewing the whole field, the conviction cannot be resisted that the long-prophesied readjustment of party lines has not yet taken place. Much as the tariff has been discussed, numerous as were and are the protectionist Democrats and the free-trade Republicans, a surprisingly small portion of the voters seem to have voted against that party with which they have been in the past identified. In 1888 Harrison carried every State which voted for Lincoln in 1860, except Connecticut, and no State which voted against him. Indeed, it appears that Blaine's personality was in 1884 a more powerful party solvent than was the tariff in 1888.

THE SUPPRESSION OF VICE.

THE work of reforming the civil service of our State and city is intimately associated with the work of exposing and destroying the connections which exist between certain branches of that service and the gamblers and worse people who maintain themselves in part through that connection. This latter work is particularly within the province of the Society for the Suppression of Vice. This agency fully realizes the nature of the conflict which it has entered upon, and its members, though of various shades of political opinion, seem determined to let no fear of misconception or calumny deter them from a relentless exposure of the dereliction of any official who may be accustomed to wink at iniquities which he is bound in law to suppress. The feeling of the recent large meeting of the Society, which was passed over almost in silence by the daily press, was shown by the warm reception given to a number of speeches, all in the tone of the following remarks by Mr. Charles J. Bonaparte:

Gentlemen:—The Society for the Suppression of Vice ought to do much and talk little. Frequent and minute discussions of its aims and methods would be almost as objectionable as the very evils with which it deals, and a meeting like the present is justified only by the absolute necessity imposed on every agency of reform in a popular government, of appealing to public opinion for support in its work. Of this work I have been an interested and sympathetic, but almost inactive spectator; and on it I venture this evening to bestow neither praise, of which it stands in no need, nor criticism, which in me would be presumptuous. I shall merely point out some difficulties which beset such an asso-

ciation as this in such a community as Baltimore, and some dangers to which all similar societies are exposed, and which this one has hitherto avoided, through the somewhat unusual good judgment and tact of its governing body. Of the former, the most serious is undoubtedly the extent to which our local politics are influenced, if not controlled, by our most dangerous and immoral classes. It is no exaggeration of language to say that saloons and gambling-houses and brothels are here nurseries for "statesmen"; that the active hostility of their keepers is, if not fatal, at least a grave impediment to success in public life; and that men and women who gain their living by habitually breaking the laws have a potent voice in selecting the public servants who make, interpret and execute those laws. The proprietor of a "dive" may be of one party or the other—neither enjoys a monopoly of this undesirable constituency—but, whatever his politics, he is almost certainly a power at the primaries and a factor in the vote of his precinct. Only practical experience can trace how much these facts aggravate the task of bringing him to punishment. Another stumbling-block in our path is the very imperfect realization, by those on whose assistance we may reasonably count, of their obligations to help us where such help may mean some trifling pecuniary loss to them. Our natural ally is the reputable press; yet at the last session of the Legislature, bills designed to prevent the publication of notices, which are simply invitations to immorality, were defeated by the influence, as was generally believed, of our best known and most respectable newspapers.

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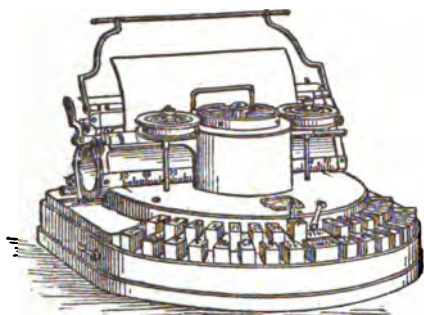
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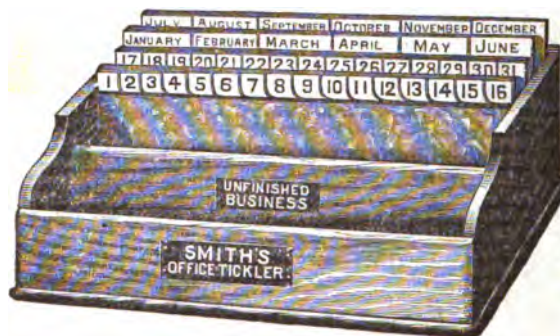
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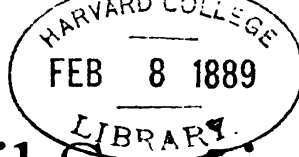
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The Civil-Service Reformer.

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THE MONTH.

IN another place in this issue we reprint that portion of Carl Schurz's address before the Commonwealth Club which bears directly upon the subject of civil service reform. The remainder was devoted to calling attention to the necessity of an improvement in the laws against bribery. Mr. Schurz, as is well known, came forward last summer, in Germany, to defend the American people against the charge of a Berlin newspaper, which had represented our electoral contests as always resulting in favor of the side with the longest purse. He then declared that, while bribery in elections was not unknown in the United States, it was confined to a very few places; that the election of 1884 showed the fact that the longest purse might fail to win; that our elections were largely carried on by men profoundly believing in the cause they advocated; and that bribery was abhorred by the great majority of our people. But now Mr. Schurz finds the charges of wholesale bribery on either side supported by evidence which he believes conclusive, though he exculpates both the presidential candidates from any guilty knowledge of these transactions. He then makes this effective point:

"If there ever was an object-lesson bringing home to the American people the importance and desirability of legislation compelling political campaign committees or managers to preserve and exhibit their accounts and vouchers, here it is. Imagine, if there were such an exhibition of the accounts of expenditures of all parties now, proving everything to have been fair and honest, how it would rejoice the hearts of all who love their country!"

Such legislation, he goes on to point out, has been found effectual to correct a state of political profligacy in Great Britain which might have justified the belief that British politics were hopelessly corrupt; and he thinks what has been found possible there is equally possible here.

THE steps taken to bring about a conference of friends of civil service reform in Baltimore, on the 23d instant, will probably result in a large and influential gathering. The following extract from the *Civil Service Record* expresses in friendly terms, very gratifying to our Maryland Association, a hearty commendation of the plan:

"We hope that those who have been asked to attend a conference called in the interest of civil service reform, by the Maryland Association, will make every effort to be present. The invitation, which is printed in another column, sets forth the immediate need of formulating a general plan of action for assisting the incoming President in upholding the law, and for helping the people toward becoming keen but impartial judges of his action in this respect. The tremendous force of self-interest which always brings to Washington hordes of office-seekers, in hopes of forcing a new Administration to exercise partisan methods in appointments, is now so well known that it would be folly for the conservative elements of the country not to prepare to resist it. This conference will make an intelligent and concerted resistance possible. It is especially fitting that the Mary-

land Association should be the leader in the movement, for its members have not received such consideration from the Democratic party, either in the State or in Washington, that they can be supposed to feel any undue partiality for the out-going Administration. It is fortunate that this happens to be true; for the Maryland Association is, in other respects, the branch of the League most fitted to carry out any plans decided upon by this conference. It supports one of the best—perhaps the best—reform paper in the country. It has been engaged in a more active contest with the spoils system than any other association, unless that of Indiana be excepted. Its knowledge of the evils of patronage, and the difficulty in the way of its reform, is complete, owing to the ring rule which has dominated the State for years. Furthermore, the nearness of Baltimore to the Capitol enables it to send at its need active business and professional men to represent it before the national executive. This advantage other associations cannot enjoy, for men engaged in active life cannot give up even the time it takes to travel to Washington from a distance; and yet this is the class whose advocacy of a cause always gives it most weight. The call is a timely one, and the right association has undertaken the call."

The same feeling is shown in the great majority of the letters accepting the invitation to be present. But some of the gentlemen addressed, while announcing their wish and purpose to attend the meeting, have yet questioned whether the time chosen for its occurrence is the best possible. These gentlemen seem to think that, in advance of any development of General Harrison's policy, the conference, having nothing to criticize, will be compelled to dictate. This course, they imagine, would offer the new President, who may reasonably be expected to wish to show his party orthodoxy, a temptation to prove that he is independent of "mugwump" critics.

But the fact is that there is no intention to make the gathering a partisan assemblage; and it is certain to embrace many persons who voted for Harrison, and probably some who proved their "loyalty" by effective support of his candidacy. Moreover, the object of the meeting will be solely to aid the new President in resisting the attack which has been already begun with a view to compel him to abandon the position he adopted when he said that "only the interests of the public service should suggest removals from office." This aid, we think, can be effectively rendered by calling public attention in advance to what is the duty of every President in the distribution of his non-political patronage, and by giving a concerted expression to the public opinion already formed on that subject. We should not wait until President Harrison, wearied in a single-handed contest with a howling hungry mob, has thrown to them a part of the spoils, in the vain hope of then preserving the remainder; but, recollecting how President Cleveland was thus overwhelmed, we should, at the very opening of the struggle, come forward together and offer the new Executive every assistance. If we do this before the yielding has begun, our aid will be far more helpful than if we delay until the President has been forced to a descent which will become every day more rapid.

We cannot but think, too, that a man who has seen as much of the spoils system as General Harrison has, and whose "grandfather was hunted to death by office-seekers," will welcome assistance from any quarter in relieving him from a strain which Lincoln found harder to bear than that imposed by the Civil War.

THE Honorable Frank Brown, whose peculiar performances in the discharge of his duties as postmaster we have sometimes commented upon, has, if the newspapers are telling the truth, violated a section of the Revised Statutes of the United States, and thereby laid himself open to the infliction of the penalty therein provided, of summary dismissal from his office. The section referred to is as follows:

"No officer, clerk or employe in the United States Government employ shall at any time solicit contributions from other officers, clerks or employes in the Government service, for a gift or present to those in a superior official position; nor shall any such officials or clerical superiors receive any gift or present offered or presented to them as a contribution from persons in Government employ receiving a less salary than themselves; nor shall any officer or clerk make any donation as a gift or present to any official superior. *Every person who violates this section shall be summarily discharged from the Government employ.*"—Sec. 1784, Rev. Stat. U. S.

The occasion of Mr. Brown's violation of the law appears to have been "the deep regret" with which his subordinates learned of his purpose to place his "commission at the disposal of the President-elect on and after March 4 next," and their loyal determination to persuade him, by the gift of a "large swinging screen six feet high, the frame of mahogany, one side being a French plate mirror, and on the other a handsomely engraved series of resolutions," to recede from this fatal step.

The resolutions, more fervent than grammatical, are as follows:

"*Resolved*, That by the resignation of so valuable an official the public will lose an efficient, faithful and conscientious officer, one eminently qualified to fill the exacting position with credit to himself, the city, State, and country at large. That the best interests of the service imperatively demand self-sacrifice on the part of those most competent and efficient in building up and maintaining the highest grade of efficiency to which this office has attained under your administration, and by your retiring from this position the community will suffer irreparable loss and injury. That we, your subordinates and employes of this office, are deeply interested in the matter of your remaining in control, from the fact that for several years our best efforts have been put forth to assist you in the promotion of the efficiency of the service. That we are dependent upon a continuance in our present positions for the support of ourselves and families, and the loss of you, our superior officer, would immediately result in our being thrown out of employment on such short notice that it would seriously affect our welfare. That we appeal to you as a prominent representative of the dominant party in this city and State, as a liberal exponent of its doctrines, as an influential and patriotic citizen, having the best interests of your city, State, friends and country at heart, not to withhold your influence in our behalf at this time. That we tender to you our most sincere thanks for your uniform kindness to us in the past, and for the interest you have always shown for the welfare of your employes, and we hereby extend to you our hearty support in all your undertakings. That we pledge you our earnest co-operation at all times, under all circumstances, and in every way by which our humble efforts may advance the interests of yourself and the service. Hoping you will give this communication your most sincere consideration, we have the honor to remain most respectfully and obediently."

We understand the mirror to have been intended to enable Mr. Brown, when reflections upon the ingratitude of parties and politicians crowd with depressing weight upon his mind, to turn to a contemplation of the pleasing spectacle of "a prominent representative of the dominant party in this State,

a liberal exponent of its doctrines, an influential and patriotic citizen," sacrificing himself upon the altar of public duty.

We are at a loss, however, to know why the resolutions themselves should have been placed in such a position that in order to read them Mr. Brown must go behind the looking-glass. It would have been more in keeping with the rest of the affair to have made an arrangement by which he could have gone through the looking-glass, like Alice in the story.

For the sake of the poor men who now tremble in the fear of removal from places upon which their families are dependent for support, and who believe his removal will hasten theirs, we trust that the word *liberal* in the resolutions indicates more than a superficial resemblance between their proceedings and one of Alice's adventures. It will be remembered that upon one occasion the animals wished to present Alice with a tribute of affection and esteem, but they had no suitable testimonial at hand. "Feel in your pocket," said the Dodo to Alice, "maybe you can find something there." Alice did so and pulled out her thimble, which she handed him. Thereupon the Dodo, with all solemnity, presented it to her, saying as he did so, "We beg your acceptance of this elegant thimble." If the two cases are parallel, we are inclined to think the penalty of the statute may be avoided. It would be most unfortunate if the affair should enable President Harrison to give a legal justification for a removal which would probably be the beginning of a clean sweep in the postoffice.

THE Buffalo Civil Service Reform Association is to be congratulated upon a victory which it has recently won in the courts. In violation of the civil service rules, the Street Commissioner of Buffalo appointed, and the Council confirmed, several persons inspectors of health, before they had passed the required examinations. Thereupon Mr. Sherman S. Rogers, the president of the Association, instituted judicial proceedings to prevent the officers of the city paying any salary to these inspectors. A singular defense was made. It appears that the Constitution of New York prescribes an oath to be taken by all officers, and "that no other oath, declaration, or test shall be required as a qualification for any office of public trust." Relying upon this provision, the defendants claimed that the civil service laws of the State prescribed another test than that of the oath, and were therefore unconstitutional. But the judge held that this reasoning was bad, being in truth a striking example of that fallacy known to the logicians as the undistributed middle. If carried out to its logical conclusion, such reasoning would nullify the legal provision requiring the State Engineer to be a practical man, and would lead to gross absurdities. For this and other technical reasons also, into which we need not enter, a judgment was rendered in favor of the president of the Association.

WHAT NEXT? AND WHO NEXT?

THERE would be something very curious, if it were new, in the hallucination under which some of the machine Democrats are laboring among us, as to the way in which the recent fearful damage to the party in Maryland is to be repaired. To everybody else, it is as palpable as the noonday sunlight, that the party was brought to grief by the great and general disgust of decent people, everywhere throughout the

State, at the corruption, venality, and shameless misgovernment with which the machine and its masters and workers have burdened and disgraced us. To get rid of the machine, therefore, and all who run it or are striving to run it, no matter to what Ring, or club, or faction they may belong, is the one leading thought and steadfast purpose of all who have at heart the purification of the party, the reform of its practices and methods in Maryland, and the re-establishment of honest government in State and city. To them, any one boss, or clique, or combination of bosses, is as hateful and pestilent a nuisance as any other, and to get rid of one by setting up another in its place, would be to show themselves less wise than even the fox in the familiar fable, when he refused to drive away the flies that were devouring him lest he should deliver himself to a fresh and hungrier swarm. Doubtless, if the flies had been consulted, the swarm in possession would have insisted upon holding on as long as the victim's blood lasted, while the newcomers would have protested that they "hadn't had anything" for ever so long, and were entitled to take their turn. This is precisely the attitude of our rival machine-mongers at this moment. The Calumet Club, representing the flies in possession—and none the less greedy for having been gorged—has just met and solemnly declared its abiding "confidence in the management of the party affairs by those entrusted therewith, nationally and locally"! Its Board of Governors, beginning with Mr. I. Freeman Rasin and ending with Mr. John F. Weyler, being themselves the statesmen "entrusted" with the local management of the "party" in Baltimore, have naturally the most implicit confidence in themselves, and would doubtless adopt a resolution to that effect every day in the week, notwithstanding the unfortunate fact that the party has been led, by their management, to the very verge of the ruin that threatens it. The Crescent Club, on the contrary, which has been long fasting and is very hungry and much athirst, entertains a totally different opinion. It has no confidence whatever in the existing local management or in Mr. Rasin and the rest of them who have been "entrusted" with it. The remedy for the evils which beset the party at present and put its future in danger, the Crescent leaders insist, will be found in their taking charge of the machine and the offices themselves, and turning Mr. Rasin and his gang adrift. But if they cannot get things altogether in their own hands, they think the salvation of the party depends on their being at least "recognized." The pie will be as good a pie as is necessary, provided they can get their fingers in it. What Mr. Morrison and his Ring are yearning for, above all things, is what they call "a united party"—that is to say, a fair and equal "divide." They want Mr. Gorman and Mr. Rasin to "unite" with them—share and share alike—in a pool. They have accordingly had Mr. Morrison's defeated and melancholy Congressman, Mr. Isidor Rayner, to make them a speech about it. He told them that "to insure success, fair and equal justice must be done to every living Democrat." This noble sentiment, according to the reporter, was greeted with "loud applause." It was very good in Mr. Rayner not to include the dead Democrats also, who for so many years contributed so much, by their votes, to the "success" of the party in this city. We presume, too, that when he insisted on "justice" so vigorously, he meant, in a delicate way, to express his disapproval of the executive clemency which Mr. Gorman's Governor had interposed, between certain convicted living statesmen and their just and well deserved punishment. But whether this be so or not, what Mr. Rayner really meant is only too plain.

He meant that the success of the party can only be secured by giving every Democrat an equal chance at the grab-bag. The immediate moral of this discreditable proposition, of course, was, that the party could only succeed in the next election by letting Mr. Morrison and his people resume their seats at the "table." At the bottom of it all was the humiliating assumption, that no man cares for his party, except for the plunder he can get from it, and that its success therefore depends upon the impartial feeding of every open mouth. What neither Mr. Rayner nor his associates appear capable of realizing, even at this moment of crisis and peril, is the simple and upright fact, that what the mass of the people, of all parties, want, is good government, and that the selfish schemes and paltry jealousies and rivalries of ravenous rings and ringsters affect them only with profound resentment and repulsion.

Let us look at the matter a little further. Coming to the grievance of Mr. Rayner's defeat, Mr. Morrison said, as reported: "It was not the corrupting influences of Republican money that defeated Mr. Rayner. It was treachery inside our own party. (Loud applause.) It was the fault of the men who held out to Mr. Rayner the olive branch in one hand, while in the other hand they held the knife with which they stabbed him in the back. (Applause.) The Crescent Club is looking for the time to come when they will settle up. (Applause.)" The lesson of this, of course, was meant to be, that the disasters of the late campaign—Mr. Rayner's particularly—were not the result of any diminution of the Democratic popular vote, but merely of "treachery," and that the party will be put on its legs again, as soon as the Rasin and Gorman faction will stop being treacherous and cease to attack Mr. Morrison's friends in the rear. This is so audacious and absurd, that only a cool hand like the president of the Crescent Club would have ventured to suggest it. The losses of the Democratic party followed it all over the State, where Mr. Morrison had no friends in the field to stab. They cut down the pluralities everywhere, and reduced that of Mr. Cleveland himself signally and painfully. To ascribe such a result, in a presidential campaign, to the petty jealousies of rival cliques, all equally interested in the success of their presidential candidate and the spoils in prospect, is childish. Even as to Mr. Rayner himself, a writer in the Sunday Herald has shown, to demonstration, that there is not a word of truth in the charge that he lost his election because of being cut by the Rasin faction. The figures show that he received over eight hundred majority more than Mr. Cleveland in his district, and as he notoriously has no personal following whatever, that result demonstrates either that large amounts of money must have been spent on his behalf, or that his friends traded Mr. Cleveland away to secure votes for him. It is certain, in fact, that he was helped in both ways. But who cares whether Mr. Rayner was stabbed in the back or the front? What interest have the people of Maryland in the olive branches that were held out to him, or the knife that Mr. Rasin is said to have stuck into him? If the whole concern, on both sides, were to make a Kilkenny cat business of it, some bright morning, and devour each other, politically, until the last survivor died of surfeit, who is there among good citizens, that would refuse to be comforted? Have the politics of a whole State and a great party been brought to such a pass, that their destinies are to depend upon the Crescent Club's getting an opportunity to "settle up" with a gang of rival janizaries, with whom its only quarrel is that they have had rather more of the

loot than their share? Surely, the Democrats of Maryland have not such bad memories as to forget the time—a very little while ago, indeed—when Mr. Gorman and Mr. Morrison, Mr. Rasin and Mr. Slater—all the lions and the lambs—lay down together, and Mr. Colton—a little child in his innocence—led them. They were so “united” in multiplication and division that they had nothing to “settle” but their balances, and olive branches were not known among them, for there was not any war. And yet—somehow or other—the party vote in the State went on decreasing, all the while, and it was only by fraud and perjury, by ballot-stuffing and false registration and counting, that its majorities managed to live—or seem to live—in an atmosphere of public disgust. Those were the days when the legislative bribery and crime, the corrupt lobbies, the blackmailing orgies at Annapolis which the *Sun* so graphically described and so fiercely denounced a few weeks ago, were at the very height of their debauch. Everything that was hideous in misgovernment and corruption was then at its worst. It was only when the plunderers began to quarrel, that honest men began to get their own. Every one remembers that the people were indebted, alone, for the defeat of some of the most infamous measures which Mr. Gorman and his co-conspirators had resolved to pass through the Legislature, to the jealousies and discords which sprang up among the “leaders.” Providentially, they began to cut each other’s throats instead of slaughtering the public, and the healthy fact was developed and established that the only real and honest use to which they can be put is that of mutual destruction. Are we to be told that the party which they have brought to the edge of the abyss, by their self-seeking and their greed, is to be restored to its integrity and rescued from its peril by handing itself over again to their “united” mercies to be fleeced and degraded? There is something which seems to us really besotted, in the effrontery and self-deception of their belief that “the party” consists of a crew of traders and political “bunco-steerers,” and that if they can only agree once more among themselves as to what they shall keep or take, the danger signals may all be taken down.

“Oh but,” says Mr. Rayner, “we must cling solidly to the principles of Democracy.” If by the principles he means the offices, we think that there will be no lack of solidity, in the clinging of Mr. Morrison and his friends, if haply they should get anything to cling to. But it overtaxes endurance, to hear them spouting about their “principles.” Is not Mr. Rayner, himself, as confessed a protectionist, in “principle,” as any Republican of them all—differing from Mr. Randall and Mr. Allison only as to the cases in which protection is to be applied; ready on the one hand to die for “labor,” in the matter of glass bottles and coal, and, on the other hand, prepared to immolate himself and “labor” besides, rather than consent to a duty on tin plates? After having proclaimed himself last year, in caucus, to be so stalwart a Democrat, that he would even vote, against his convictions, for the glass-bottle clause in the Mills bill, if the caucus should determine to adhere to it, here he now is, cowed by defeat, and whimpering that “it is admitted in Washington that the Democratic party has not got the right kind of leadership (applause), and that was the cause of the party’s defeat in the last election.” Who admits any such thing, except the would-be leaders who wanted “the party” to sneak into the canvass under false colors, pretending to be what it is not, and afraid of losing votes by confessing itself to be what it is. These are

the gentlemen who now go about Washington—Mr. Cleveland having nothing more to give them—protesting that his message, being honest and candid and manly, was “a mistake,” and that they knew, all the while, what would come of his putting the party upon its time-honored record, instead of Mr. Gorman’s notorious and discreditable “straddle” of 1884—made, as Senator Vest expressed it with curious felicity, “like the old hunter’s gun, to hit it if a deer, and miss it if a calf.” Unhappily there was too much of that fatal leadership in the late Democratic campaign, when protected protectionists went through the hypocritical farce of managing a canvass in the interest of tariff reform.

No, no! If the recent Democratic defeat teaches any lesson at all, it adds but another and a fatal illustration of the impossibility of reaching any honest expression of the popular will, so long as rings and bosses control and guide the party machinery. With a President defeated and a majority party driven from power, its economical policy frustrated, and its present capacity for good impaired if not destroyed—and all because of a quarrel between New York machine-men over the local plunder—it is rather early, and somewhat audacious and insolent, one may be permitted to think, for the suggestion to be ventured that the hope of the party is still in a new shuffle of bosses and rings. What is the use of going through the forms of a National Convention, if the fate of its nominees is to depend upon gangs of self-seeking and unprincipled spoilsmen in the larger cities, and upon their being satisfied with their allotment of booty? It was John Kelly who defeated Hancock; it was Tammany that elected Harrison. All the money that was spent by the Dudleys and the Wanamakers would have failed to defeat Mr. Cleveland, demonstrably, if the New York politicians had not lent a helping hand. Indeed, nobody outside knows, to-day, how much the money of the Republican financiers may have had to do with the treachery of the New York politicians. Any result may be predicated of a system of political organization, under which a national party has to depend absolutely upon the good faith of local conspirators who have no faith to be depended on. Baltimore is no pivotal city, nor is Maryland a controlling State, under ordinary circumstances. But it may happen at any presidential election that the fate of both parties may turn upon the result in Maryland, and that the vote of the State may depend upon the vote of the city. Are the Rasins and Gormans and Morrisons and Morris Thomases any more to be trusted than the Kellys, the Grants and the Hills in New York. Will the smaller commodities be any more difficult to buy than the large ones? Why, here are Mr. Rayner and Mr. Morrison themselves protesting, to-day, that the untoward results in this city at the late election were specifically brought about by Democratic treachery, *i. e.* by the voting of one set of ringsters against the nominated candidates, because these were affiliated with another set. Are the people fools enough, is it supposed, not to see—and especially after the announced intention of Mr. Morrison to “settle” with Mr. Rayner’s assassins—that the whole interests of the party and the community are regarded and to be dealt with as a mere shuttlecock in the play of these professional political gamblers? Is it believed, by any sane man, that the Democratic party of Maryland is going to let the preservation, or rather the restoration, of its power, depend upon the single question whether Mr. Morrison, and those behind him, are more to be trusted than Mr. Sonny Mahon or Mr. John F. Weyler? It is an insult to the popular intelligence and integrity gravely to discuss such a question. Once for

all, it had better be understood that the only hope of the party is in absolutely reducing all its bosses to the ranks, and trusting them as little as possible even there. Unless the wretched system of fraudulent primaries and packed conventions is to be put under the feet of the party, and men of high character—not figure-heads—nominated who are incapable of being purchased or “influenced” by money or office or promises or of being cajoled through their vanity, it is as true as anything can be said to be in the future, that the losses of the party will be increased instead of being repaired, and that we shall have a Republican Mayor, if not a Republican Legislature. Already, as we hear, the little candle of Mr. Latrobe is regarded as in its last flicker, and Mr. Morris Thomas’ hope of having Capt. Cassell put out from the Park, to make a place for him, has turned into despair. The delightful little arrangement by which Gov. Jackson was to go into the Senate (for which he is as fit as he would be to serve as consulting theologian to an Archbishop), with the succession in the Governorship to the young Demosthenes of the Comptroller’s office, has been rudely upset. The *Sun* amused itself and its readers, a little while ago (in its reporter’s and not its editorial column, however), with the joke of suggesting Mr. Hodges for the Governorship. Since, however, that distinguished gentleman occupied himself, at the meeting of the electors, with a speech, announcing the important fact that he was not reconciled to the result of the presidential election, and was so dazed with his own eloquence that he forgot to follow the plain and simple forms prescribed, in words, by the Revised Statutes, for making the return of the vote of Maryland, and was very near having our unfortunate State excluded from the count—we presume that even he would hardly be willing to encounter a repetition of the scene which occurred, in the last gubernatorial convention, when he was named as a candidate. However, what he or any of them may want or think, the handwriting is already on the wall for the whole of them, and the Democratic party in Maryland has before it only the choice of lifting itself up and living without them and above them, or settling down and dying with them at their level.

THE AMERICAN COMMONWEALTH.*

PROFESSOR BRYCE tells his readers that his aim in writing this book has been to describe intelligibly the American commonwealth, its framework, and constitutional machinery, the methods by which it is worked, and the forces which move and direct its course. This is an ambitious design, yet it may be fairly said to have been satisfactorily accomplished.

Beginning with the Government, and naturally treating first the national Government, which is that branch of the twofold structure most readily apprehended by Europeans, Mr. Bryce makes clear the distinction between our Federal Union and other aggregations of States like the old Germanic Confederation. He next passes to the origin of the Constitution, acknowledging here his indebtedness to the patriarch of our historical literature, Mr. Bancroft. Having then described briefly the outlines of our political system, he next dissects its various parts.

The Executive Department is treated in a masterly manner. With a disposition frequently manifested throughout the book, to dwell upon the development of old institutions into new forms, Mr. Bryce gives considerable space to the phenomenon of the change that has come over the presidential elections. These, as is well known, were intended to be committed to the wisdom of the electors who might be

chosen in the various States; but parties grew up in the early years of the Union, and by the time the third election took place, there were practically but two candidates in the field, Adams and Jefferson, for one or other of whom electors were expected to vote. At the approach of the fourth election, each party put up candidates for the office of President and Vice-President, and all idea of freedom of choice for the electors had vanished. Perhaps it would have been well had Mr. Bryce noted the influence of the Twelfth Amendment, which, by requiring the electors to vote for both a President and Vice-President by those names, made the transition easier. The election has thus become merely popular; but in another aspect it is virtually an election by States, and may be carried by candidates who have obtained less than a majority of the popular vote, as in the notable cases of Lincoln and Hayes. With an ironical fatality, the plan of the sages who framed the Constitution was but once produced the great and good President standing above party.

The powers of the President thus elected are, in ordinary times, not large. To a Briton, accustomed to see the Prime Minister swaying a House of Commons and directing all legislation, the President, isolated from Congress, seems all but helpless. It is only as a “killer of bills” that the Executive can properly take part in any legislation. But much more important, from a practical point of view, is the President’s power to use the patronage of the three thousand or more places in his gift. This is, however, shared in part with the Senate, which, through the growth of the extra-constitutional custom known as the “courtesy of the Senate,” has been able to obtain a great mass of patronage wherewith to build up the fortunes of individual Senators. This subject, and the question of the President’s right of removal, of course lead direct to a consideration of the spoils system. Though he reserves this last topic for discussion in another chapter, Mr. Bryce points out at this place the danger of the abuse of this enormous power, which has been so often exemplified in the last fifty years. After noting the harm an intriguing President may do, he particularly insists on the fact that almost the whole time of an Executive of the best intentions is fruitlessly absorbed in the business of nominating postmasters and collectors; so that Artemus Ward’s humorous description of Abraham Lincoln swept from room to room on a rising tide of office-seekers is almost literally fulfilled. No one has more to gain from a thorough reform of the civil service than the President himself. No one could be more benefited by a repeal of the four years’ term act, and by an absolute prohibition upon Congressmen soliciting appointments.

The immense distinction of the presidential office serves as a prodigious stimulus to every ambitious politician. It presents a strong temptation to a prominent statesman to avoid, on any account, making enemies; a thing which every statesman ought to be prepared on good occasion to do. The frequent recurrence of the presidential elections is also a defect, in that it produces at short intervals a turmoil injurious to many business enterprises. It often occurs when there is no serious party question demanding solution from the people, and when the existing Administration should be permitted to continue on its chosen way.

Even when the new President belongs to the same party as his predecessor, he generally thinks it necessary to nominate a new cabinet, and thus occasions a break in the continuity of the policy of the Government. The fact that the President is re-eligible once (and but once) is a temptation to ambition too familiar to need comment; and the often-urged but apparently unobtainable amendment extending the term to six years and making the President ineligible for immediate re-election, seems the proper corrective. But with all the faults of the present system, it has at least this merit, that it involves a solemn and frequent periodical appeal to the nation to consider its way, which refreshes the sense of national duty and intensifies national patriotism.

Why great men are seldom chosen to the Presidency is an interesting question to which a chapter is devoted. It is first pointed out that fewer able men go into politics in the United States than in other countries; second, that eminent

* *The American Commonwealth*. By James Bryce, author of “*The Holy Roman Empire*”; M. P. for Aberdeen. Macmillan & Co., 1889.

politicians make more enemies than obscure men; and thirdly, that availability is of greater importance than eminence in contests where the aim is far less to carry out a principle than to capture the offices.

Lack of space prevents our giving even a passing reference to the entertaining chapters on the Senate and its encroachment upon the power of the President; or to those in which the House is described; its poverty in debate, its system of legislation by committees, and the immense power of its Speaker, an officer who has attained an importance quite beyond the intentions of the framers of the Constitution.

Mr. Bryce's British readers cannot fail to find much matter for reflection, at this period of Irish agitation, in his description of our State politics; nor will Americans lack entertainment and instruction, though of a different kind, in the same pages. The fear of the founders that State interests would absorb the best minds, to the injury of the National Government, has not been realized; on the contrary, the National parties have engulfed the State parties. The result has not been advantageous. Although almost every question brought before a State Legislature is disconnected with the tenets of either of the great parties, almost every State election is fought on party lines, and the State governments, being relegated to the position of stepping-stones to Federal preferment, attract far less attention from the average man than their importance to his welfare should insure them.

Passing from the government of the States to that of the cities, Mr. Bryce says there is no denying that the city governments present the one conspicuous failure in our constitutions. The extravagance, corruption, and mismanagement which mark the administration of the great American cities make the faults of the State governments appear insignificant. Among the most important causes of these defects are incompetence in officials and the introduction of party politics into city elections. Both these causes may be traced to that *causa causans*, the Spoils System, which treats every post obtainable under heaven as a reward of partisan activity. This system is most potent and pernicious in cities, because there is most numerous an ignorant multitude, paying no taxes, and therefore feeling no immediate interest in good administration, while the most active-minded part of the city population is too much absorbed in business to struggle with wirepullers and demagogues. When he discusses remedies for this lamentable state of affairs, Mr. Bryce has no new suggestions to offer, but it is encouraging to have the opinion of so careful an observer that things are better than they were twenty years ago. The newer forms of government are an improvement upon the older. Rogues are less audacious, good citizens are more active. Party spirit is less and less permitted to dominate and pervert municipal politics. Time and education must be depended upon to produce the improvements all good citizens desire.

No part of this remarkable book will excite more interest among thoughtful observers of American politics, or deserve more admiration for the thorough knowledge displayed, than the chapters devoted to a consideration of the growth of Rings and Bosses, and the Spoils System. We wish that this much of the book at least could fall into the hands of every reader in the country. The city boss is sketched in a passage which, if we could, we should quote. The State boss, governing a large territory, must always be an able man. His power is dependent upon his influence with the President and Congress, and he is usually a Senator. He uses his congressional position to increase his State power, and his State influence to strengthen his hold in Federal politics. The source of his power is his ability to bribe with spoils; and consequently his interest in political questions is secondary. With him there is no profounder truth than that expressed in Mr. Bryce's happy quotation, embodying the whole doctrine of the boss theory, "There are no politics in politics." His party spirit does not readily heat up, and he regards the boss of the other side as the counsel for the plaintiff regards the counsel for the defendant. - The morality of the boss is peculiar. He does not dislike malversation in office or stuffing the ballot-box, but he has an utter contempt for apathy, cowardice, or party treason.

The type of wickedness in his eyes is the Kicker, whom he punishes with a rod of iron, refusing him the right to vote at the primary, driving him from office and closing the path of his promotion. To his dependents the boss is often kind and watchful of their interests. "They render a personal feudal service, which their suzerain repays with a gift of a livelihood; and the relation is all the more cordial because the lord bestows what costs him nothing, while the vassal feels that he can keep his post only by the favor of the lord."

The Boss needs a great deal of money to carry elections, which is raised from several sources. There is first the public subscription of persons desiring the success of the party. Next there come the private subscriptions from rich gentlemen like Wanamaker, who, though not directly in the Ring, hope for something it can give; or from corporations in need of legislation which the Ring will promise. Another method, which we confess is new to us, and which our Maryland Ring may find it useful to adopt, is to make an appropriation from the City or State treasury to the campaign fund. Mr. Bryce does not inform us where this effective plan of raising funds has been made use of. We are much more familiar with the ordinary levy of assessments upon the salaries of public officials, which produces immense sums of money. Mr. Bryce reckons that an assessment of two per cent (quite a moderate demand) upon the municipal and federal employes in New York City would roll into the coffers of the Ring not less than two hundred and seventy-five thousand dollars. Equally effective, doubtless, is the expedient which has come down from the customs of the Roman Empire and the most corrupt European monarchies, of putting nominations to office up for sale. A nomination for a seat in a State Legislature where a Ring is in full power costs from five hundred to a thousand dollars, and a judgeship five thousand dollars. In New York the figures are apparently higher, and a seat on the bench there costs as much as fifteen thousand dollars. As to the local extension of the Boss system, Mr. Bryce finds it all over the Union, but less developed in the South, and strongest in the cities, particularly in New York, Philadelphia, Chicago, Brooklyn, St. Louis, Cincinnati, San Francisco, Baltimore, and New Orleans. In these places it overshadows the whole field of politics.

While thus fully realizing the immense and corrupting power of the spoils system, Mr. Bryce does not consider the corruption prevalent in our politics so rank as many Europeans believe it, or as Americans will often describe it. He refuses to apply an ideal standard, which is sometimes applied because our government is republican in form, and, to use his own words, "if we leave ideals out of sight and try America by an actual standard, we shall find that while her legislative bodies fall below the level of purity maintained in England and Germany, probably also in France and Italy, her federal and State administration, in spite of the evils flowing from an uncertain tenure, is not, in point of integrity, at this moment sensibly inferior to the administrations of European countries." Of course these words are not intended to apply to our municipal administration, on which he has already passed a sweeping condemnation. This conclusion is not reached until the author has considered pretty fully, and with evident knowledge, the bribery of contractors with contracts, of newspapers with public advertising; lobbying in all its forms; and the jobbing of the hundred and twenty thousand federal offices. The question of bribery of individual voters with money is passed over rather more lightly than the testimony recently adduced to its prevalence would seem to warrant; but the evidence has never before been so easily accessible as it now is, and perhaps the evil itself has suddenly become more widespread than heretofore.

Among the many instances of minute knowledge of American life presented by the book, none is more striking than the acquaintance of the author with the details of the fight good citizens have carried on with the powers of bossdom. He understands the whole theory and practice of "reform within the party," and of the "running of an independent ticket." He gives as a signal illustration of what

can be done under adverse circumstances by Reformers who are willing to make an alliance with the opposite party to the one in which they normally belong, the election of the Judges in Baltimore in 1882, and the defeat of the Republican Gas Ring in Philadelphia. He is not without hopes of good results from the system of "legalizing" the primaries, which has proved a complete fiasco in this city. On the whole, however, he is not inclined to look for any great and permanent result from the efforts of municipal reformers until the ignorance of the masses in the great cities has been lifted by education, and until the apathy and short-sightedness of the better classes is replaced by a spirit which will enable them to rise above the trammels of party, and devote a larger share of their attention to the important problems which demand solution.

While thus estimating truly the strength of the evil influences in American politics, Mr. Bryce acquits the people as a whole of corruption, heedlessness, or despair of improving their political condition. In no country, he thinks, is public opinion stronger or more active than in the United States; in none has it the field so completely to itself, and in none is public opinion more wholesome and upright. He thus comes upon the apparent paradox, that in a country where politics are all-pervading and public opinion all-powerful, practical politics are upon a lower level than public opinion. His explanation of this state of affairs is highly ingenious. As to the prevalent corruption, it is not affected by public opinion, because it is not seen by the mass of the people. Venality occurs chiefly in the secret work of legislative committees, out of sight of all but a few interested persons. And of what might be seen, little is believed, because the habit of hearing charges against public men bandied about in the newspapers, but seldom probed to the bottom, makes people careless on this subject. But every now and then, when some malversation is really proved, the public does become roused and inflicts severe penalties. Nor is it much commoner to get real knowledge of election frauds; they are hard to prove and therefore hard to punish or suppress, and they occur in but a small proportion of the immense number of elections occurring throughout the whole country.

The average man tolerates the spoils system because as yet he has not learned to get over his alarm at the bugbear of an officeholding aristocracy, nor to see the effectiveness of competitive examinations as a preventive of favoritism. And the existence of bosses and rings is permitted with a greater or less disgust, proportioned to the activity of good citizens for their overthrow. "The boss is a sort of joke, albeit an expensive joke. 'After all,' people say, 'it is our own fault. If we all went to the primaries, or if we all voted an independent ticket, we could make an end of the boss.' There is an odd sort of fatalism in their view of democracy. If a thing exists in a free country, it has a right to exist, because it exists by the leave of the people, who may be deemed to acquiesce in what they do not extinguish." Besides, there is a leniency in the public view of the misdeeds of the politicians, whose conduct is much worse than the usages of American society permit in other walks of life. But let an abuse once become hateful to the people, and they make short work of it.

So powerful has public opinion now become, under the influence of a rapid diffusion of news and the practice of self-government, that it towers over Presidents and Governors, over Congress and the State legislatures, over party conventions and the vast machinery of party. This opinion is the opinion of the whole people, with little distinction of classes. "Divisions of opinion are vertical, not horizontal." From this it results that public opinion is more easily ascertained than in Europe, while its force as a governing power is increased. And the people have a clearer and stronger consciousness of ruling their country than European peoples have. Every man admits, though he may neglect, his duty to devote a part of his time to the conduct of the Government. The American feels that "the Government is his own, and that he is individually responsible" for it.

The feeling that the people are the source of all power,

and that public opinion is so tremendous a force, makes Congress, with its lack of leaders, slow and timid in the enactment of legislation, even when the members think that public opinion demands action. It will not do to run beyond what opinion desires. But there is a gain in this slowness of movement, for imprudence and injustice are often thereby avoided. The danger is that the fear of running counter to opinion may lessen the activity of political leaders and take away their power of initiative. To the people, too, this power is hurtful, in that it fills them with an undue confidence in their virtue, wisdom, and freedom. "Such a nation, seeing nothing but its own triumphs, and hearing nothing but its own praises, seems to need a succession of men like the prophets of Israel, to rouse the people out of their self-complacency, to refresh their moral ideas, to remind them that the life is more than meat and the body than raiment, and that to whom much is given of them shall much be required. If America has no prophets of this order, she fortunately possesses two classes of men who maintain a wholesome irritation, such as that which Socrates thought it his function to apply to the Athenian people. These are the instructed critics who exert a growing influence on opinion through the higher newspapers, and by literature generally, and the philanthropic reformers, who tell more directly upon the multitude, particularly through the churches. Both classes combined may not as yet be doing all that is needed. But the significant point is, that their influence represents not an ebbing but a flowing tide. If the evils they combat exist on a larger scale than in past times, they too are more active and more courageous in rousing and reprehending their fellow-countrymen."

REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON LEGISLATION OF THE REFORM LEAGUE.

To the President of the Reform League of Baltimore City:

The Committee on Legislation of the Reform League respectfully report that they expect, before the next meeting of the General Assembly, to put into shape a new draft of the law for the registration of voters and the conduct of elections. The bill will be in its theory and in most of its details the same that the Reform League had the honor to submit to the General Assembly of 1886, and again to that of 1888. The following brief summary indicates some of the changes that are contemplated:

1. As all the laws relating to registration and election have been codified in the code of 1888, special mention will be made, by articles and sections, of those parts of the present law which it is proposed to repeal, so that it may not be left to construction as to whether a given section of the present law is in force or not.

2. Certain of the amendments proposed to the Reform League bill by Mr. James Alfred Pearce, of the committee appointed by the Democratic party to prepare a new law, will be adopted, as tending to greater simplicity and cheapness in the working of the law. As an illustration may be mentioned Mr. Pearce's suggestion of dispensing with the clerks during the registration, so that the whole work of registration may be done by the election judges acting as registrars.

3. The committee will carefully consider suggestions that have been made as to adding a section prohibiting ticket-holders within a certain distance of the polls, and providing that the tickets of each party shall be kept in the polling-room. It is not clear, however, whether such a scheme can be successfully worked as an adjunct to the present Reform League bill. After the law known as the Australian law, providing for the printing of all tickets by the State, has been successfully worked in other States which have adopted it already, or are about to adopt it, we may be able to profit by their experience. But at present it is doubtful whether it will be well to propose such a plan for this State. The chief recommendation of the plan proposed in the Reform League bill is that it has been actually tried, and with the highest success, in New York, Illinois, and elsewhere.

4. In view of the great public interest that is felt in methods to prevent the bribery of voters, the committee will earnestly urge the adoption of that portion of the Reform League bill which provides that voting shall always take place in a room to which only one voter at a time, besides the officials, shall be admitted. In the judgment of the committee, this of itself is one of the most efficient remedies against bribery.

The committee need not remind the League that the Legislature of 1888, in its amendments to the registration and election laws, used only very small parts of the drafts recommended by the League and by Mr. Pearce. It is thought that experience under the law as amended has shown that where they refused to adopt or materially modified these suggestions, based as they were on the experience of New York for many years, it has been a disadvantage. The law as adopted in 1888 is much more expensive than the plan which was refused, and much more complicated and difficult of comprehension. The provisions of the Reform League draft for counting and canvassing would have saved many questions that have arisen out of the election last fall. The committee has asked John C. Rose, Esq., the Counsel of the League, for a report as to his observations on the working of the law of 1888, and beg to submit herewith his report as part of theirs.

J. PACKARD, JR.,

E. J. D. CROSS,

Of Committee on Elections.

EXTRACTS FROM MR. ROSE'S REPORT ON THE WORKING OF THE PRESENT ELECTION LAW.

(1) The registration law, as it passed the Legislature, did not contain any provisions for a new registration in the counties, either now or in the future. New registration every few years (say, as provided by the Reform League law, every four years) is necessary if the lists in the counties are to be kept in any proper condition. In every county of the State there are on the registration lists the names of men who years ago removed to Baltimore or to Washington, but who contrive to keep from being stricken off. A new registration would get rid of these. As all the registration officers in the counties are Democrats, that party gains more than it loses by the present state of the law; but a number of the Democratic newspapers in the counties claim that a great many negroes who should be stricken off remain on the books.

(2) The Legislature refused to provide for minority representation among the registration officers in the counties. The minority is in common fairness entitled to such representation, and it is necessary if the registration lists are to be properly kept. The registration officers in the counties are selected from members of the dominant party. A very fair proportion of these men are honest enough, but are all extreme partisans, and are appointed just because they are extreme partisans. It is inevitable that such men should decide all questions upon which a doubt is possible in favor of their own party. Besides, there are always among them some unscrupulous men ready to go as far as their fear of the law will allow them.

(5) The Reform League law required the advertisement of the residences of the judges and clerks of election. This provision was omitted from the act as passed. Few persons who have not had practical experience in such matters can appreciate how much the publication of the residences will do towards informing the public generally as to who are appointed judges and clerks.

(6) The Reform League law made the registrars judges of election. The act as passed disqualified registrars from acting as judges. It thus doubles the work of the supervisors of election—a work already large, and for the proper discharge of which great care and deliberation is necessary. It gets judges of election far less fitted for their work than they would be had they already served as registrars. Had they acted as registrars they would have become acquainted to a greater or less extent with all the voters in the precinct, and repeating would be more difficult than it now is. Besides, they would have acquired to a certain degree the self-con-

fidence and experience, the lack of which qualities not infrequently greatly impairs the efficiency of a judge of election.

(7) Under the Reform League law the original registration book is used as a poll-book. There is everything to be said for this plan, and nothing against it. It renders the making of mistakes in transcribing from the registration book impossible. At every election, assuming that all the registrars are honest, some voters will be disfranchised by errors made in transcribing. There were a number of such errors made at the last election. Where a registration officer is corrupt, the practice of transcribing gives him an opportunity to perpetrate with practical impunity the most serious frauds. This very year, in Anne Arundel County, one registrar left off the names of sixty-six duly registered voters from a single poll-book. The use of the registration books at the polls makes repeating more dangerous and difficult. It is an easy matter for a repeater to learn the name and address of a voter. It will be a much harder thing to thoroughly teach him the age, place of birth, length of residence in the city, ward and precinct. To use the original registration books at the polls will make a great saving of expense over the present method. The officers of registration were this year each paid for three days' service while engaged in copying the poll-books. This at four dollars per day apiece amounted to seven thousand one hundred and twenty-eight dollars. All this would have been saved had the Reform League plan been adopted.

(8) The Reform League law provided for annual registration. . . . The refusal to give annual registration . . . is altogether unjustified by any practical reasons of public policy. The expense of annual registration has often been made an argument against it; but the law as passed provides for just as many and as long sitting of the registrars for revision, as for new registration, so that no money will be saved in this way. *We have now to pay for the poorer system all that the better one would cost.* It has also been asserted that it is impossible to get a full registration in the first year of a new registration. The experience of Baltimore in 1888 shows that this is not so. The total vote polled in the old twenty wards of Baltimore City in 1888, the first year of a new registration, was 78,500, exceeding by over 13,000, or twenty per cent, the largest vote ever before polled; thus demonstrating that the old law, with its cumbersome requirements of transfers, etc., was as unfavorable to the full registration of the legal vote, as it was favorable to the maintenance on the lists of the names of thousands of dead and disqualified persons.

(9) Under the present law the registrars sit too many days, and those days are spread over too large a portion of the year. . . . Probably it would be better that the registrars should sit for four days, the first day being in the latter part of August, the second two weeks thereafter, the third two weeks after the second, and the fourth two weeks after the third. There would be no difficulty whatever in registering the vote in this time, if it presented itself for registration, and in the aggregate it is likely about as much would present itself as under the law enacted by the Legislature. Under that law the registrars have five sittings of two days each, the first sitting in May and the last in October. A grave objection to this system is its enormous cost. The registration officers in each precinct are paid four dollars a day each for ten days, making the total cost of registrars' salaries for the registration days, to say nothing of the pay they get for the days during which they are supposed to be copying the poll-books, twenty-three thousand seven hundred and sixty dollars, when under the plan just suggested the registration would cost nine thousand five hundred and four dollars. The total expenditure for registrars' salaries under the present law is thirty thousand eight hundred and eighty-eight dollars. By using the original registration books for poll-books, and by reducing the number of days during which the registrars sit from ten to four, the outlay for salaries would be brought down to nine thousand five hundred and four dollars, a saving of twenty-one thousand three hundred and eighty-four dollars per annum, or nearly seventy per cent. Room rent for registration offices would

cost less under the proposed plan, as instead of occupying the rooms ten days scattered over almost half the year, they would be used only four days, and all those days within six weeks. The greatest advantage to be anticipated from the plan above suggested would be the diminution in the opportunities for frauds, and in the lessening of the likelihood of the confusion which arises when the voter moves after he is registered. Under the system as it now is a man could move from one end of town to another about May 1, could then register in his new abode, because although he had at the time he presented himself for registration been in the legislative district only a few days, he would by election day have been in it six months. After registering he may move back again perhaps to his original home. There would be no chance for such a piece of sharp practice if the registration offices did not open until late summer or fall. The aim of a registration law should be to have the lists as nearly as possible precisely accurate on election day. It follows, therefore, that the lists should be made up as near election day as is compatible with the necessity of affording an opportunity to scrutinize them before election. This cardinal principle was lost sight of by the Legislature in enacting the present law. . . .

(11) The precision in stating residence—for example, the giving of the very floor occupied—required by the Reform League law, would tend to make wholesale registration from places like Flynn's more difficult.

(13) The existing law does not require, as the Reform League draft did, that the registrars should enter upon their books the date at which the applicant applied for registration. This is a provision of practical value, for in investigating registration frauds it is often of the first importance to be able to fix by record evidence the date of the registration.

(21) The requirement of the Reform League law, that when the polls are closed, and before the ballot-box is opened, the word "No" shall be written in the registry opposite the name of any person who did not vote, is a safeguard against such frauds as those perpetrated in 1886 in the second precinct of the thirteenth ward and the seventh precinct of the first ward. It was deliberately voted down by the Legislature, although the presence in jail of the convicted officers of election of the precincts just mentioned was, it would have seemed, a demonstration of its necessity.

(22) The provision of the Reform League law regulating the method of counting the votes is very necessary, as is shown by the experience in 1888. In several precincts of this city, the poll-books show on their face that the judges and clerks made absurd blunders in the count. So far as it is possible to tell from an examination of the poll-books alone, the errors were impartially distributed, and no particular candidate suffered any peculiar damage. Yet at a very close election, as, for example, in the Fifth Congressional District, the errors might easily have reversed the result. When more or less ignorant men at the close of a wearying day attempt to quickly figure out from the number of straight and scratched tickets, the votes for each candidate, there is always great likelihood of errors. Under the Reform League law, mistakes in the count are almost impossible. . . .

THE ULTIMATE TRIUMPH OF REFORM.*

PERMIT me, before expressing any opinions upon the present political situation and its problems, to indicate the point of view from which I shall discuss them. There are among the members of this club citizens who at the late election voted for Mr. Cleveland, and others who voted for Mr. Harrison. I respect their motives in either case, for I have no doubt they were sincere. I am far from denying the usefulness, or, if you please, the necessity of political parties, inasmuch as they are organizations of citizens united in a common endeavor to establish certain principles of government, or to accomplish certain purposes of public utility. I also

*From Carl Schurz's speech to the Commonwealth Club, New York, January 12.

respect that party spirit which consists in sincere attachment to a cause honestly believed to be good. But I consider in a high degree dangerous to the public interest that party spirit which teaches that it is the principal duty of a party to win in the elections; that whatever may help it to win must be good, and whatever may hinder its success must be bad; that party interest is the supreme law, and that one side must be supported and the other opposed to any length and under any circumstances. This party spirit is always fraught with mischief, as everything is that prevents citizens of a democratic community from considering public questions purely in their relations to the public good.

To counteract this tendency, which prevails to a lamentable extent, it seems to me desirable that we should cultivate the habit of judging public questions upon their own merits. We shall then be apt to keep in mind that there are upright, patriotic and able men in both or in all parties, whose opinions and purposes may deserve to be studied with respect; that a man may differ from us in opinion without moral obliquity; that good measures should be supported and bad ones opposed, from whatever quarter they may come, and that the question whether the country be well served is, after all, much more important than the question what party or what set of men serve it.

This way of thinking has been somewhat cultivated in the Commonwealth Club, and it indicates the point of view from which I shall look at the present political situation. The victors as well as the defeated in the late presidential election have since had time to recover their balance sufficiently to confront with due calmness of mind the things now demanding their attention. I shall speak of those which are within the circle of subjects especially engaging the interest of this society.

To begin with, several of our Territories ask to be admitted as States. They certainly should be, if they have a permanent population of the required number fit to perform the duties of American citizens. Saying this, I do, of course, not include the Territories of New Mexico and Utah, the fitness of whose population is more than doubtful. Democrats object that the admission of Dakota, Montana, and Washington would greatly add to the strength of the Republican party in Congress and the Electoral College. Possibly; but what has that to do with the right to admission of those Territories, if there be such right? Moreover, who can predict their political future? But, whatever party may at first profit by it, their admission will have one moral effect of very great value. It will go far to make the result of our presidential elections independent of the vote of New York. New York will cease to be the "pivotal State." The bosses of the Democratic "halls" and the "boys" of the Republican organization of this city will no longer be looked up to as the men who can put one party or the other in possession of the National Government as they please. Anything that abolishes the nuisance of such a pivotal State, anything that diminishes the importance and power of the political machines of New York City, may be thankfully received as a help to good government. Let us, therefore, give the new States a hearty welcome.

The Commonwealth Club has the reform of the civil service especially at heart. Whether that reform will be benefited or injured by the result of the late presidential election is a question on which opinions differ. Some of us have anticipated that the ruling influences under the new Administration will be hostile to the reform; that there will be a clean sweep; that the behests of Congressmen and other influential politicians will govern removals and appointments, and that the spoils system, with all it implies, will be once more in bloom. On the other hand, some of our Republican friends tell us that the civil service law will be executed with greater fidelity than heretofore, that its operation will be materially extended, and that decided progress toward the abolition of the spoils system will be achieved. Of course, these prophets cannot be both right. But one thing I can predict with absolute assurance: there is not one prophet of evil among us who, if he finds his fears unfounded, will not with the sincerest gladness forego the satisfaction of saying, "I told you so." There is not one

who will not in that case joyfully acknowledge his mistake and join in praising every reformatory act of President Harrison. He will do so not only without any sacrifice of feeling, but with cordial alacrity.

Being sincerely desirous that President Harrison should win this moral triumph over his opponents, you will, I doubt not, wish with equal sincerity that he should have profited from certain experiences which no attentive and candid observer will question. They can be summed up in a few sentences:

A President is usually strongest for reformatory work at the beginning of his Administration.

He will be constantly hampered in his reformatory purposes if he surrounds himself with men hostile or indifferent to the reform, unless he thoroughly disciplines them.

He will secure a faithful observance of the reform laws only if he intrusts the offices in which they are to be enforced to men in sympathy with their spirit, or if he promptly and severely punishes every violation or evasion of them.

He will not have officers in sympathy with the reform laws if he permits their appointment to be controlled by the recommendation of politicians who want the use of the patronage to grind their own axes.

Every concession to the spoilsmen made to pacify them will be followed by demands for greater concessions. These things are as clearly established by experience as by the plain teachings of common sense. They seem, however, to be easily forgotten; but as soon as they are, failure begins.

The late campaign has been a strikingly educational one with regard to civil service reform, as well as in other respects. Republican speakers have done valuable service in mercilessly criticising the shortcomings of President Cleveland's Administration, for they cannot have failed to convince many of their Republican hearers who were never convinced before, that the removal for mere partisan reasons of a good officer before the expiration of his term is an extremely wicked thing. It must also have become quite clear to the Democrats by renewed experience that the possession of the offices is not an element of strength in a contested election, and the Republicans may profit by the example of their opponents. And the multitudes now scrambling for positions, from Cabinet places down to tide-waiterships, furnishes an object-lesson which can hardly be lost upon the American people. It certainly is not lost upon some sorely-beset statesmen in Congress, who in the anguish of their souls already cry out, "Oh, this is intolerable!" Who knows but the President-elect himself, patient as he is, may in his innermost heart pray the Lord to deliver him.

But whatever the immediate effect of this may be, the duty of the Civil Service Reformers remains plain. They are accustomed to struggle against adverse circumstances. Their cause has often been pronounced dead, and always turned up alive. They have already won important successes with the great mass of the politicians against them. They will have to do in the future what they have done in the past—keep their aim steadily before their eyes; be just and fearless in their criticism as well as in their praise; defend sturdily what has been won; work patiently for small advances, when they cannot go forward in great strides; appeal unremittingly to the good sense, the democratic instincts, and the patriotism of the American people.

Whatever obstacles and adverse influences there may be in its path, civil service reform is bound in the end to triumph. I speak of this with great confidence. The time is fast approaching when every good citizen, however indifferent to-day, will acknowledge its necessity. The machinery of the Government grows as the country grows. But the sphere of governmental action is constantly growing too. Not that you wish that sphere to extend or always approve of its spreading, but nobody can close his eyes to the fact that expansion goes on and on, not seldom aided by the very men who in point of principle or theory condemn it. But the larger the Government grows in its functions, its power, and its responsibilities, the more appalling will become the idea that its organs, its offices, should remain the mere spoil of party victory and the instruments of party warfare. Before long every patriotic citizen will find himself forced to the conclu-

sion that the question involved is not whether things are to be a little better or a little worse, but whether civil service reform is not absolutely indispensable to save the very possibility of good government. Civil service reform will triumph, because it must if republican government is to remain practicable.

BALLOT REFORM IN LOUISVILLE.

A RECENT election in the city of Louisville subjected to the test of actual use the principles of the Australian ballot law, the adoption of which has been recently urged in America. It may be affirmed, I think without danger of question, that the experiment was a gratifying success. The law was apparently difficult and intricate; it had been predicted with glee by the bummers, with whose activity it was designed to interfere, and with regret by the better disposed who thought it attempted the impossible, that the election would end in confusion and disaster. The chief local newspaper had given the project but cold support. Yet the event confounded all; the election did not result in confusion or disaster; the law did not prove either difficult or complicated. It was administered with practically uniform ease and success by election officers who certainly did not rise above the average in intelligence. Alike in those places where, on account of the absence of interest, a light vote was polled, and those where, by reason of some spirited contest, a fuller vote was brought out, the voters had no difficulty in obeying its requirements. A few, instead of using the proper mark (X), indicated their preference by striking out the names of all candidates except the one for whom they voted; but I have heard of no case in which a ballot was thrown out in the count because of the failure of the voter to understand what was required of him.

In addition to demonstrating its perfect practicability, the election tested the power of the law to prevent bribery. It can hardly be possible that there is a city in the Union where open corruption has been more generally practised than in Louisville. The city swarms with a large floating vote, by which every contest can be determined. The evil has been universally admitted and deplored; but all efforts to effect some lasting change, by vigilance committees among the citizens, or by the prosecution of those notoriously guilty, have come to naught. We do not admit the fact of its corruption without great regret; nor would we desire to be lulled into any false security respecting the efficacy of the means just tried to stamp it out. But it is an undeniable fact that in the late election there was, except in one place, no corruption successful, and but little attempted, and that with this evidence of its successful working, the chances have greatly lessened that bribery will be tried.

How the law operates to prevent corruption must be obvious to all. A man whose conscience permits him to sell his vote will not be restrained by any "compunctious visitings" from voting as he really prefers, even after having received his hire to do otherwise; nor are election agents men whose confidence in human nature will permit them to take the risk of buying a support, of whose delivery they can never have any knowledge. The best evidence that this theory is correct is found in the fact that a somewhat difficult plan has been formed to elude the law in the future. The Massachusetts law is not open to even this very unlikely danger. But as the great improbability of the success of the scheme will show the degree of difficulty with which corruption is now attended, and the correspondingly desperate risks which must be taken to effect it, it may be worth while to describe the expedient that has been suggested.

Our law requires the ballot, after having been marked in a secret compartment, to be folded and placed in an envelope which is later deposited in the proper box. It is proposed that some early voter deposit an empty envelope and retain his ballot. This ballot carried outside and marked will be handed to some hired voter, who will place it in his envelope and bring out his own unused. On presenting this he will be entitled to his reward. How very unlikely it is that such a scheme could be successfully worked among the class of people who sell their votes is easily evident; but an amend-

ment abolishing the envelope and requiring the ballot merely to be folded will effectually dispose even of this slight chance.

The preceding circumstances are sufficient to prove the entire practicability of the principles upon which the law is founded; but to this general statement of its successful working one exception must be made. The most stringent provisions can afford us no security where election officers are dishonest and policemen unfaithful, and the only place in which the law failed to accomplish its purpose was in a precinct where it was defeated by these means. The clerk of the election repeatedly left his place to manipulate the hired bands without, and the policemen made no effort to enforce the secrecy which the law requires. Unless honest men have our elections in charge, every effort to improve them will, of course, prove futile; but the important fact remains, that in this single case where the measure was not enforced, the result did not arise from any difficulty in comprehending it, or from any impossibility of administering it, but from dishonesty on the part of those who had been sworn to enforce it.

Other objections that had been urged failed wholly to be justified. In no case, as far as I can learn, was there any delay in recording votes. A compartment is provided for every 175 voters, whereas the Massachusetts law provides one for every 75, and yet the accommodations were in every case ample. So far from interfering with the process of voting, I should not be surprised if actually less time were required than by the old *viva voce* system. A person can be engaged in each compartment preparing his ballot, and no appreciable time will be consumed in casting it.

Again, the counting of votes proceeded apparently with perfect ease. The results of the election were published in the papers the following morning with the accustomed fullness; nor did the official count, so far as I know, require more time than was the case under the old method.

Our law differs from the Massachusetts law in several particulars—among them, that of requiring policemen to keep the crowd at a distance of 50 feet from the polls. The regulation is of some importance to us because of the difficulty of securing large quarters for election purposes. But in a place where the election officers are honest and policemen efficient, I should think that a bar would answer the same purpose. The other provisions of the law, by preventing bribery, would of themselves do much in course of time to reduce the crowds which gather round the polls.

It was extremely unfortunate, while at the same time additional evidence of the practicability of the law, that its first trial was conducted under highly unfavorable circumstances. The Governor of the State is heartily in sympathy with its purposes; but it was handicapped by the more than silent opposition of the city administration. Friendliness to its object, if not confidence in its details, would have made it a complete success even at the one precinct where it failed. But that support it did not have. If the outcome, however, has not convinced the city authorities of both its desirability and its practicability, it has convinced others who had nothing to say in its favor originally. I quote from the *Courier Journal*, which cannot be said to have favored the measure at any rate, portions of an editorial published Sunday, December 9, 1888, a few days after the election.

"The election held last Tuesday was the first in which the new law regulating municipal elections had a fair trial. The results were such as to commend it to all who see the necessity for protecting the ballot and securing a fair expression of the public opinion. . . . Since the election of 1887 the Legislature has passed what is known as the Wallace law, a law that secures a secret ballot, protects the voter from intimidation, deprives the purchaser of the ballot of any assurance that the goods paid for will be delivered, multiplies the number of voting precincts, gives to each voter, however humble he may be, free access to the voting place, and provides for the faithful count of these ballots under proper supervision. The law gives renewed assurance to the people that good government is possible where they desire good government. It does all that the law can do. . . . It is a long step in advance in municipal government. In some of its details it may be improved, but in all essential particulars

it is beneficent and effective, and we have seen enough to fix it firmly in the confidence of the people."

We ought, nevertheless, not expect too much from any piece of electoral machinery. The law alone can do little to accomplish that regeneration of our political life towards which the intelligence of the country aspires. But what it can and does accomplish is to reduce to its proper position the corrupt element which has fast become the dominant element in our politics. By insuring an unintimidated vote, and by depriving the purchasable element of all interest in an election in which their votes cannot be sold, it will encourage the intelligent sentiment to assert itself, and will give it the opportunity to exercise its just weight. In the assertion of that sentiment seems to me to lie all hope of our emancipation from an order of things which has long been intolerable; and the prime virtue of the new law is even this, that it restores to that sentiment the controlling influence which is its due.

ABRAM FLEXNER.

LOUISVILLE, KY., January 3, 1889.

SOME FURTHER CAMPAIGN LESSONS.*

THE election of last November has brought about another change in the politics of the Executive. We may, therefore, expect again to see the civil service exposed to the assaults of partisans anxious to serve their country. It is not to be expected, however, that the ordeal will be as severe for the next four years as has been that of the past four years. In the first place, the offices are more evenly divided between the two parties, and there does not exist the same excuse for making a clean sweep. Moreover, it is remarkable that the successful party is the one which in its platform declared its adhesion to civil service reform in the strongest words; for, not content with saying that "the reform should be completed by the further extension of the reform system already established by law, to all the grades of the service to which it is applicable," and "that the spirit and purpose of the reform should be observed in all Executive appointments, and all laws at variance with the object of existing reform legislation should be repealed," the framers of the platform, with apparently unconscious irony, found it necessary to state that they did not intend to break their pledges. The President-elect, too, has endorsed in unqualified language this section of the Republican platform, and has said: "In appointments to every grade and department, fitness and not party service should be the essential and the discriminating test, and fidelity and efficiency the only sure tenure of office. Only the interests of the public service should suggest removals from office."—(Letter of acceptance.)

Finally, the lessons of the election have been exceedingly interesting to civil service reformers. The two States in which the spirit of the civil service law has been most disregarded by the present Administration are without doubt Indiana and Maryland. These are the two States which have been constantly held up to criticism, not only by the opposition press, but also by the friends of the Administration who believe in civil service reform. While the reform of the civil service was not made an issue in the last canvass, it is interesting to note that in one of these States the Democratic majority of four years ago has been reversed, while, in the other State, the Democrats have suffered heavy losses. This does not, of course, prove that the losses of the party were due to the disregard of the civil service principle, though we believe that that had much to do with them; but they do show conclusively that the spoils system was not able to save the party in power from defeat, and that is for the practical politician the most important lesson he can learn in civil service reform.

Another lesson of the campaign should not be passed over here, though it has little direct bearing upon our local Association. We refer to the importance of introducing civil service reform methods into municipal and State affairs, and

* From the seventh report of the Executive Committee of the New Haven Civil Service Reform Association, adopted Dec. 14, 1888.

the very direct bearing which this reform has upon the possibility of reform in the Federal service. On this subject THE CIVIL-SERVICE REFORMER, in its December issue, says: "It has now become a matter of absolute demonstration that the patronage of the larger States and cities is regarded by the local politicians as of vastly more importance than their probable share of the federal plunder; and whenever, therefore, they have to choose between the two, they will invariably subordinate the national to the local contest. They will swap away the presidential votes for local votes, and sacrifice the presidency all the time to make a governor or mayor. . . . It needs but the reflection of a moment to see what an element of the wildest uncertainty is thus thrown into every national election. The thing has been long tending in this direction, and it is now an accomplished fact; and it illustrates a very serious phase of ring politics, and furnishes a new and overwhelming reason for dealing with rings as an abomination and a nuisance that must be abated." We thus see the very great importance of reforming the civil service in the cities, if we are to prevent presidential elections from being decided by considerations and means more corrupt than the worst that federal patronage can do.

While we may derive encouragement from these considerations, we must not forget that there are still a great many Bourbons in both parties who will never forget anything and never learn anything, and who will be a constant drag upon any administration. No better expression has been given to the sentiments of this class of politicians than the reply framed by Senator Ingalls to a question addressed him by the editor of the New York Independent: "If there will be more than 40,000 Democrats in office on the 4th of March next," says the President of the Senate, "about which I know nothing, they should all be removed before the going down of the sun on that day, and more than 40,000 Republicans appointed in their stead." That such an anachronism should actually preside over the deliberations of the Senate may well excite surprise, and make the friends of reform feel that it is only by constant agitation and constant pressure that any advance can be made. Fortunately, the American people are gifted with a keen sense of humor which solves many difficulties; and the picture of a nineteenth century George III. holding high office in a great republic and hysterically preaching the sentiments of the last century, must make an appeal to this sense of humor which renders argument superfluous.

RESOLUTIONS OF THE NEW HAVEN AND THE NEWTON ASSOCIATIONS.

AT a meeting of the New Haven Civil Service Reform Association, held December 14, 1888, it was

Resolved, That the declaration of the Republican platform, and the endorsement of this declaration by the President-elect in his letter of acceptance, justify us in hoping not only for the maintenance, but for a considerable extension of civil service reform in the next Administration.

Resolved, That among the most necessary measures of reform are the extension of the law to branches of the service which are now beyond its control, especially to the Indian Department; the repeal of the law of 1820 and of other laws limiting the terms of postmasters, collectors of customs, and other officers to four years; and the restriction of the interference with the exercise of the appointing power on the part of members of Congress.

Resolved, That all efforts made by the National Administration to carry out these reforms and all others framed in the same spirit will meet with our hearty approval."

Thereupon it was voted that the Secretary of the Association be instructed to forward a copy of the resolutions to the President elect.

The Civil Service Reform Association of Newton, Massachusetts, has

Resolved, That the recent declaration of the Republican party in its platform, that the reform of the civil service should be extended 'to all the grades of the service to which it is applicable,' and 'that the spirit and purpose of the reform should be observed in all Executive appointments,'

and the statement of the President-elect that 'he cordially approves this clear and forcible expression of the Convention on the subject,' are to be regarded as distinctly pledging the incoming President and the Republican party to a faithful carrying out of the spirit of civil service reform, in all removals from and appointments to the minor public offices, and that we hail with pleasure this favorable prospect for the spread of civil service reform, and will gladly co-operate with the party coming into power in all its endeavors to secure that end.

Resolved, That, as it is a cardinal principle of civil service reform that public servants shall retain their places so long as they are faithful and competent and do not make themselves offensively partisan, we have a right to expect that, if 'the spirit of the reform' is 'observed in all Executive appointments,' no person will be removed merely because he is not a Republican, or because his place is wanted by a Republican.

Resolved, That to secure the faithful application of civil service reform it is necessary that the classified offices and, so far as is practicable, the unclassified service should be put under the control only of those known to favor the reform; for we cannot expect that any one opposed or indifferent to it will faithfully apply its provisions.

Resolved, That the four years' term of office should be abolished, as opposed to the fundamental principle that public servants should be retained in office while faithful and efficient, and because it indirectly opens the way for making many changes which, without violating the letter of the law, are entirely contrary to its 'spirit and purpose.'"

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THE MONTH.

THE Maryland Association has good reason to felicitate itself over the notable gathering of reformers which assembled in Baltimore on the twenty-third of February. In enthusiasm, in numbers, in extent of country represented, in public spirit and in high intelligence, the assemblage was all that could have been asked. The reform which the spoils organs tell us died at the last election had never, as Mr. Curtis truly said, such bright prospects as now. Its advocates are more earnest, more numerous, and more widespread than ever before.

Especially remarkable is the fact that those who by their warmth of feeling did most to heighten the temperature of the atmosphere, were Republicans of the strictest sect. Mr. Theodore Roosevelt, for example, whose zeal for the Republican party carried him into the thickest of the fray at a municipal election, insisted that the pledges of that party must be carried out, and declared that he did not wish to belong to it if it was to be a party of spoilsmen. He courageously administered a severe slap in the mouth to the venomous Senator from Kansas, whose tongue is sharper than a serpent's tooth, and denounced his recent demand for a spoliation of the Government as false to the party he belongs to.

Mr. Roosevelt will pardon us, we trust, if we attach even more significance to the eloquent utterances of Mr. William Dudley Foulke. Mr. Foulke comes from Mr. Harrison's State. He supported Mr. Harrison vigorously and effectively upon the stump, and he may be reasonably supposed to know at least Mr. Harrison's intentions. What does he say? Mr. Foulke says the Republican platform contains a pledge to extend the reform system to all grades of the service to which it is applicable, which pledge Mr. Harrison has made his own by a distinct promise. That this pledge will be kept Mr. Foulke infers from the performance of past pledges by the party, on which he laid a stress perhaps greater than it would bear; and also from the character of the new President, who, he says, "is a keeper of promises." In a fine passage he points out that the President is impelled to this reform by the highest motives. "So far as mere office is concerned, the President has reached the summit of all earthly hope; there is no prize glittering before him fairer in promise than that which he already holds. Yet office, whether high or low, is little more than opportunity; even the Presidency is only that greater and higher shaft upon the marble of which are yet to be inscribed those acts which shall pass into history. A President with a just conception of his opportunity will work, not for ease or present popularity, not for the perpetuation of power for four years more: his effort will be directed to the doing of that which shall last for all time. . . . In what way can the incoming administration best become the benefactor of humanity? In what way better than by eliminating the great danger that hangs over our republican institutions—that lust of office which is corruptly nourished by the spoils of office?"

This is in a tone from which the most despondent can hardly fail to catch hope. But should the croakers prove

the true prophets, and should the cause be evil entreated in what now seems the house of its friends, what are we then to expect from Republican civil service reformers? On this point Mr. Foulke seems to be even more explicit than Mr. Roosevelt. "A President," he says, "who is in any degree a spoilsman after his own words have declared that the spoils system is wrong must forfeit the confidence of the people. Such would be the fate of any incoming administration, so far as it would repeat the shortcomings of the one which is now taking its leave." Let us all hope that Mr. Foulke may have no cause hereafter to ponder the significance of these words.

ON the subject of civil service reform President Harrison says in his inaugural address: "Heads of departments, bureaus, and all other public officers having any duty connected therewith, will be expected to enforce the civil service law, fully and without evasion. Beyond this obvious duty, I hope to do something more to advance the reform of the civil service. The ideal, even my own ideal, I shall probably not attain. Retrospect will be a safer basis of judgment than promises. We shall not, however, I am sure, be able to put our civil service upon a non-partisan basis until we have secured an incumbency that fair-minded men of the opposition will approve for impartiality and integrity. As the number of such in the civil list is increased, removals from office will diminish."

No better way of increasing their numbers can be devised than the full enforcement of the civil service law, and its extension to the other branches of the service to which it is applicable. Both these things he has already promised the country; and it is evident that this carefully guarded language is intended to operate as no extension of his former promise. At the same time, these words cannot be taken as a retraction of what he has said before, but rather as a mild reaffirmance of a position more strongly stated in his letter of acceptance.

THE removal of Mr. Edgerton is a proper consequence of the imbecility he has displayed ever since the year 1886. It should have taken place much earlier than it did. At the time of his appointment, his apparent fitness for the delicate and important duties of Civil Service Commissioner was sufficient to obtain for him the support of the late Chief-Justice Waite and the opposition of Senator Voorhees. Soon after he was confirmed he said: "I have always believed in divorcing the clerical offices from politics, and am in favor of executing fully the civil service law. I shall stand squarely with the President, and do all I can to support him in the line of action he has laid out." Later he joined heartily in the condemnation of Veazey by the commission, but soon after he became the apologist for other spoils-mongering officials, and screamed out at the Civil Service Reform Association of Chicago for uttering certain truths about Federal officials in that neighborhood. Still later, he began to talk the hackneyed nonsense about the necessity of the Government being in the hands of its friends, and for months before his removal he refused to perform any of his duties. In casting about for some explanation of his vagaries, we have finally attributed

them to senile decay, having heard that he was a member of Congress nearly forty years ago. We trust that he may find in Blackburn, Ingalls, Gorman, and their like, the troops of friends which should accompany old age.

Mr. Thompson, who has been nominated to the Senate as Mr. Edgerton's successor, seems to be entirely worthy to fill the position. He has had the advantage of liberal culture in early life, and has been prominent in the cause of general education in South Carolina. As governor of that State, his course was highly creditable, and at his instance the Legislature passed a resolution urging upon Congress the necessity of such legislation that tenure of "office under the general government may no longer be dependent upon party services, or subject to levy by means of forced pecuniary contributions to any political party."

For some time past he has been one of the Assistant Secretaries of the Treasury, and his course in this office has shown him to be a thorough believer in the principles of civil service reform. It is unfortunate that the Senate should show less alacrity to confirm his appointment than it did to join in imposing upon the country some of Mr. Cleveland's less creditable nominees.

THE debate on the civil service in the Senate offers the encouraging spectacle of two of the most intelligent members of that body ranging themselves in favor of the reform, while Chandler and Gorman unite to oppose it. Mr. Chandler attacked President Cleveland for placing the five thousand men in the railway mail service under the operation of the rules. Whether this extension of the rules would benefit the service, and would relieve the incoming administration of an immense pressure and a powerful temptation, Mr. Chandler seems never to have considered. His thoughts were wholly engrossed by the sudden disappearance of so much patronage, and he could only denounce the act as unprecedented. "It isn't fair," he cried, like a boy whose piece of pie has been suddenly snatched away. His hope that President Harrison will undo his predecessor's work is preposterous.

We have the promise of the President that all extensions of the rules shall be maintained, and a step in the direction of reform will never be reversed. The widening of the classified service is a recognition, as Mr. Wm. Dudley Foulke said at the Baltimore conference, of the great principle that law is to be substituted for personal pleasure. "The great engine of the civil service is becoming too large and complicated in its movements for all of them to be controlled by the personal will of the engineer. The governor and the safety-valve must be self-acting."

Senator Hawley, in advocating his proposition to give the Civil Service Commission additional clerical aid, took a far more statesmanlike position than "Bill's." He pointed out that since 1883 the classified service has been extended over the Department of Agriculture, the Department of Labor, seventeen post-offices and the railway mail service. Then it embraced 13,897 persons; now it includes 27,618, or almost double as many. He further showed that the work of the Commission had increased in a proportion much greater than these figures would indicate. The declaration of the Republican platform in favor of the reform he declared to have been made in obedience to the most enlightened public sentiment, and he warned his hearers that the declaration was honestly meant.

Mr. Gorman rather gratuitously informed his audience that he is no civil service reformer, and then venturing on a more original line of remark, he got a neat fall at the hands of Senator Hoar. "Under the operation of the civil service law," said Mr. Gorman, "hundreds and thousands of men have been kept in office who ought to have been removed in the interests of good government." Senator Hoar blandly asked him whether he really said that the Democratic administration had kept in unfit men by the thousand merely because their successors were to be chosen by examination and not by simply selecting Democrats.

"That is very easily answered," said Mr. Gorman. "The fault comes from the system. It is un-American. It cannot be enforced properly." This answer is certainly easy, but rather ineffective.

Mr. Hoar later expressed satisfaction that Mr. Cleveland had extended the reform to another branch of the service. He pointed out that this extension does not secure the retention in office of any unworthy or unfit Democrat, but simply takes away the political motive for turning men out. The only change effected is that when a successor to one of them is to be appointed, his fitness must be ascertained by an examination open to all mankind, and not depending upon his importance to the fortunes of a powerful politician. The old system, he said, had been a disgrace to republican administration, and it had become notorious that under it there were Congressmen whose assent was necessary to the appointment of the humblest officer. In Massachusetts the spoils system had produced shame and indignation, and if he had his way he would apply the merit system to every official whose duties were not of a political or confidential nature. He did not think President Harrison could do any greater public wrong, anything more suicidal, than to undertake to root out all the Democrats now in non-political offices.

These views do the Senator honor, and are in a contrast with those of the petty spoilsmonger who misrepresents this State which cannot be otherwise than mortifying to the people of Maryland.

THE resignation of Mr. "Sonny" Mahon relieves the new Secretary of the Treasury from the obvious duty—so long neglected by Mr. Fairchild—of immediately removing him. This is to be regretted, for the summary dismissal of such men as "Sonny" would point an edifying moral for politicians of both parties, whether in or out of office. Much can be done, however, by a judicious choice of his successor, and especially by leaving his late colleague, Mr. Jas. T. Caulk, in private life.

NEXT to the nomination of Morris A. Thomas, the most glaring display of impudence on the part of our local bosses has been the removal of Deputy Collector Dorton on the very eve of the inauguration, to make a place for the notorious Wallace Owings, a place which the latter, to do him justice, has had the good sense to decline. We need not remind our readers that when Owings was appointed a gauger by the late Collector of Internal Revenue, the Reform League addressed a letter to Secretary Fairchild, which was not answered or even acknowledged, protesting against this selection because the appointee had, on June 24, 1886, shot a prisoner in custody at the Central Police Station. For this murderous assault Owings was indicted, but escaped punishment through his political influence. His

retention in Federal employ after this exposure, and notwithstanding his active participation in the Democratic primaries and convention of July, 1887; and his service on the State Central Committee, constituted a grave scandal: his promotion shows that even the severe lesson of last autumn has not taught Senator Gorman and his lieutenants that it does not pay to defy the public sense of decency.

SPILT MILK.

THAT eminent statesman, Ex-Mayor Hodges, has informed us that he "shall never be reconciled to the result of the late election." This is, no doubt, unfortunate; but, to slightly paraphrase a French proverb, "it is useless to get angry with accomplished facts; for the facts don't care if you do." If Mr. Hodges won't be reconciled to Mr. Cleveland's defeat, he will have, we fear, to remain unreconciled; and, so far as we can see, this will be the only result of his implacability. He seems, however, to have company in his sentiments, for a certain Mr. George Frederick Williams, of Boston, described by the *Sun's* correspondent as "the young leader of the Massachusetts Mugwumps, and an able lawyer," thinks "it would be in bad taste and bad judgment for any of Mr. Cleveland's supporters to enter upon the work of assisting Mr. Harrison in a reform policy," adding that, in his opinion, "the efforts of the reformers at Baltimore will be a repetition of Mrs. Partington's gymnastics with the broom"; for, he says, "the Republicans claim that the defeat of Cleveland was a verdict of the people against tariff reform, and I look to see the same logic applied with respect to his policy of civil service reform." We did not know, until thus informed, that Mr. Williams was "the young leader of the Massachusetts Mugwumps." If such is the case, we hope that they have also an "old leader"; for otherwise they are in sad want of manly and sensible leadership. A great many of our readers no doubt agree with Mr. Williams in regretting Mr. Cleveland's defeat, and for these regrets we have no disposition to quarrel with them; but, as defeated he has been, what are they going to do about it? Will they sulk and pout at the new administration, declare that, since the people wouldn't take their advice, they wash their hands of responsibility for their country's government, and thus abdicate their duties as citizens? Or will they hope for the best, prepare for the worst, and join hands heartily with any one who proposes to work for good government and pure politics, whether he thought and voted as they did last autumn or not? The late conference leaves little doubt, we are glad to say, which of these two courses of action will be adopted by nineteen-twentieths of the reformers who voted for Cleveland, and the fact that here and there one finds an apologist of the cry-baby policy rather furnishes food for reflection as to the occasional eccentricities of human nature than a reason for serious discussion. Two of Mr. Williams' notions, however, merit a word of comment. It is certainly surprising that any man of ordinary intelligence, not to speak of "an able lawyer," should think that the late election could be claimed to be a "verdict of the people" against civil service reform with "the same logic" as it may be claimed to be such a "verdict" against tariff reform. No sensible and candid tariff reformer will deny that the latter claim is fair. He may think the verdict unwise and unjust; he may hope to reverse it in two years or in four; but he cannot question that the Democratic National Convention approved the

Mills bill, that the Republican Convention condemned it, and that the people have elected a Republican President and House of Representatives; and if all this does not constitute a "verdict of the people" against the Mills bill, then the phrase has no definite meaning. But as to civil service reform, the attitude of the two parties was very nearly reversed. The Republican platform contained, it is true, a silly sneer at Independent voters; but, although this may have seemed a large matter to some small people, it could not have blinded grown men to the thorough endorsement of civil service reform by the resolution on which this spiteful rider was fastened, while the corresponding resolution of the St. Louis Convention was so pointedly vague and equivocal as to be practically hostile. The "verdict of the people" was given in favor of a party which had openly and plainly favored civil service reform and promised to maintain and extend its practical application, and against a party which maintained on the subject a significant silence. Mr. Williams may believe that this verdict was obtained by false pretences, but we do not see how either he or any one else can construe it plausibly, or even rationally, as adverse to civil service reform.

It is more important, however, to consider the theory, which is not peculiar to Mr. Williams, that the tender of advice or even support to General Harrison by men who voted against him would be "in bad taste." This is the same idea which inspired Mr. Edgerton when he called President Cleveland "a trustee for the Democratic party." According to the spoils system of politics, the man who has voted against a President has nothing to hope or expect from him, and any interference on his part would be impertinent; but civil service reformers do not accept this doctrine. Mr. Harrison, as we believe, will be trustee not for the Republican party, but for the American people, and he has no right to resent, and public opinion should not allow him to resent, pertinent and respectful suggestions from any *cestui que trust*. No doubt Mr. Edgerton does not agree with us; Mr. Williams' ideas on the subject may not be sufficiently clear for him to either agree or disagree: but unless friends of good government throughout the Union are ready to accept our view and act on it, they will gravely imperil the success of their cause.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE CONFERENCE

HELD FEBRUARY 23, 1889.

IN accordance with an invitation from the Civil Service Reform Association of Maryland, a conference of Reformers from various parts of the country was held in Baltimore on the 23d of February, 1889.

Among those who took part were Col. Silas W. Burt, Rev. A. Mackay Smith, Dorman B. Eaton, Theodore Roosevelt, Camillus G. Kidder, and E. L. Godkin, of New York; Wm. Potts, Ethan Allen Doty, and John A. Taylor, of Brooklyn, N. Y.; Henry A. Richmond, of Buffalo, N. Y.; Herbert Welsh, Joseph Parrish, Francis B. Reeves, James G. Francis, Rev. J. Andrews Harris, Samuel Wagner, Edward S. Sayres, Stuart Wood, Walter Wood, and Howard M. Jenkins, Philadelphia; Lucien H. Smith, Wm. H. Stinson, and Col. Weston Flint, Washington; John Q. Miller, of Williamsport, Md.; Geo. A. Denison, Springfield, Mass.; F. H. Giddings, Bryn Mawr, Pa.; Robert N. Tappan, Morrill Wyman, Jr., George G. Wright, J. J. Myers, and Richard H. Dana, Cambridge, Mass.; Launcelot M. Blackford, Alexandria, Va.; R. G. Hazard, Jr., Rhode Island; Wm. Dudley Foulke and Lucius B. Swift, Indiana; W. W. Vaughan, Henry H. Sprague, and Arthur Hobart, Boston; J. A. Woodburn, Bloomington, Ind.; J. N. Swan, Paxton, Ill.; John S. Wirt,

Elkton, Md.; Samuel Y. Nash, Brookline, Mass., and a large number of others from Baltimore.

At eleven o'clock these gentlemen assembled in the Young Men's Christian Association Building, and were called to order by Mr. Bonaparte. Mr. Joseph Packard, Jr., of Baltimore, was chosen to preside, and Mr. Wm. Reynolds was elected secretary. As it was desired to have a perfectly free interchange of opinion, this meeting was not open to any but those invited by the committee having the conference in charge. Newspaper reporters were excluded.

A series of eleven resolutions was offered by Mr. Bonaparte on behalf of a committee of the Maryland Association. The debate on these was highly animated and instructive, and was so protracted that the luncheon which had been arranged for two o'clock had to be postponed. Finally, after numerous amendments, and after re-committing two of the resolutions to the committee, the body directed that they be presented to the public conference.

THE PUBLIC CONFERENCE.

At three o'clock in the afternoon a public conference was held and attended by all those who had been present in the morning, together with a large number of other gentlemen. Mr. Wm. Dudley Foulke of Indiana was called to the chair, and Mr. Stuart Wood of Philadelphia was chosen secretary. On taking the chair, Mr. Foulke said:

Gentlemen of the Conference.—The enthusiasm that is displayed by civil service reformers at the present time is greater than that I have ever seen at any of the meetings of the National League. I believe that the good work we shall accomplish will be commensurate with the enthusiasm which is felt everywhere, and will have a good effect upon the next four years. I will now ask for the report of the Committee on Resolutions from Mr. Bonaparte.

In presenting the report, Mr. Bonaparte said:

Mr. Chairman.—The meeting this morning proved to be both longer and more animated than some of us had supposed it would be, and its deliberations have illustrated the strong aversion of the independent voter for cut and dried programmes. The programme which had been cut but not quite dried by the committee intrusted by the Maryland Association with attending to the details of this meeting has had to be to some extent recarved. The committee report to this Conference and recommend for their adoption nine resolutions—if I recollect aright—substantially in the form which, in the friendly informal conference this morning, seemed to meet the approval of nearly all those who were present. Those gentlemen who attended the morning conference will notice that some changes have been made in the order in which the resolutions were offered by the committee, and that some of the resolutions have been recast and curtailed, in accordance with the suggestion which was then expressed. I will read the resolutions in their present form.

Resolved, That we recognize in the President-elect's indorsement of his party's platform regarding civil service reform, a pledge that during his term of office the existing statutes and rules will be strictly observed, both in letter and spirit, their form so amended and their scope so enlarged as to promote the improvement of administrative methods and the purification of politics, and that no part of the progress already made in law or custom will be abandoned; and in the efforts of the incoming President to perform this pledge we tender him our most hearty co-operation and support.

Resolved, That the true meaning and purpose of the civil service reform law forbid the removal of officers in the classified service, under any pretext, for political or partisan reasons, and to tolerate such removals would be inconsistent with the Republican platform and the letter of acceptance of the President-elect.

Resolved, That the Civil Service Commissioners, to aid the President as they ought in executing the laws, and the heads of all offices concerned in the enforcement of civil service laws, should be men of experience and discretion, and in full sympathy with the reform of the civil service.

Resolved, That in the unclassified service an enlightened public opinion demands that appointments and removals shall be made solely with a view to the welfare of the whole people, and not to promote the real or fancied interests of any party, faction, or person, and condemns the choice of any man for office except the one best fitted to discharge the duties, and the dismissal of any man from office on account of his political opinions or party affiliations, unless these affect his official actions.

Resolved, That we believe the public interest would be promoted by the repeal of all laws which require the appointment of non-political Federal officers for fixed terms; but so long as those laws remain in force, the salutary principle that such officers should be allowed to serve out their terms and then be reappointed, unless some definite and personal cause for their removal can be shown, should be observed.

Resolved, That every change of administration imposes upon the friends of good government the duty of earnestly proclaiming that one charged with a public trust has no greater right to use it for personal or partisan advantages than a private trustee would have to make profit for himself or his friends out of the estate committed to his care, and that it is as plainly wrongful for a President to repay party service by employment at public cost as it would be for Congress to reward such service with money out of the public treasury.

Resolved, That, impressed as all good citizens must be, by the grave abuses and danger to free institutions arising from the lavish and increasing use of money at elections, we emphatically direct attention to the truth that a man whose vote or influence is obtained by a promise of public employment is no less bribed than if paid in money, and that the more insidious form of corruption leads inevitably, and almost insensibly, to the grosser.

Resolved, That a law or rule should be adopted requiring that whenever any officer in the classified service is removed, the person making such removal should enter on record his reason for so doing, and every officer removed is entitled, as a matter of strict justice, to a written statement of the grounds of removal.

Resolved, That the Senate should consider all nominations to office in open session.

These resolutions were adopted without debate.

After the adoption of the resolutions, Mr. William Potts, of New York, rose and said:

Mr. President.—I offer the following resolution, and, in case it should be seconded, I should like to say a few words in support of it:

Resolved, That reform would be greatly promoted if a provision were made by law for the employment and payment as examiners, of persons not otherwise in the service; and *Resolved,* That the present rule of the service prohibiting publicity of the civil service examinations should be rescinded.

Mr. Roosevelt. I second that resolution.

Mr. Potts. I think it is necessary for me to say very little in support of this resolution, which covers, as you see, two distinct points, though relating to the same subject. This is the result of the practical experience and consideration of a considerable number of persons. As to the first point, I can refer to the experience in the State of New York, where examinations are held upon the same day in many cities, with the assistance of persons interested in this cause, who act as moderators at these examinations. The cause thereby obtains the assistance of men who have no relations to the appointing officers, and are therefore independent in their action, and not likely to be governed by any other motive than by a desire for the good of the public service. As the boards in the national service are now constituted by law, they are composed of the subordinates of the various offices. They are, therefore, liable to come into conflict to some extent with their superiors, or to have their conduct biased by those superiors. If the law provided that persons not

otherwise employed in the public service should be employed as examiners, the assistance of persons could be obtained who would not be biased by any influence.

In regard to the matter of publicity, I am quite sure that most of us think the rule now standing, requiring that the eligible list shall be kept secret, was adopted in good faith, for the purpose of preventing the appointing officers from appointing men low in the list, under the pressure of friends who knew their standing, and overlooking the men near the head of the list. As a practical fact, the rating of the men is known generally to their friends, because the rating of each individual is known to himself. And, while the purpose of the rule in fact fails to be accomplished for that reason, the public scrutiny of the acts of the appointing officer is avoided, because the public has no knowledge of the relative position of the persons who have passed. Therefore experience shows that the modification of this rule would be a considerable step in the direction of reform.

Mr. L. B. Swift, of Indiana. I think Mr. Potts has made but a very mild statement of the merits of his resolution. I live in Indiana, and in the last four years we have seen something of the evils of the secret examination. Our examinations at Indianapolis have produced queer results in the men that have apparently come to the top of the eligible list, where men have been passed and appointed to positions which they have been wholly incompetent to fill. A good many I would challenge to a re-examination; men who are carrying mail or serving at the postoffice in other capacities. If we could have seen the papers that these men handed in at the time, it would have been, perhaps, of great advantage to us in the struggle we have been carrying on there. There is another matter that should be inquired into, and that is the examinations themselves. The people of Indiana like fair play, and there is no use denying the fact that, as the matter stands to-day, in very few places where the examinations are carried on will all the young men or women stand exactly the same fair chance unless they are of a certain political complexion. Unless we can break that down and tell all the people in this country, every young man and young woman who may go in to compete for public employment, that they are going to be treated fairly and squarely and honestly, and that merit is going to have its just reward, we might just as well quit this civil service reform business. Now, as I say, every one likes fair play. We don't want any secret work, and we don't want Mr. Jones to say, as he once complained, that he will have to whisper in his office. We don't want him to whisper in his office. The business of government is the people's business, and the people have a right to know what is going on. Therefore make the examinations public. Let every young man know how his neighbor has done and look over his paper. Let every young man or woman have fair play, and don't take any account of the politics or religion of those that compete, but let those at the top of the eligible list know that they will get the first places.

Mr. R. H. Dana. I would state that in Massachusetts the Civil Service Commission has the right to appoint the examiners from people in the public service or outside of it, and that power to appoint them outside has been of inestimable value. So well have the examinations been conducted under that system of appointing them outside of the people who are in the public service, that in four years the commissioners have received only one complaint from a person who thought that his paper had been unfairly marked, and he, upon seeing his paper, came to the conclusion that he had been fairly treated.

A vote having been taken upon the adoption of the resolution of Mr. Potts, it was unanimously adopted.

The Chairman. The introduction of further resolutions is in order.

Mr. Dorman B. Eaton, of New York. I beg to be allowed to say a few words to introduce a resolution that I propose to offer, which I am sure you will all think concerns a very important matter.

There is nothing more fundamental in the government of the United States than the division of power between the legislative and executive branches. This is one of the pillars upon which the Government rests. For every reason it is important to balance this power accurately, and it has been ever a vital matter. I think there cannot be the slightest doubt but that there has been not only an increase in the legislative power, but a persistent, aggressive, and demoralizing encroachment upon the executive department by members of Congress, in the direction of increased patronage, and of promoting petty influences of all sorts in their own districts, in the aid of their own elections. It has enabled members of Congress to fulfill promises made at the elections, such as, "If you will vote for me I will get an office for you or for your cousins or your friends." It has encouraged an audacious and insulting effrontery on the part of a class of Congressmen, who, I am glad to say, are not large in number compared with the whole, who have matured themselves by this invasive spirit into a state of abnormal development. I believe that we have a right to attack this practice.

I venture to say, sir, that since President Harrison has been elected there have been hundreds of thousands of letters sent all over the land, with the purpose of relieving him from the painful discharge of his executive power to make appointments. Does any man doubt but that the postmaster, collector and surveyor, and every other officer in the State of Maryland has already been selected by a batch of politicians of the highest skill in these matters?

And so it is, Mr. Chairman, from one end of the nation to the other, in regard to every office within the gift of the President, and every office within the gift of those officers whom the President has to appoint. These legislators, who, upon the fundamental theory of this Government, were bound only to protect and to uphold their own positions, and to let the President discharge the executive functions, have actually taken upon themselves to attend to that part of the executive power which relates to these matters. While the exceptions are very many, yet it is a very generally accepted view that a member of Congress is the man who is to say who shall be postmaster and postmistress; and not that merely, Mr. Chairman, but who shall be assistant postmaster, and who shall be the superintendent of the mails, and who shall be the letter-carrier, and who shall be the bootblack of the establishment, if it comes down to that. It is within my personal experience, with regard to several districts, that all these matters are managed in the interests of members of Congress, by a set of fellows who aided his election.

The member considers that it is a part of his duty to his constituents, when he goes to Washington, to see that such things are done at the executive departments and in the large executive offices as will result in the carrying out of their programme, and he exacts every office down to the very lowest within his Congressional district. I have myself sat back of the President when some gentleman came in on such business, and I was allowed by the President to place myself where I could hear the conversation. It was to this effect: that in a certain down-east State, and very down-east, fifteen votes would probably determine the next election in his "deestrick"; and if he could have the lighthouse-keepers in his district removed and their places filled by his political friends, that would carry the next election in his favor. So, by a mere contemptible bargain, these few men who had imperiled their lives on the sea and watched through stormy nights for the safety of vessels, were to be turned out for the henchmen of that member of Congress.

Now turning to another branch, most Presidents are tormented and embarrassed, worn out and made indignant by the amount of solicitation, pressure, and threats that they are subjected to on the part of a rather limited class of members of Congress. You all remember, probably, that Mr. Garfield said pressure of this kind made it almost impossible for him to discharge his duties; and it takes something like one-third of a man's whole time as a member of Congress to discharge these important duties, as they understand it, to their constituents. I do not suppose that by any resolution that we can pass, members will be any more

affected than the Chinese are by the noise from their gongs, but I think at least the time has come when we ought to draw public attention to this evil. It is fit and proper for a President, within reasonable limits, to consult members of Congress in the appointments in their own district; if they are called on to give opinions, very well. What I propose to read aims at the practice of members of Congress, nearly every morning in the week, as soon as the President's doors are open for receiving anybody, going to the White House, and there claiming precedence, and exercising an invading, affronting, demoralizing, and unconstitutional intrusion upon the constitutional duties of another department of the Government. Now I will read the resolution, and I must apologize for the length of my speech.

Resolved, That it is no less an indefensible intrusion and a violation of the spirit of the Constitution, for officers of the legislative department to go to the White House and there attempt to control the President's discretion in the exercise of the power of appointment, than it would be for the President and members of the Government to go to the Senate and House of Representatives and there attempt to control the discretion of its members in the exercise of the power of legislation.

The resolution was seconded and carried unanimously.

A number of letters were read next, including those of Messrs. S. T. Wallis, Geo. Wm. Curtis, C. K. Adams, Thos. Wentworth Higginson, Roland Hazard, and others.

Mr. Geo. Wm. Curtis, editor of *Harper's Weekly*, wrote: "I am very sorry that I am unable to attend the conference, for nothing could be pleasanter than to exchange congratulations with the friends of a reform whose prospects were never brighter than they are to-day.

"One of the chief and happy results of the active agitation of the question has been the exposure of the utter poverty and futility of the pretended argument in favor of the spoils system. The abuse is urged as its own reason. A whimsical and insulting allegation that it is peculiarly American and sensible to prostitute public employment into a reward for private service is the main argument for the spoils system. With significant frankness a distinguished Senator recently said that there are men who would sacrifice rest and spend money for him, who would get up at midnight and ride forty miles to serve him, and whom, therefore, he would like to reward with some public employment. Every honorable man will commend the Senator's desire to pay for personal service. But every American with a sense of humor will smile at the suggestion that he should be allowed to pay his private debts with public money. There has been nothing more amusing since Artemas Ward's patriotic desire to send his wife's relations to the war.

"The recurrence of Washington's birthday is happily selected for the meeting of the conference, because civil service reform aims at the restoration of the principles and spirit of Washington's administration. In the conduct of public affairs, both in regard to the character and scope of the national policy and the appointment and removal of official agents, his administration is still the best standard, and, until we see a better, we propose to adhere to it. We denounce the spoils system as the enemy of free institutions. We believe that if there is any decline in the tone of American public life, any alienation of the best intelligence in the country from politics, while that intelligence is more than ever active in other spheres of public duty, the misfortune is due mainly to the tyranny of party machines, which are the natural result of the spoils system. In the interest of good government, therefore, we demand a reform which will disable the party machine and permit parties to resume their legitimate functions, which the machines betray. We demand a reform which is peculiarly that of the people, which requires appointments of the non-political agents of the government to be made only for the same reasons that govern removals in private business. There is nothing so democratic as equal rights; nothing so American as fair play."

President Charles K. Adams, of Cornell University,

wrote: "I have an unshaken faith that the cause of civil service reform is quite as important at the present moment as it has ever been in the history of the country. My conviction is firm and abiding that it will be impossible to purify our politics of the corrupt methods that now seem threatening to overwhelm us, until our civil service is thoroughly reformed. I believe, moreover, that the principles of the Pendleton Bill must be extended, that the tenure of office must cease to depend upon the success or failure of either of the political parties, and that political corruption can never cease to exist so long as it is possible to bribe voters and debauch public opinion with promises of office. Bribery of this kind is far more subtle in its influence and far more demoralizing in its effect than bribery with the use of money; and I see no reason for hope that our political methods can be purified in any other way than by a general adoption of the principles advocated by the friends of civil service reform."

Mr. Bonaparte. I will state, Mr. Chairman, that several hundred letters have been received from all parts of the country, and from men of every shade of political opinion as well as, I presume, of religious faith, and certainly from all occupations and classes of society except spoilsmen. All of them have expressed a great interest in the cause, and the letters read are samples merely of a very extensive correspondence which I received, and all of which shows an interest and a zeal in our cause.

Mr. Reynolds. The resolutions introduced this morning have taken a somewhat wide range, and we have expressed ourselves as to what the President should do, what the office-holders should do, what the Senate should do, and what the House of Representatives should do. It seems to me that the old adage of charity beginning at home would require us to give a little good advice to another class of the community, which, I suppose, will pay at least a little attention to our suggestion. I refer, gentlemen, to the great body of civil service reformers, the people who mean business, and I will offer the following resolution:

Resolved, That inasmuch as the success of civil service reform in the United States must depend upon its being sustained by a strong public opinion, and as public opinion is mainly influenced by those who show the courage of their convictions, it is, in the opinion of this conference, highly important that all friends of civil service reform should, whenever called upon to speak in public upon political questions, avail themselves of every opportunity to avow boldly and openly their belief in civil service reform, and to fearlessly advocate it before the people as necessary to restore to them that control over their government to which they are of right entitled, but which of late years has, through the spoils system, been largely usurped by office-holders and office-seekers.

I would like to say a few words in regard to that. I suppose all of us are familiar with that old Latin proverb, to the effect that one might sometimes gain useful information from an adversary, and it is well for us to consider what the opponents of civil service reform say. I have heard it suggested that it is a species of cult, a favored religion practised by a small but highly respectable sect, and a sect so highly respectable that they cannot follow the old method of going down into the highways and byways and taking hold of the Republicans—I mean publicans—and sinners, and telling them to come in; that they assemble at stated times in their places of meeting, pass various resolutions, which, like all other good resolutions, have a certain effect, and that, after that, they lay aside their civil service reform with their Sunday clothes and get down to something else. Now, of course that is not true, but still there is a substratum of truth upon which it is founded. Why don't we go into the political campaign with the question of civil service reform as a thing to determine the votes of the people? I suppose it largely determined the votes of most of the gentlemen present; they don't all agree, but they all have taken sides as they thought would best help the cause of civil service reform. I thought the re-election of Mr. Cleveland would

do more to promote civil service reform than his defeat. My next-door neighbor thought that the defeat of Mr. Cleveland would do more to promote the cause than his election, and we voted different ways; but we each voted in the way which we thought would best serve the cause. Now, gentlemen, I ask you how many times have any of you who believe in civil service reform heard it talked on the stump? Why don't you do it? I think it is for the reason that influenced the old colored preacher when some one suggested to him that he had better reprehend the crime of chicken-stealing, which was prevalent in his congregation. He replied, "When we introduce that subject, we find it frows a coldness over the meeting." So it is with us; it "frows" a coldness over the meeting. There is not a man belonging to either political party who does not know that there are a great many spoils people in his party, and he don't want to throw a coldness over the meeting by talking civil service reform to them. But, gentlemen, is that the right way to do it? Shouldn't we come out boldly and talk civil service reform before the election as well as afterwards? We have had a good deal of reform work here, but the great mistake we have made has been, I believe, that we haven't talked civil service reform enough. We have denounced the bad conduct of spoilsmen; we have said that we must make a change, but we have not gone before the people and said, "Here is this civil service reform system, and we must have that in order to get something better." Occasionally this has been done, and wherever it has been done, the people have taken to it kindly. The spoilsmen don't, of course. Their position is that of old Shylock when he said, "You take my house when you do take the prop that doth support my house; you take my life when you take the means whereby I live." When men are fighting for their lives and for their homes they are in earnest; and if we expect to have any effect upon public opinion, we must show that we are in earnest too. We must show we don't mind saying things that are disagreeable, that we can stand being hissed and hooted at, and we can stand some of the people going away. We can even stand rotten eggs or dead cats; and until the people on whom we wish to make an impression are satisfied that we are in earnest, we shall never succeed in impressing our views upon them.

Mr. T. W. Blakistone. The resolutions which have already been adopted by the meeting express very clearly, distinctly and forcibly the purposes of civil service reformers throughout the country, and it seems to me, sir, lay down very clearly the method to be used for the attainment of the end to which we are all working, and to leave but little to be added. Therefore, with great respect to the gentleman who has just taken his seat, I arise to object to the passage of this resolution. If it be necessary at all, it perhaps might take the shape that all civil service reformers throughout the country who approve the resolutions heretofore adopted should express their views with great frankness and publicity whenever they can. I do not think, however, that a resolution of that sort is necessary, and I am opposed to the adoption of the resolution, if for no other reason than that it seems to encumber the record unnecessarily.

Mr. Jos. Parrish. Mr. President, I suppose that if this resolution should be adopted we would number it ten; I suppose it is to follow the others.

The Chairman. It will follow—at a respectful distance.

Mr. Roosevelt. Mr. President, I approve very heartily of the spirit of that resolution, and yet I do not know that I entirely agree with it or that I would act up to it myself. When I speak during a political campaign I am going to try to hold my audience; I am going to try to get the audience on my side and strengthen my party. A gentleman here, one of the most prominent civil service reformers in our party, said to me just now that in the last campaign he did not think that he used the word civil service reform but two or three times; since, he has used the word very often. Now, at every Republican meeting I have spoken to since the campaign, whether it caused a coldness among them or

not, I have tried my best to impress on them that they were in honor bound to carry out the pledges of their platform; I tried to impress civil service reform upon them as a good thing, and if they could not understand that, I thought very little of their intelligence, but that, at any rate, as gentlemen, as men of honor, they were obliged to stand to their word. I have spoken of it since the election, but during the election I am going to speak to the audience the best way I can to hold them and bring them over to my side. I don't think we want to pass that resolution. I think the great trouble with bodies of this sort is that they are very apt to resolve in favor of virtue in the abstract. It may be that my view of the matter is not the right one; but I am certain and very strongly convinced that every gentleman who has taken part in a political campaign, and who is very strong and earnest in favor of civil service reform, will agree with me that he would rather see the resolution not passed in the form it is in now.

Mr. Dennison. What is a poor campaign speaker going to do under these circumstances? Suppose the collector of the internal revenue district as presiding officer is upon his right and the postmaster is on his left, can he stand before that audience and urge upon them the virtues inculcated in the resolution?

During this last campaign I attempted in four places in the State of Connecticut to talk civil service reform; I attempted to say that that was one of the great issues, one of the things upon which the future welfare of the country depended; and to put it mildly, I got no applause. A moment later I turned from that and talked about tariff and matters that they were interested in, and they awakened and listened to my argument and I carried them with me to some extent. In regard to civil service reform we have a great deal of work to do, even in cultivated New England.

Mr. Dana. I am very glad that this resolution has been proposed, and yet I think I should vote to table it. I am glad to understand that there are people who are sincere civil service reformers and yet do not like to speak about the advantages of civil service reform; I did not know there were such people. I have spoken to audiences in the laboring wards of Boston among the poor people, among the workmen, on civil service reform. I did not get the same kind of enthusiasm from them that you would get immediately from the discussion of something that there was more interest in, but it has been my satisfaction afterwards, more than once, to have persons come to me and say that they were glad to hear I said something about it. The mere fact that they did not applaud me, in my opinion, did not show that they did not appreciate what I said upon that subject, or that nothing should be said about it. Of course, it is well for every political speaker to have the sympathy of his audience, and he is likely to adopt those means which will most readily secure it for him. If you give them something that they can readily understand you can expect to get their hearty sympathy. I think sometimes some little story in connection with it, some little illustration of the advantages of it, something in a practical way that can be stated in such a manner as to be pleasant, will leave a good impression upon them. If nothing more, they will get the impression that a speaker who comes to speak before them wants to speak of the subject. I trust that the spirit of this resolution will spread, and the people among us who are going to speak will inform themselves on civil service reform and will try to make it interesting to their audiences, and will not attempt to get out of speaking of it. At the same time, I think I am, for various reasons, opposed to carrying this motion exactly in the shape in which it now is.

Mr. Swift. I once had the honor of speaking before the Central Labor Union of Indianapolis on the question of civil service reform, and I must say that I never had a better hearing from any class of men in the world. There is no class who are any quicker to comprehend. For instance, you are addressing an audience containing some stationary engineers on the advisability of having competition for an engineer's position. They know that there are certain things necessary to make a good engineer, certain things

that a wise engineer knows and a foolish engineer don't know; they comprehend instantly that competitive examinations on those points would pick out the good men. I do not rise to that point, however; I want to say that in the city of Indianapolis, civil service reform has been broached in at least two or three instances. Mr. President, a son of Oliver P. Morton and myself, among others, have had something to say about civil service reform in Indianapolis; we did it in this way. I was once speaking in the presence of two thousand people, who came miles and miles in wagons, men, women and children who had never heard of civil service reform, who hardly know that there is such a thing. I say to them, "I am in favor of civil service reform; my platform says thus and so upon this subject." Well, what is that? That means good officers, that means death to the spoils system. Well, what is the spoils system? Let me give you an illustration: here in Indianapolis there is an old soldier, with a wooden leg, a respectable man with a family who owned a little cottage of his own and supported his family. He carried the marks of wounds upon him, and he had the respect of the entire community. For fifteen years he stood at the general delivery window of the post-office and handed out the mail. He was put out of his place when the new postmaster came in, and that man walks about to-day with nothing to do. Who took his place? Why, a young man twenty-one years old, who, through the interest of his party, got the place, and for no reason in the world but that his father has political influence. A young girl thirteen years old goes through that postoffice twice a day on her way to school. The young man gets acquainted with her, and from time to time he makes an engagement to meet her and take her riding. At last he takes her to a drinking resort outside of the city. As a result of that the young girl is now in the insane hospital, but the young man is still at his place in the postoffice, kept there by this abominable spoils system. Now, you see, that strikes these people and you can make them understand that. So I say that by a flank movement, if you choose to use that term, you can teach civil service reform, and whatever man, woman or child will come to hear political speeches will listen to you. I do not advise the use of the term civil service reform; if you stick to that your crowd will leave you, but you can tell them the real facts about the matter, and that will do what you want to accomplish.

But I am not in favor of that resolution, although I thank the gentleman for introducing it.

Mr. Roosevelt. I would like to make one brief explanation, especially to my sensitive friend from Massachusetts. I have done something practical for the reform. I was one of the men who put through the legislature the civil service reform law in New York State. We did it in the face of bitter opposition, and if we had spoken in the spirit of this resolution, we should not have had the bill passed.

So, too, I wanted the civil service reform plank put in the Republican platform; not to get votes—I am not perfectly certain whether it did attract votes or not—but I wanted it because I am proud of my party, and want to see my party do well. I do not care to belong to the party if it is a bad party, or if it is to be given up to spoilsmen. Take men like Mr. Sprague and Mr. Hall, who were in the legislature at the time I was there, and who were instrumental in passing the law. Why, do you think they would mention it or would speak of it during their campaigns? Not much! I will be frank to say that if I had had the power to put the question with the force that Mr. Swift has put it, I should doubtless have spoken of it far more often than I have done.

Mr. Reynolds. As there has been no one willing to stand up and support me in my resolution, I suppose that it is fair that I should have another turn at it.

Now my friend opposite suggests that it is impracticable and that I am an impractical doctrinaire. Well, gentlemen, I have been a civil service reformer for twenty years and I have heard that sort of a thing before. Now just let me take the case he puts. He asked how can a man talk civil service reform when he has got the collector on one side and the postmaster on the other? Now I say, gentlemen, how can a

clergyman denounce sin when he has two wicked old millionaires in his vestry? Mr. President, people can talk civil service reform to almost any audience, and I think it is a thing that has been done. I heard my friend, Mr. John K. Cowen, address a Democratic meeting, and he talked civil service reform at them to their teeth; it did throw a coldness over the meeting, but they took it like little men. My friend, Mr. Hennighausen, has said he has spoken a number of times at Republican meetings during the last campaign, and he said that he had never failed to address his people on the subject of civil service reform. There he is, over there, and he will tell you so himself. It has been stated that our President, Mr. Foulke, and Mr. Swift, when they went into this campaign before the people of Indiana—of whom Mr. Foulke told us that there were more politicians to the square inch in that State than in any other in the Union—preached the doctrine of civil service reform before the election. Just as much as they preached that doctrine before the election, so strong will be their influence with the powers of the party after the election. Gentlemen, if we are to carry the principle of civil service reform through, are we to be afraid to say anything to the American people before the election and then go out and try to get up a side show after the election? It doesn't seem to me that it is the right way to do things; it doesn't seem to me that it is a fair sort of way to put the matter before the people.

One more word and I have done. Some people think that if civil service reform were to be talked you would never be asked to address a political meeting. Well now the answer is this: they never have asked us because they love us. The people that have control ask us because they can't help it; they ask us because it pays them to do it and we do them good.

On motion of Mr. Dana, the resolution was tabled.

Mr. Bonaparte. I wish to move, Mr. President, that the Chair appoint a committee of five members, with power to take action in reference to forwarding these resolutions to General Harrison.

The Chairman having put the motion and it being unanimously carried, appointed the following committee: Messrs. Bonaparte, Roosevelt, Swift, Hobart and Rose.

Whereupon, at five o'clock and fifteen minutes P. M., on motion of Mr. Rose, the conference adjourned.

THE PUBLIC MEETING.

At eight o'clock in the evening, a large and highly intelligent audience gathered for the public meeting in the main hall of the Young Men's Christian Association. The proceedings were opened by Mr. Bonaparte, in an address upon:

CIVIL SERVICE REFORM IN MARYLAND.

Those of you who have read "Middlemarch" will remember the character of the lady who, being the wife of a clergyman, and thinking that, as is a good wife's duty, she should admire all that her husband said, tried conscientiously to admire her husband's sermons; she first learned to admire the end, then the middle, and then the beginning, because these came before the end. Now, on the same ground I hope that you will commence by admiring the end of what I say, and then that your admiration will extend back to the beginning, because this must come before the end, and that end must come before what you have come here to hear.

My first duty this evening is to justify, in a few words, the apparent presumption of the Maryland Association in claiming, perhaps some may think in usurping, the lead in this movement. Baltimore was certainly not the cradle of civil service reform, nor has civil service reform found here what scientists would call a specially favorable environment; but I know of no place in the Union where its working during the period of its partial application to the conduct of public business can be more profitably studied; nowhere have its effects been more significant than here. First among these I count the fact that it has made most desirable enemies.

Our senior Senator emphatically "doesn't like it." He said some two weeks ago in the Senate, "I am no civil service reformer; I do not believe in the system; . . . it is un-American." This was not always thus; the Civil Service Reform Law was passed with the aid of Mr. Gorman's vote, and at the banquet in his honor after the campaign of 1884, "Civil Service Reform" was one of the toasts. But since then he has learned more about it, and as he knows it better he likes it less. Nor is he alone in this; our most influential local "boss" is said on good authority to have been much pleased because the St. Louis Convention said nothing definite in favor of civil service reform; and, to turn for a moment to an authority outside of Maryland, the *New York Sun* says "it is as popular among Democrats as diphtheria or scarlet fever."

Although this statement is found where I have said, I believe it to be perfectly true if confined to such Democrats as Arthur P. Gorman and Charles A. Dana. And surely none of us would have it otherwise. When wolves wish ill to watch-dogs, the watch-dogs are probably of some good; when burglars curse a safe, that is the kind of safe to buy. Men who wish their past forgotten; men who feel, despite themselves, that they are despised and shunned by those whose good opinion counts; such men as these can do but one thing to help an honest cause or an honest man: they can accredit it or him by their hatred, and this they have done for our cause and for us.

There was one person of whom Senator Gorman said in the same debate, "he has my entire respect and confidence." This was Commissioner Edgerton, and I am not inclined to deny that he deserved just this praise from just this source. Nor is there any mystery about the causes of this enmity. Of course these are not avowed, but they are none the less evident. Politicians and editors like those I have mentioned hate civil service reform and civil service reformers because these prevent their billeting on the public, as officeholders, dangerous and disreputable men who serve their purposes.

There are many such men to-day in the Federal employ in Baltimore. Less than two years ago the Reform League, in a letter to the Secretary of the Treasury which received no reply, informed him that the then Collector of Internal Revenue had appointed to positions of trust one man who had passed two months in jail for keeping a gambling house; another who had been indicted, although never punished, for shooting a ruffian like himself in the very station-house where the latter was in custody and about to answer for a murderous assault on the future appointee; and a third, who had been imprisoned five years as an insufficient penalty for perhaps the most unprovoked murder ever committed in the city. These were fair specimens, but specimens only of the class of men who then made up, and now make up in great part, the personnel of the Internal Revenue Department here—a department not troubled by the system which Mr. Gorman finds "un-American" and Mr. Dana "Chinese"; and, even more than Mr. Edgerton, they no doubt enjoy, as they certainly merit, the "entire respect and confidence" of both. But *we* look at matters differently; we would like to keep such men out of public employment; and what will keep them out? Is it the want of recommendations from reputable citizens? But every one obtains recommendations: Mr. Eugene Higgins had two or three bank presidents write letters in his behalf; Mr. Morris A. Thomas published what looked very like a recommendation from highly respected members of the Stock Board; George Trust, the most notorious though not the worst of these internal revenue clerks, said, and I have no doubt said truly, that he had been recommended by some who professed to be not only respectable, but reformers as well. Is it the fear of exposure? But these men were exposed throughout the length and breadth of the Union, and what harm did it do them? It didn't stop their salary, and while that was paid, for what else did they care? Is it their incompetency to discharge their legitimate duties? But they are not appointed to discharge those duties; they are appointed to do other work for which they are thoroughly competent, and which they have often done already to the satisfaction of

those who secure their appointments. Whenever a politician can rise from utter obscurity to national prominence through dexterity and success in "stuffing" ballot-boxes and "roughing" polls, he will have need to find berths for those who have done this work for him, and he and they will care little whether they are fit to do other work or not. The one and sole effective barrier which will keep such men out of public service is the "un-American," the "Chinese," the "impractical" device of making their appointment depend not on favoritism, but on merit, and on merit tested by a method which radically excludes favoritism; and competitive examinations, whatever their theoretical merits or defects, furnish practically such a test. The civil service rules may not give us ideal public servants, but they shut out gamblers and assassins. These gentry are not good at examinations; they share the distaste of their senatorial and editorial patrons for the "un-American" system and will have none of it.

All these scandals have occurred in the departments of the service not subject to the rules. Mr. Trust, indeed, passed a civil service examination in the custom-house, but took so low a mark that he despaired of appointment, and turned his attention to a field of labor where "Chinese" methods were not in vogue. And this arose from no hostility to persons of his antecedents on the part of the Collector of the Port, for the latter had then, and, so far as I am informed, has still among his subordinates one man who has been twice tried and once punished for savage assaults gravely endangering the lives of his victims, and another who was appointed when a jury had most scandalously failed to agree that he was guilty of a crime against the suffrage which he had admitted under oath, besides others with records equally edifying—all of them, however, appointed in the unclassified service. Nowhere, better than here, can one see how a public service affected by reform methods compares with one abandoned to the spoilsmen. And we have also had in our postoffice a very striking object lesson in the differences between the results of a presumably fair, though unfriendly, observance of the rules by the postmaster and his fraudulent evasion of them. We had for a year in that office a gentleman, Mr. Parker Veazey, who, having no doubt heard that office is a trust, consistently administered his public office as he did his private trusts, that is to say, shamefully abused both. Finding the civil service rules in his way, he introduced a scheme of certification and appointment, the practical result of which was editorially stated with substantial accuracy in the *Baltimore Sun*, then very friendly to Mr. Veazey, on May 25, 1886, as follows: "He (the postmaster) has taken the entire list of eligibles to appoint from instead of four only, as required by rule XVI"; so that the protection of the rules was reduced to that afforded by a pass-examination of candidates. Under this system he was able, as he boasted, to replace many Republican clerks and carriers with Democrats; but what was the character of the latter? From his successor's report of April 30, 1888, to the Postmaster-General, it appears that he had been obliged, notwithstanding their political orthodoxy, to remove in less than two years no less than one hundred and nineteen of Mr. Veazey's appointees. "To be more specific as to causes," says Mr. Brown, "they have been as follows: inefficiency, discourtesy, general stupidity, want of activity, drunkenness, indifference as to their duties, want of cleanliness, having dangerous associates, dishonesty, and others in whom I did not have confidence as to their trustworthiness, honesty or competency (the majority having been removed for drunkenness)." The grammar of this statement may not be faultless, but its meaning is clear, and, taken in connection with the history of Mr. Veazey's proceedings, very significant. When the "un-American" features of civil service reform had been eliminated by the latter's ingenious devices, the door was opened to the drunken, dirty, disreputable, dishonest and stupid hangers-on of influential politicians who wished them supported at public expense—men just able to stumble through an examination, and whom the new postmaster had for his own protection and comfort to get rid of. And yet Mr. Brown is no more of a reformer than Mr. Veazey; for his chief assistant he chose a man whom the President had been deterred by earnest remonstrances,

based on his antecedents, from making U. S. Marshal. Such, then, is the order: real civil service reform, respectable men as officers; sham civil service reform, drunkards and slovens as officers; no civil service reform at all, gamblers and assassins as officers. These are the lessons of the past four years in Maryland, and I will no longer detain you from hearing what have been these lessons elsewhere.

Mr. Bonaparte then introduced Mr. Richard H. Dana, of Boston, who took as his topic:

THE PROGRESS OF REFORM UNDER CLEVELAND.

In considering what progress the cause of civil service reform has made in the National Government since the inauguration of President Cleveland, we must first agree upon our standard, and then, with absolute fidelity to truth, record the facts as we find them. We stand here to-day, not as members of any political party to whose record we are bound to "point with pride," not as the friends or opponents of any man. Our object is the triumph of the reform to whose support we are pledged, and the best weapons of every reformer are truth and courage. At a conference like this there is no room for concealment or evasion. We can neither disguise nor change the history of the last four years. Let it not be supposed, however, that this is the history merely of the present administration, or that we are here to record the success or failure of President Cleveland. No man in this country, no matter how high his office, can accomplish much unless he is supported by public opinion. If we shall find that the progress of civil service reform has not been as rapid since 1885 as we had hoped, the blame must rest almost equally on the two great parties, and we ourselves must bear our share. The Democratic party, from 1872 to 1884, again and again reiterated its devotion to civil service reform; and nowhere is the true doctrine better stated than in the Democratic platform of 1876:

"Reform is necessary in the civil service. Experience proves that efficient, economical conduct of governmental business is not possible if its civil service be subject to change at every election, be a prize fought for at the ballot-box, be a brief reward of party zeal, instead of posts of honor assigned for proved competency and held for fidelity in the public employ; that the dispensing of patronage should neither be a tax upon the time of all our public men nor the instrument of their ambition."

Since its triumph in 1884 these pledges have been forgotten, and the President of its choice has been exposed to as great a pressure from office-seekers, has received as little support from the leaders of his party in Congress and in the country at large, and has been as fiercely condemned for causing the Democratic defeat of this year by not having made fuller use of his patronage for its benefit, as if the lofty sentiments just quoted had never received the unanimous approval of a national convention.

The Republican party, on the other hand, has never risen above the party standpoint. The Senate, whose elected president lost no supporters when he denounced "the senile gangrene of civil service reform," has confirmed every bad nomination presented to it, has only hesitated, as it hesitates to-day, at good ones. The Republican leaders have sneered at honest effort, have unsparingly denounced shortcoming, have in many cases condemned the principles of civil service reform, while attacking the President for violating them, and, in short, stood always ready to criticise, but never to encourage or help, until now, when the election is over, a tardy magnanimity shows itself occasionally, and the President is reluctantly praised for good intentions.

If they consider this statement too severe, let them tell me in what Republican State has any progress in this reform been made since 1884. Do we find it in Maine, the home of the "uncrowned king," in Vermont, "the star which never sets," in Pennsylvania, which rolls up its unwavering majority, in Ohio, the State of Sherman, among whose ideas this has never found a place; in Kansas, the first fruit of Republican toil? I leave it to my Republican friends to answer where.

We ourselves, the reformers *par excellence*, have too often felt such responsibility for the President whom our votes

helped to elect, that we have excused where we should have condemned, and consented to what we should have resisted. Too many among us made the path of the spoilsman easier by conceding that, though all appointments should not be made for political reasons or to reward party services, yet half the offices might properly be given to political friends. Many of us were content to admit by silence, if not more openly, that until the spoils were equally divided, until half the offices were filled by Democrats, the application of our principles might be suspended; and, in making this admission, we abandoned our strong position. When we, the special friends of the reform, made this concession to alleged political necessity, or, as some preferred to call it, to abstract justice, is it surprising that less ardent reformers fancied that ideal justice was still unsatisfied, and argued that, as the Republicans had enjoyed all the offices for twenty-five years, it would be time enough to divide equally after the Democrats had enjoyed an equal period of exclusive possession? Our concession was fatal, as are all compromises of principle. The justice which we invoked rested on no better foundation than the old spoils system—the fundamental idea of our opponents that the offices belong to the partisan officers, and not to the people. It was that kind of justice which requires an equal division of spoils among thieves, in order to administer which one must adopt the thief's standpoint and admit that there are spoils to divide, ignoring the rights of the true owner, which, in the forum of abstract justice, are, after all, entitled to be heard. We civil service reformers, therefore, must bear our full share of the responsibility for the failures which we must recognize and condemn. No citizen can justly say that his neighbor's responsibility for bad government is greater than his own, nor should he criticise the failures of others, unless he himself has done his best to prevent them. It is the people of the United States who are responsible for delay and failure. Whenever they really determine that the spoils system must go, its doom is sealed. Meanwhile, it is our duty to record the facts, to study the working of existing laws, to devise a remedy for the defects which experience has shown, and to inspire our fellow-countrymen with the belief that from us they may expect the truth spoken without fear or favor.

The principle of civil service reform is that offices exist only because there is public business to be done, and that officers should be appointed solely because they can do their work well, and not to reward them for services to some party or some individual.

The civil service law is an attempt to secure the application of that principle to a certain class of appointments; and to it every citizen, in office or out, owes obedience because it is the law.

The progress made during the last four years is to be tested by considering how far the action of the Administration has been in accordance with the principle of civil service reform, and not by inquiring whether the law has been obeyed, though it is important also to ascertain whether experience has shown that it is possible to obey the letter and yet defeat the spirit of the law.

Bearing these propositions in mind, I invite your attention to the facts, and proceed to state: first, what has been done in the unclassified service; second, what has been done in the classified service; and, third, what is the final judgment on the case. In passing let me remark that the unclassified service is the name given to that part of the service which is not under the civil service rules, and to which appointments may be made without examination.

It includes nearly 100,000 positions out of a total of about 125,000; that is, four-fifths of the service is not at present directly affected by the civil service law.

Has there, in this part of the civil service, been a clean sweep of all of the offices? No. Eighty per cent have been removed, have resigned, or not been reappointed at the expiration of their terms. This percentage is based on the statistics of postmasters, who make up nearly 60 per cent of the unclassified service, and cover all parts of the country, both where there is and where there is not a reform sentiment. This estimate is confirmed by statistics gathered for the *Civil Service Record*, to be published in a few days. In

the Department of the Interior we have full official statistics covering the unclassified service at Washington, and the presidential offices, also unclassified, all over the country.

From March 4, 1885, to Oct. 1, 1888, 78 $\frac{3}{10}$ per cent have been changed. In the Department of State, 85 per cent of the foreign ministers have been changed, which is quite proper, as they have to represent the Administration in carrying out its foreign policy; and in the consular service only 56 per cent have been changed. But, to counteract this, there are offices in which clean sweeps have been made, while in the consular service the positions with salaries of \$2000 and over show 78 $\frac{3}{10}$ per cent changed up to Dec. 1, 1888, while of those with less than \$500 compensation there are 42 $\frac{1}{10}$ per cent new appointments. But how does this compare with other administrations? The only statistics we have for the purposes of such a comparison are those of the changes among postmasters, which, however, seem to give a fair basis. These statistics run from June 30 to June 30, and so give only three full years entirely under each administration. During the three full years under Cleveland, 67 $\frac{1}{2}$ were changed. To compare with this, let us take the first three years covered by our statistics, which include 1 $\frac{1}{2}$ years under Johnson and 1 $\frac{1}{2}$ years of Grant, years ending June 30, 1868, 1869, and 1870. Johnson had pursued his celebrated bread and butter policy, compelling all subordinates who did not agree with him to leave the service. His partisan use of the public service caused the passage of the Tenure of Office Act, because, as Senator Sherman said, in his opinion on the impeachment of Johnson, "The President, having formally abandoned the political party that elected him, undertook by general removals to coerce the officers of the government to support his policy." When Grant came in, he was compelled, according to the idea of the times, to make counteracting changes. These three years, therefore, may then be held to represent the grossest application of the spoils doctrine to the service since the sweep which followed the first Republican victory in 1860. During these three years, the percentage of changes was 65 $\frac{1}{2}$, just 2 per cent less than in the three years of Cleveland. In Grant's first term it was 55 $\frac{1}{2}$ per cent, in his second 57 $\frac{1}{2}$, and in Garfield's and Arthur's 53; while in Hayes's, the most reform President, it was 48 $\frac{1}{2}$, or just 19 points less than in Cleveland's. Under Cleveland, the proportion of removals to resignations is much larger than at any other period.

Not only have the changes been numerous in the unclassified service, but the established policy has been to fill the vacancies (only a few rare cases excepted) with members of one party only; and when, in one office of the War Department, the changes had been very few, a Benet circular was issued, to suggest that half the officers should be replaced by Democrats, thus maintaining the idea that the offices belong to the party and not to the country, and are to be used as rewards for party allegiance.

As to the interference of government officials with the free action of the people in nominations and elections, we cannot forget that the circular of the President in that regard was greatly weakened by the reinstatement of Benton, who was a Democrat, and the refusal to reinstate Stone, who was a Republican, though their cases were hardly to be distinguished, at last, in any way in favor of the reinstated Democrat.

On the other hand, it is something that in the unclassified civil service 20 per cent should still be Republicans. It is something that nine foreign ministers, all Republicans, with an aggregate yearly salary of \$28,550, should still be left in office on the 1st of December, 1888; and it is some tribute to the reform sentiment that there are 451 Republican consuls, out of a total of a little over 1000, left in office, and that 32 of those still in office have each a salary of \$2000 and over a year. The pressure for these places from smelling committees and members of Congress, whose renomination, or election is in doubt, must have been appalling. As Mr. Vilas wrote me about the removals in Indiana, that, though the number seemed large, I ought to be aware of the amount of pressure resisted and the mistakes avoided before judging the Administration. I have no doubt that it has taken a great deal of courage and perseverance to keep in the remaining 20 per cent; but if, from the beginning, it had

been established that no party appointments were to be made, there would have been no pressure to resist. This is not a mere theoretical idea. It is the universal experience that, when vacancies are to be filled from fairly conducted competitive examinations, no pressure is brought to bear for removals. Since by the reappointment of Mr. Pierson to the New York postoffice it has become established that that office is out of politics, I understand there is no pressure for his place. In Massachusetts, Congressman John E. Russell, who was elected in 1886 as a civil service reformer, is reported as saying that he has not been troubled with applicants for places as others have, and, in answer to an inquiry on the subject a few days ago, he wrote us a letter, in which he says: "The report is absolutely true. No one of my constituents," he adds, "has been appointed in any of the departments (unless through the Commission), nor have they asked for it. I have had no application for places in the custom-houses or navy-yards." In the postoffices in his district, some twelve or more in number, only one change has been made, and that on the resignation of the postmaster, to take the office of County Commissioner, to which that postmaster was elected.

Again, the assessment of officeholders has wholly ceased in Washington, and largely disappeared elsewhere, though the law against it is easily avoided. During the last campaign it still existed, but only in a few places. Notwithstanding the Stone and Benton cases, and notwithstanding the blindness of the Administration to official interference with conventions, caucuses, and elections at Baltimore, Md., Binghamton, N. Y., and elsewhere, still the officials have had to be cautious, as a rule, and the Democratic Presidential Convention at St. Louis last year was conspicuous for its absence of Federal officials either as delegates or as manipulators.

Notwithstanding the large number of changes in the postal service, and the just complaints there have been in certain localities, the official reports show that the percentage of accuracy in handling mail matter has reached its highest point during the last two years of Cleveland's administration—namely, 99.973 per cent—and that the tests for the accuracy among the railway mail clerks show a decided improvement under Cleveland over any previous years. (Report of Postmaster-General, 1888, p. 331 et seq.)

As to the quality of the appointments, we have had, as in the number of removals, a sort of local option; but what can be expected when the avowed policy has been not to reappoint even the best officials at the expiration of their terms, filling all vacancies, however caused, from one party only, and continuing to consult the Congressmen of one party as to appointments? Lastly, it should not be forgotten that nearly three-fourths of the four-year-term offices were allowed to stay in at the end of their terms.

Coming to the classified service, what do we find there? In the Department at Washington, the percentage of changes from March 4, 1885, to November 1, 1888, is estimated at 10 per cent of those appointed under the rules, a great contrast to the 80 per cent in the unclassified service. Investigations have been conducted in Kansas City, into the administration of Postmaster Veazey at Baltimore, Postmaster Aquila Jones at Indianapolis, of the postmaster at Newark, N. J., into the case of Collector Hedden of New York, of the postmaster at Philadelphia, of Collector Seeberger of Chicago, and of the Chicago postmaster. The only investigation where the charges were fully sustained was in that against Postmaster Veazey of Baltimore. Postmaster Veazey, after some delay, was allowed or compelled to resign.*

The investigation at Indianapolis was ordered by the President, where a majority of the Commission was Republican, and though the evidence against Jones was very strong, the report was rather less so, and rather discredited the statements of the reformers of Indiana in the eyes of the President, and may account for his failure to give them more attention afterwards. These investigations, however, showed much contempt for the reform on the part of several of the officials investigated and of Mr. Edgerton, the president of the Commission; and the retention of these gentlemen in places

* The resignation was not due to the investigation. Commissioner Lyman had a stormy interview with Veazey, May 22, 1886, and made formal charges, June 5. Veazey resigned April 28, 1886.—Ed.

where the reform was at their mercy is, to my mind, the most conclusive proof that Mr. Cleveland must go down to history as putting the reform second to party expediency.

But, on the other hand, these investigations were not without their good fruit, which also showed that, though the reform had a subordinate place in Cleveland's estimation, he was still in its favor.

These investigations showed that the private secretaries of the heads of postoffices and custom-houses were appointed on the local examining boards, so that the whole eligible lists became known to the appointing officer, that applications were made directly to the appointing officer, who then had ample opportunity, while discharging his duty, to be brought into contact with applicants and learn their party standing, that local boards might by private marks find out who wrote the examination papers and so aid favorites, and that the choice of one in four was so large as to give too tempting an opportunity to exercise political favoritism. Therefore, the rules were so changed that no private secretary of the head of an office should be put on the examining board, that the local boards should be selected by the Commission, that applications should be made directly to the civil service boards, and that the examination papers of the local offices could be examined by the central board at Washington, and that appointments should be made from the highest three instead of four, equivalent to confining the choice to three out of five instead of three out of six, where several appointments are to be made from the same eligible list.

It has also appeared that many subordinate officials appointed under the spoils system and still retained in the classified service are really inefficient. In order to weed these out and to provide for the regulation of promotions, compulsory examinations of all in the classified places are provided for by a change of the rules, and, if any are found unable to pass after two trials, they may be dropped from the service. The application of this system is being tested in the War Department and the New York customs service, under plans somewhat different in detail.

The most important step taken by the Administration has been the extension of the classified service. When the rules went into operation in 1883, there were 13,897 places included. This was extended only slightly under President Arthur by a little over 100, making it about 15,000 when Cleveland took the oath of office. By extensions upward and downward in the departments, custom-houses and post-offices, and taking in the Bureau of Engraving and Printing, the number was increased to 22,248 before the election, an increase of nearly 50 per cent, and by 5370 since the election by including the railway mail service.

As to the pledges of President Cleveland. If we look only at the specific pledges, we see they were very guarded, and were of a kind sure to fall far short of curing the evils which Mr. Cleveland so strongly condemned in general terms. Then, taking it altogether, what have we got? Complete civil service reform? Far from it. What have we had? An intentional and thorough-going spoils administration? Not that either. I think we have had a President who saw the evils of the spoils system and was impressed with the need of reform, and desired to accomplish it; but he was also impressed with the belief that some of the civil service reform ideas were a little too "sentimental," that the political glue-pot—the adhesive quality of patronage—must be kept going in order to preserve his party, and that at least all vacancies that occurred should be filled by party friends. This policy, these concessions to the party glue-pot, made it the interest of the party friends that the vacancies should be numerous. As I have said before, the President is not alone to blame. Neither party sustained him in his reform efforts; and reformers, by not holding up the true standards, showed they needed to be reformed themselves, and made the road easier for the spoilsman and the harder for the best intentions of the President. On the whole, though we have not got civil service reform yet, and although, from an ideal standpoint, the Administration has failed to give us a civil service reform, who can say that there has not been real, substantial progress? Had not our expectations been raised so high

at the beginning, had an equal progress been made by a President not believed in as a reformer, we should now, I think, be congratulating ourselves and commending him.

If the next Administration will, in its turn, make as great progress as the last, and each succeeding one will improve as much on its predecessors, some of us—and not the youngest either—may yet live to see the reform fully established.

If the incoming President expects to accomplish anything in the way of advance, let him not make the mistake of putting at the head of any office, either post-office, custom-house, Civil Service Commission, or in his cabinet, any one hostile or even indifferent to the success of the reform.

But no Administration will ever wholly succeed until it abandons the idea that either half the offices belong to wholly the party or that all the offices belong half to the party, and will go further and establish such methods of permanent reform as will withstand the attacks of its enemies in succeeding administrations.

It was a great thing to have lived to see this country survive a civil war. Rome outlived civil war, but the Republic was unable to outlast political corruption. The heart of any true patriot must glow with enthusiasm and hope to see so many earnest men gathered here to shield our dear country from political corruption, to do which is the beginning, end, and aim of civil service reform.

At the conclusion of Mr. Dana's speech, Mr. Bonaparte said:

The chairman, on an occasion like the present one, has to discharge, to some extent, at least, according to my conception of his duties, the functions that were formerly attributed to a Greek chorus, and furnish a sort of running commentary on what we have heard from the speakers.

I found the speech of my friend Mr. Dana very interesting, but with all the gratitude I feel towards him for the pleasure he gave me, I cannot say I found it cheering. Unfortunately, however, he had to deal with facts; if the facts were not cheering, I can only say, in the words of a great philosopher, "the facts ought to be ashamed of themselves."

Now, ladies and gentlemen, our next speaker will deal perhaps with flights of fancy, and perhaps visions of prophecy, so he will have no such excuse; and, therefore, I take great pleasure in introducing to you as the next speaker Mr. William Dudley Foulke, of Indiana, who will tell us what we have a right to expect from the Republican party.

WHAT WE MAY EXPECT FROM THE REPUBLICANS.

My friends, I fear that I am somewhat unfortunate in coming between the speeches which you have just heard—the admirable addresses of Mr. Bonaparte and Mr. Dana, and the address of Mr. Roosevelt, which you are hoping to hear—I fear that I shall be sandwiched, as it were, the one dark morsel between a delightful recollection and a flattering hope. But perhaps I can do something by way of consolation in drawing some little augury of the future from the past. What have we a right to expect from the Republican party? At a recent meeting of our Indiana Association, we had occasion to examine somewhat in detail the precise meaning of the declarations of that party in regard to civil service reform. At the outset—I must ask pardon of some of those here present, who may have heard or read of our discussions upon that matter, for repetition—I desire, very briefly indeed, to recapitulate the conclusion to which we were led. The Republican party acquired power upon certain promises embodied in its national platform. This is the language: "The men who abandoned the Republican party in 1884 and continued to adhere to the Democratic party, have deserted not only the cause of honest government, of sound finance, of freedom, of purity of the ballot, but especially have they deserted the cause of reform in the civil service. We will not fail to keep our pledges because they have broken theirs, or because their candidate has broken his." The platform is made, therefore, not simply a declaration of policy, but a definite pledge, which it would be impossible, without a breach of faith, for an administration acquiring power upon the strength of it, not to carry out.

The platform goes on: "We therefore repeat our declaration of 1884, to wit: the reform of the civil service, auspiciously begun under a Republican administration, should be completed by the further extension of the reform system, already established by the law, to all the grades of the service to which it is applicable. The spirit and purpose of reform should be observed in all executive appointments, and all laws at variance with the object of existing reform legislation should be repealed, to the end that the dangers to free institutions which lurk in the power of official patronage may be wisely and effectively avoided."

General Harrison tells us in his letter of acceptance that, in regard to all the declarations of the convention, he is in complete accord with every part of this pledge, and he has, therefore, made it his own distinct promise.

Now, what is the meaning of these words? They are capable of pretty definite construction.

"The reform should be extended to all grades of the service to which it is applicable." By whom should that extension be made? Undoubtedly by that branch of the Government which now has control over executive appointments. By the constitution, that belongs to the President, and it is the President, and not Congress, therefore, to whom we are to look for the redemption of this pledge. The pledge cannot, under any circumstances, be fulfilled by a mere approval by the Executive of additional reform legislation. The affirmative act must be done by the President, and in Section 1753 of the Revised Statutes it is declared that the President is authorized to prescribe such regulations for the admission of persons into the civil service of the United States as may best promote the efficiency thereof, and ascertain the fitness of each candidate; and for this purpose he may employ suitable persons to conduct inquiries, and may prescribe their duties. The power is plenary. Should Congress be solicited to pass new laws extending the system, the answer could be fitly made that the power is already with the President.

General Harrison has promised that the rules shall be extended to all grades of the service to which they are applicable.

The next question is, to what grades of the service is the reform system applicable? The Civil Service Act itself enumerates the grades to which it is applicable, and to which it has not been extended. The sixth section makes it the duty of the Postmaster-General to require a classification of employes at each postoffice where there are as many as fifty employes, and at the request of the President he shall classify all other postoffices. Employes are classified in only thirty-seven postoffices under this section. The statute recognizes others to which it should be extended, and there is no reason why it should not be extended to all offices where there is a free delivery of mail matter. There is as much reason for its application there as to the larger places; the duties are substantially the same; the positions are non-political. There is no court in Christendom which, in construing the meaning of the promise, would deny that the system is applicable to those places by the terms of the act. By the terms of the act it is the duty of the President to direct this extension; such extension, therefore, he has definitely agreed to make.

Similar provisions are made in the act regarding the employes of collectors, naval officers, surveyors and appraisers in the customs service, and the platform applies to all these places where the rules are not yet extended.

The promise to extend the reform to all places to which it is applicable certainly applies to these places, to which the reform system has already been successfully applied. In these cases experience has shown that it is applicable. The men that drafted the platform, and the convention which adopted the platform, knew similar provisions had been applied in the service in Massachusetts, New York and elsewhere, to grades to which they have not yet been extended by the Federal Act, and in promising that the reform should be extended to all grades to which it is applicable, they certainly included these. As an illustration, the Massachusetts law has shown that the civil service rules can be most perfectly applied to laborers, by means of which the country will avoid the

unwholesome spectacle of vast numbers of men being employed in navy yards and elsewhere just before the election, for the purpose of securing their votes and political support.

By the Federal Act, laborers need not be classified, but there is nothing which forbids such classification. The President has power to make it. It ought to be made, and the platform has substantially promised that it shall be.

The Civil Service Commissioners, without regard to party, have brought to the attention of the President other branches of the service to which the rules may be applied; among these were the employes of the Railway Mail Service and many places in the Indian Bureau, in the Labor Bureau, in the War Department, and in the Department of Agriculture. Some of these recommendations have been adopted, and the outgoing administration has done no act more important than the inclusion of the Railway Mail Service within the rules. We believe that we have not only the promise of the President-elect that the extensions shall be maintained, but also that the law shall be applied to those places to which it is not extended, but where the unbiased judgment of those best qualified to determine shall declare that it is applicable.

Now, these are some of the places to which I think it may be definitely affirmed that the Republican party, in its platform, has agreed to extend the reform. In respect to a much wider range of non-political offices, such as consulships and fourth-class postmasterships, where the ground is more debatable, we may hopefully await the ripening influences of time and a more progressive public sentiment.

But the promise does not stop at the extension of the rules; the spirit and purpose of reform should be observed in all executive appointments. That spirit and purpose is, that in non-political offices men are not to be appointed, rejected, or discharged on account of political services or opinions, but on account of their fitness to perform the duties of office, and that they are not to use their official places for political purposes. The President-elect, in his letter of acceptance, shows that this is his understanding. He says, "In appointments to every grade and department, fitness and not party service should be the essential and discriminating test, and fidelity and efficiency the only sure tenure of office." We believe, therefore, that the spectacle will not be repeated of the appointment of new and untried men to positions for which they have shown no qualifications, on account of the aid given by them to the party or its candidate during the campaign. It will be impossible, for instance, that such a position as a consulship, a place requiring business experience and a knowledge of the language and usages of the country where the duties are to be performed, shall be filled by a man without business qualifications, ignorant of both language and usages, because such a person has been an effective campaign speaker or useful in the organization of the party in power. Fitness, so says General Harrison, is to be the essential and discriminating test.

More than this, the President-elect has said, "only the interest of the public service should suggest removals from office." This means a great deal; it means that the clamor of aspirants and local political sentiment shall not remove the Democratic official who has faithfully performed his duty.

The platform, then, promises two things: first, an extension of the rules; and, secondly, the application of reform principles to places outside the rules. While the latter is wider in its scope and harder to carry out, I am inclined to think that the extension of the classified service is the more important of the two. If improvement in the personnel of the service is to depend upon the whim of those in power, the benefit is likely to be fleeting. Let the President-elect be ever so firm in withstanding party pressure, yet the good which flows from this may come to an end when the administration goes out, or, at least, with the downfall of the party in power. Let a reform President be followed by a spoilsman, and all that has been won will be lost; but, if the rules are extended, the gain is more likely to be lasting. The widening of the classified service is a recognition of the great principle that law is to be substituted for personal pleasure, and that is the main point. In the history of absolute gov-

ernments, rulers, good and bad, follow each other like shade and sunshine across the field, but when law is put into the place of arbitrary power, something has been gained for all time; the step backward is seldom taken. Free institutions spread, and the reign of law becomes lasting, from the continued proofs of its beneficent character. So is it in our reform. For myself, I attach the greatest importance to the modest but permanent gain of the extension of the classified service.

The history of the growth of reform in England shows that the betterment of the service outside the rules will not by any means keep pace with the extension of the classified system. After the reform had been introduced into most of the departments of government, the few offices where the patronage system remained were worse than ever, until the wretched service in these places had its effect in a demand for the further extension of the classification, and the utter overthrow of the old system became, therefore, inevitable. So will it be with us. Where the two systems stand side by side for comparison, the fittest will be sure to survive; let us, then, bend our energies mainly to this point; let us rather forgive unworthy appointments disconnected with the classified service than overlook an evasion of the law. Let us insist that within the stronghold of the Civil Service Act none shall enter by whose hand it can be delivered to the enemy. Let no man be permitted to carry out this law who is not in sympathy with its purposes.

General Harrison says the law should have the aid of a friendly interpretation, and be faithfully and vigorously enforced; but this cannot be done if men who are not in favor of it, men who, like Postmaster Aquila Jones, say they despise it, are appointed to carry it out. If spoilsmen are to be chosen for the service of our Government, we must insist, as a vital matter, that they be excluded from places which involve the selection of employes under the Civil Service Act. General Harrison says that all appointments under this law should be absolutely free from partisan considerations; but this can never be if those clothed with the power to make such appointments are themselves warped by the prejudices of the spoils system.

The promise of the Republican platform, however, does not stop with the executive branch of the Government. All laws at variance with the object of existing reform legislation should be repealed; what does this mean? The object of reform legislation is to make the tenure of these offices dependent upon fitness and upon the faithful performance of duty, and any law which provides that it shall depend upon anything else is at variance with this. The act which makes places subject to change every four years, without regard to the fitness of the incumbent, gives a pretext for removing good men upon the ground that their term has expired, and thus encourages the appointment of those who are inexperienced and often incompetent. The promise of the platform, if it refers to anything, refers to this law. Since both houses of Congress are to be controlled by the same party as the executive branch of the Government, we have a right to expect fulfilment of the promise that this act shall be repealed.

Now, these are the promises of the party; we have a right to draw the augury of fulfilment from an inspection of the past, of both the party and the candidate. All the great promises of the Republican party have been kept. With regard to slavery, the preservation of the Union, the exclusion of foreign influence from America, negro enfranchisement, the redemption of the public debt, the construction of the Pacific railroads, the treatment of the sailors and soldiers of the war, the regulation and restriction of Mongolian immigration, the protection of American industries; with respect to each of these questions, the accomplishment of the promise of the party, whether wisely or unwisely, has been indelibly impressed upon our history, and in some cases engraven upon the Constitution itself. Sometimes the fulfilment of a pledge came more slowly than it ought to come; polygamy, in spite of the promised prohibition, led a precarious and expiring life; but in time these things came to pass, and the fundamental promises of the party have become accomplished facts.

In the matter of civil service reform, the declarations have

been emphatic, often repeated, and a good deal has been done toward the fulfilment of them.

In 1872 the platform declared that any system, under which subordinate positions were considered the reward of mere party zeal, was fatally demoralizing. It favored a reform by laws which should abolish the evils of patronage, and make honesty, efficiency, fidelity and usefulness the qualifications for public positions, without practically creating a life tenure of office.

In 1876 the platform went further. It declared that Senators and Representatives, who might be judges and accusers, ought not to dictate appointments to office. It stated that the invariable rule in appointments should have reference to the honesty, fidelity and capacity of the appointees, giving the party in power those places where harmony and vigor of administration require its policy to be represented, and permitting the others to be filled by persons selected with sole reference to the efficiency of the public service and the right of all citizens to share in the honor of rendering faithful service to their country.

In 1880 the party declared that reform in the civil service should be thorough, radical and complete. The platform stated that, to that end, the party demanded the co-operation of the legislative with the executive department of the government, and that Congress should so legislate that fitness, ascertained by proper practical tests, should admit to the public service; and that the power of removal for cause, with due responsibility for the good conduct of subordinates, should accompany the power of appointment.

In 1884 the party inserted a declaration which is the same, with the exception of the introductory criticism of Independents, as that contained in the platform of the last convention.

The party, then, stands committed, not by one platform merely, but by the declarations of five successive national conventions, to the doctrines of civil service reform. As in respect to other great questions, these promises, as well as the performance of them, have been progressive. In the slavery question, it was first exclusion from the territories, then emancipation, then enfranchisement. So with the civil service, the demand was first for reform in law, and afterwards for the abstention of Congress and the extension of reform principles outside of the law.

In the first two platforms there is a lingering flavor of the old doctrine of rotation and the right of any man to hold office. This has disappeared from the more recent utterances of the conventions. In performing the promise the party has gone on in the same way—first, by regulations in a few of the larger offices, such as the custom-house and postoffice in New York city; then by the act of 1883, withdrawing the present classified service from the spoils system. The abstention of congressmen, the further extension of the rules, and the application of reform principles to the unclassified service, are the things yet to come. The condition of the party, both in its platform and its acts, has been that of growth. It is following the great law of nature: first the blade, then the ear, and then the full corn in the ear. Who shall say that, in the fullness of time, the harvest shall not be ripened and gathered? As it is with the party so it is with the President-elect. He is a keeper of promises. So far as future conduct can be foretold by past life and character, we have, in the uprightness and honesty conceded to General Harrison everywhere, the strongest ground for belief that when once his word is out, the last jot and tittle will be fulfilled. When he tells us that fitness will be the test and that he will advance the reform, we feel sure that worthy men will fill the offices. The highest motives urge him on to the accomplishment of his promise. The plainest dictates of honor and good faith imperiously demand it; duty to the state requires it in behalf of good government; duty to himself requires it because his word is given.

With Mr. Cleveland, the comparison between promise and performance was most effectively made. Every shortcoming was noticed, every gap between word and deed was laid bare in the plainest language possible. Every case where Mr. Cleveland failed to come up to the standards of duty was thrown into the balance against him in a closely contested

election, and I think we may say that the weight of these shortcomings was enough to turn the scale.

A President may be a spoilsman, believing it to be right, and still retain the respect of the world; but a President who is in any degree a spoilsman, after his own words have declared that the spoils system is wrong, must forfeit the confidence of the people. Such would be the fate of any incoming administration, so far as it would repeat the shortcomings of the one which is now taking its leave. The pressure of office-seekers will be enormous, it will be constant and inexorable; but that very pressure furnishes the strongest inducement for the widest possible extension of the classified service. The pressure can be relieved only by the substitution of an automatic device for that arbitrary discretion which every office-seeker will insist ought to be exercised in his favor. The great engine of the civil service is becoming too large and complicated in its movements for all of them to be controlled by the personal will of the engineer. The governor and the safety-valve must be self-regulating. The authority of the President must be reserved for more important things than the distribution of places.

The President is impelled to this reform, not only by the stern commands of duty, but by even greater motives. So far as mere office is concerned, the President has reached the summit of all earthly hope; there is no prize glittering before him fairer in promise than that which he already holds. Yet office, whether high or low, is little more than opportunity; even the Presidency is only that greater and higher shaft, upon the marble of which are yet to be inscribed those acts which shall pass into history. A President with a just conception of his opportunity will work, not for ease or present popularity, not for the perpetuation of power for four years more; his effort will be directed to the doing of that which shall last for all time. The *monumentum aere perennius* is the one goal ahead.

In what way can the incoming administration best become the benefactor of humanity? In what way better, than by eliminating the great danger that hangs over our republican institutions—that lust of office which is corruptly nourished by the spoils of office?

As the advocate of the protective tariff, the efforts of the new administration will be mainly conservative; it has no new fields to conquer; it has little to distinguish it from its predecessors; it must shine by reflected light. The credit or blame will be mainly due to Congress and not to the President, as the burden of all legislation rests upon the Congress. But with civil service reform, the problem is to bring to a successful issue the efforts of Grant, Hayes, Arthur, and Cleveland, which have resulted in a most imperfect success. The man who shall complete this fabric, and work it into our Government as the jury system is ingrained in our institutions, this man will receive and deserve the lasting gratitude of our posterity; the credit will be due, not to Congress, but to the President alone, for in his hand the power resides to extend the reform.

The same principles of human liberty which underlie our jury trial are at the foundation of our civil service reform. The order of procedure of our courts is upon the idea that in the long run it is safer to trust the rights of men to a system of fixed rules, even when administered by such imperfect instruments as our juries generally are, than to turn them over to the caprices of officialism; and we civil service reformers say, that in like manner, appointments should be controlled by examination and trial made in pursuance of rules, even though these are defective, than that they should be regulated by the arbitrary will of the appointing power, where personal and party interest are so apt to override considerations of public good. Just as the law determines personal and property rights by obliterating the motives for corrupt decisions, just so does it promote the liberty of the man who grants an office and of the man who seeks it. It removes the possibility of tyranny upon one side and sycophancy upon the other; the office-holder serves the people and not the political manager; it is the spoils principle that stands for monarchy, and civil service reform stands for that liberty which is secured by law.

Should General Harrison, then, succeed in establishing civil

service reform upon a permanent basis, he will have added a new and lasting course in the construction of that fabric of liberty, the foundations whereof our fathers laid and our brothers cemented with their blood. It will rise—for it is far from finished—more symmetrically and solidly for the additional support. Other great questions are still coming, such as those affecting the relations of labor and capital; work upon them cannot be safely done until the lower courses are securely laid, and civil service reform must precede every other reform. The laws of social gravitation demand it.

Happy among his contemporaries, blest for all time, will be the President whose hand is strong enough to work the reform of the civil service solidly and permanently into the fabric of our institutions.

Men call us dreamers and impracticable, as they called the anti-slavery people thirty years ago; but when we build our dreams upon the necessities of our political life, the fulfilment draws nigh even while the vision lasts. When Walpole distributed his bribes and his offices, when Parliament was rotten with a corruption which permeated and degraded every class of society, what a wild dream it was to forecast a time when political activity could be nourished by healthier nutriment than the love of money and the spoils of office, when men would struggle for principle and not for place. But lo! the cloud is scattered, and the statecraft of our mother commonwealth is no longer soiled with the debauchery of spoils and bribes, the remnants of which still linger among her progeny of States across the sea; and while we dream of the same better time approaching, lo! before our very eyes the vision turns to a living reality.

After Mr. Foulke's address, Mr. Bonaparte came forward and said:

I am very sorry, ladies and gentlemen, that I was obliged to put my friend Mr. Foulke in a position where his insufficiency presented so painful a contrast to what went before, but this was not wholly my fault. To relieve his mind, however, I will not give you Mr. Roosevelt at this moment. I have another duty to perform.

In the *Sun* this morning, which I hadn't time to read (I request the *Sun* reporter to take note that this was an unusual occurrence), I am told there was an article in which a certain gentleman in Boston expressed his opinion that this meeting would be very much of a failure, because the people who really counted, including himself, were not coming. I have a horrible apprehension that possibly the committee were responsible to some extent for this misfortune, for we cannot recollect whether we invited this one important gentleman or not.

To show you, however, ladies and gentlemen, that we have brought here to speak in behalf of our cause those whom our own obscurity allowed us to know the prominence of, I take great pleasure in introducing to you Mr. H. H. Sprague, the president of the Boston Association, and chairman of the committee of the Massachusetts Legislature who introduced there the bill for ballot reform, an act which, I believe, is useful in Massachusetts, and, although here we never need any such reform (cheating at elections being wholly unknown here), still, as charity is one of the characteristics of Marylanders, we shall be glad to hear from some one belonging to a more benighted community. Mr. Sprague said:

I hardly know what to say to you after the introduction that I have had. I have been reading a little about Boston lately, and I remember that I saw that the colonial legislature of Massachusetts more than 250 years ago declared that Boston was the fittest place for public meetings. I know that we try to keep up some sort of a reputation amongst ourselves for public meetings in that old city of that old commonwealth of Massachusetts. They got flattered a little over a hundred years ago by Alexander Hamilton, who visited them and declared that Boston was the headquarters of good principles. But, Mr. President, I have to-day been more than convinced that Baltimore is the fittest place in the United States to hold a meeting for the advancement of the cause of civil service reform. I believe that in Massachusetts it is impossible to obtain such an agitation and such a discussion of the subject as we have had here in Baltimore. We have

a civil service reform law in Massachusetts; we find that it is enforced and there is a submission to the law upon the part of the politicians, and so it is a very difficult matter to get up an interest in civil service reform in Massachusetts. But the case seems different in Baltimore; you seem to have been taking an object-lesson in civil service reform. You have been finding out the reason of civil service reform, and perhaps there is no faith in the principles so fervent as that which comes from seeing the evils which result from the want of civil service reform principles thoroughly and properly applied.

I believe it was in New Hampshire that a town meeting was held to discuss the question of having a high school established in the town, and the various inhabitants rose and gave their opinion upon the question, and specially urged the importance of a high school on account of the advanced learning of the children of the town. But there was an old farmer there who did not as usual join in the discussion. Finally he was called upon to give his views upon the subject. He said that he had always supposed that the chief qualification for a scholar was ignorance. Now, it seems to me that we have very largely in this country this requisite qualification for scholars in the matter of civil service reform. We have the ignorance of the people upon this subject, and it is the duty of civil service reformers to enlighten them, and the day of mere statements and of simple opinions on that question has gone by. We have come to the time when the facts should be made known to the people. We have a civil service reform law, both a national law and a law in two, at least, of the commonwealths of the country. That law has in some sections failed of enforcement; in other sections the law has been enforced, and we have the facts before us, and it is the duty of civil service reformers to lay them before the people. Here in Baltimore facts have been told us to-day and to-night; it is our duty to lay them before the people in detail, and not simply in high school form for the advanced pupils in this matter, but in the form of a primer for the people. Tell them in the *CIVIL-SERVICE REFORMER* and the *Civil Service Record*.

If a law is a good one, it is shown by the results which follow from its enforcement. In Massachusetts we have the enforcement, to a very large extent, of our civil service reform law, and the facts as to the enforcement of the law in Boston are known by both the friends and the opponents of that law. A few weeks ago the City Council of Boston established the position of a water inspector; the Mayor of that city had the impression that it didn't come under the civil service law and he appointed a friend to that office whose function was to examine into the sources of water supply; for that office he appointed a cigar-maker. But the Civil Service Commissioners came in and said, "That is a position which belongs to us to offer a nomination for." The friend of the Mayor had to go before the Commission to pass an examination for his fitness—you know very well that a cigar-maker could not pass an examination for such a position—and the result was the appointment through the Civil Service Commission of an officer who conducted the office satisfactorily. There is not a bridge-tender in Boston who can be appointed upon the demand of an alderman, as formerly was the case; an examination is held for applicants as to their knowledge of bridges and mechanics, and the man that has the most knowledge gets the first mark. From the men who know most about the business, a bridge-tender is appointed.

It used to be the case that a policeman in Boston was appointed because he brought in the most influential petition to the appointing power, but it is not so to-day. All persons who desire to serve upon the police force must go before the Civil Service Commission and receive an examination before they are appointed, and an examination in what? An examination to know if they are sufficiently acquainted with the ordinances of the city to make a proper arrest. An examination which ascertains if the candidate for the position can see a thief, or can hear the evil that is going on in his neighborhood. A policeman has sometimes got to run after a thief or a criminal, and before he is appointed he has got to show the ability to run upon the running track. He

has got to stand an assault, and before he is appointed he must go into a gymnasium to show whether he has got the muscle to hit back again. As Mr. Foulke has said, we have a registration even for the employment of city laborers. All applicants, before they are employed, have to go before the Civil Service Commissioners and they are classified there. If a man has had previous service on the sewer department, that is put to his credit; if a man has had previous service in painting or upon the Common he is classified as to that, and then he is classified as having served in the army or navy; he is classified further according to the family he has to support, and upon such classification the appointments are made.

Why, within a week the head of one department in Boston told me that he could not have fulfilled the duties of his office if he had not been able to tell the men who were applying for places, "I cannot give a man a place; every man I appoint has got to take the examination of the Civil Service Commissioners."

I was conversing last night with one of our most prominent public men, and he was saying that great strides had been made in the cause of civil service reform. I asked him if, after all, the law had not been passed in advance of public opinion. He said, "Yes, I think so; but, after all, there is no danger in passing good laws in advance of public opinion if you can show the people that the law works for the public good and accomplishes what we undertake to do."

If we want to fortify the law as it stands, we must let the people know how well it works; and if we are going to make any advance in the cause, it must be by showing the people that the law works well as far as it has gone.

When Mr. Sprague sat down, Mr. Theodore Roosevelt was introduced and said:

Mr. President, Ladies and Gentlemen:—I was asked down here, distinctly on the understanding that I was to be the tail of the kite. That was put first in writing, and for fear I should mistake it and think I was a part of the kite, it was afterwards told me personally. Now I am perfectly willing to be the tail, but I think it very hard that the body of the kite should make fun of me.

I am not a mere theorist; I have been a practical Republican politician, and as such I have fallen under the displeasure of some of you, and I came down simply, as our Methodist friends say, "to bear testimony." I want the Republican party to keep the pledges in victory which it made in adversity, and I want to do my small share in making the party keep those promises. It is always easy for an individual or a party to make promises; the strain comes when the party or individual has to make them good. Now the Republican party has committed itself definitely against the spoils system. On that point its platform leaves no room for doubt. President-elect Harrison's letter leaves no room for doubt as to his position. I feel sure that, from a merely selfish standpoint, it will inure to the benefit of the Republican party to keep its pledge; but whether it does or does not so inure, I wish to see that pledge kept. I feel that this is a true reform. For that reason I not only admire and honor Senators Hoar and Hawley, Congressmen Lodge of Massachusetts, Hitt of Illinois, and your own able representative, Mr. McComas, as citizens, but I regard them as loyally keeping faith with the party, by the stand they have taken in Congress. On the other hand, when Senator Ingalls sees fit to appear as the mouthpiece and champion of the spoilsman, not only do I feel outraged as a citizen at his appearing in this guise, making himself a part of all that is most evil and most degrading in our politics, but I feel that he is a traitor to his party. I do not think there can be doubt about my position on this question.

I think it is mere idle chatter to talk of the merit system as being un-democratic and un-American. The spoils system is emphatically un-democratic, for the spoils system means the establishing and perpetuation of a grasping and ignorant oligarchy. The merit system is essentially democratic and essentially American, and in line with the utterances and deeds of our forefathers of the days of Washington and Madison. If you will pardon me, I will give a per-

sonal experience of mine in New York to prove the corruption of the spoils system. Without expressing too much local pride, I doubt if even Baltimore offers more fertile object-lessons of this sort than New York. I remember when I was first elected to the Legislature receiving several applications for appointment on the police force. One applicant said he wished to be a policeman because he unfortunately had the habit of getting drunk and so could not get any other work. Another wrote me, and I have the letter now, that he wanted me to get a friend of his appointed a policeman because the friend had promised him \$200 to get him appointed, and he knew I would rather have that money go to a Republican than to a Democrat. Another instance occurred during the course of an investigation which, as chairman of a legislative committee, I conducted, into the working of some of the departments in New York. I cannot be absolutely certain as to the details of the figures at this distance of time, but what I shall say is in substance correct. We had under examination the County Clerk, Mr. Keenan. He was one of the most delightful witnesses that was ever before a legislative committee. Not having engaged counsel, he held back nothing and told us the literal truth. We asked him what was the amount of his fees in a year. He said \$82,000 a year. Now, that is about a quarter of a million dollars for his three years' term. We asked him what he had contributed to the campaign fund of his party. Well, he didn't know. We pressed him, and finally he replied he could not say whether it was over or under \$50,000. Then came a question which was asked perfunctorily and to which an entirely perfunctory answer was expected. I asked him if he attended to the duties of his office. He rather electrified the committee by saying very promptly that he did not. I said, "Mr. Keenan, I doubt if you have understood the point of what I have asked you; I mean, do you do your official duties?" He answered, "Yes, when they don't interfere with my political duties." "Now," I said, "will you kindly explain to me what you mean by political duties?" That he evidently regarded as a piece of hypocrisy on my part, for he said to me, reproachfully, "Mr. Roosevelt, you are a member of a political organization yourself." He then told us, by way of illustration of the pressure of his political duties, that he was unable to come down earlier in the morning than twelve o'clock, as he had to spend a good part of the morning "bailing out his 'constitooents.'"

I use this illustration merely to point out to you what is a spoilsman's theory of duty. He represented, I believe, the better class of spoilsmen, because there is a worse class—the class that steals. We had at that time a prominent member of the Board of Aldermen who in his leisure hours was a burglar. In his youth he had followed that trade, and though rather an old man, and one who had risen in the world, he would still resume it occasionally for amusement. We had another very prominent politician who was a "fence," a receiver of stolen goods. Mr. Keenan was a perfectly honest man as far as I know. It never occurred to him that that was not the right way to run a public office. He told us another fact which illustrates the wastefulness of the spoils system. I asked Keenan how he did his duties, and he said he paid his deputy extra to do them. This deputy was paid \$3000 a year by the city to do his own work as deputy, but Keenan, out of his \$82,000, paid \$1500 more to his deputy to do Keenan's work. So that gives you the exact market value of the work Keenan had to do. This immense sum of \$82,000 was regarded partly as a reward for Keenan's political services, and partly as a fund to defray campaign expenses for his party. A state of affairs like that will inevitably produce corruption in the ballot. In New York City I don't believe there is as much actual buying of votes, although there is a good deal, as there is in the country districts, but corruption is generally effected by buying the district leaders or the district organizations. These would be powerless but for the spoils system.

Pardon me one more personal reminiscence. The last time I appeared before my people for office, a gentleman told me that whatever party I belonged to before the election, after the election I belonged to the party of "the extreme left."

Possibly this story will explain my misfortune as well as illustrate my point.

I was at our headquarters one day, when a card was brought in from O'Donovan Rossa. I went out to see him, and he was not a prepossessing-looking gentleman. He came down straight and square and instantly to work. He said I was running for mayor and he would like to help me, and would guarantee me his influence in his journal and in his local dynamite societies for the sum of \$250. I told him that I was much obliged for his courtesy in thinking of me, but I would not close with his offer. "I see," he said, "you are running this canvass for your health; I thought you wanted to win." Then I told him there were very few people in New York whom I could afford to insult at that time, but he was one of them, and I would thank him to get out.

These are not exceptional cases, but are the habitual, invariable accompaniment and product of the spoils system in great cities.

I think that, of all people who are harmed by the spoils system, the poor suffer most. The rich man who wishes to corrupt a legislature, or the rich company which wishes to buy franchises from a board of aldermen and pay a big price for it, do not suffer so much as the poor from the results of the system. I dare say that in New York we see the system at its worst, but at its best it is thoroughly rotten, and a disgrace to every community enjoying the right of suffrage.

I am from my heart a Republican. I honor Benjamin Harrison, and I believe the Republican party and the Republican President will have the best chance to do a great work that they have ever had since the close of the civil war. If they can rise to the height of it, they will confer an immense advantage on the party and an inestimable advantage on the country. I expect from the President an extension of the classified service, and I wish to see Congress repeal the four-years-term act, and make such appropriations that the Civil Service Commission's work shall be unhampered.

At the conclusion of Mr. Roosevelt's remarks, Mr. L. B. Swift, of Indiana, was introduced and said:

Owing to the lateness of the hour when it was indicated to me that I was to speak, and owing to the actual lateness of the present hour, what I have to say must be exceedingly general and exceedingly brief. This is not the first time that the State of Maryland has put forward men who knew what they had to say and were not afraid to say it. There are men living in Baltimore whom I have seen bearing themselves with gallantry amid a great storm of bullets. There are others who were on the side of a cause which I believe was wrong, yet carried themselves with a personal bravery that must always command the respect of the world. Those times are gone, and happily gone. It is not likely that one of us will ever be called upon again to show his manly qualities in the shock of battle; but another struggle has begun, and I am glad now, instead of working against a part of you, to be able to work side by side with you all. Now, what is this cause? Mr. Dana gave us his figures; did any of you cast them up? The spoils system under President Cleveland is simply the spoils system under Arthur, Hayes and Grant. The spoils system is the spoils system the world over; but we have before us a tremendous fact when we hear that 100,000 men have been deprived of their living in the United States. I have the New York *Nation* for my authority in saying that a hostile army marching through the country would not deprive 40,000 men of the means of living, yet here, in a single four years, are 100,000 men deprived of the means of supporting themselves and their families. And for what reason? For no reason except their political complexion. Now, what ridiculous nonsense that is! Is General Harrison going into office and in four years turn out 100,000 men, and pick out 100,000 political favorites and put *them* in their places? Then in 1892, if the Democrats get back into power, are they to turn out 100,000 men and put back a new 100,000, and so on every four years? How much longer is it going

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The Civil-Service Reformer.

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THE MONTH.

THE platform upon which General Harrison went before the people last November declared that "the spirit and purpose of reform should be observed in all executive appointments." This promise he reinforced by the passage in his letter of acceptance, saying: "In appointments to every grade and department, fitness, and not party service, should be the essential and discriminating test, and fidelity and efficiency the only sure tenure of office." No more glaring violation of these pledges can be conceived than the President's refusal to reappoint Postmaster Pearson of New York, whose death, worn out with the labors of twenty years in the postal service, has made the episode singularly impressive. Mr. Pearson was, perhaps, the officer in the whole country who best exemplified the spirit of reform. His absolute independence of political influences was hardly more noticeable than his efficiency in administration. Appointed by a Republican President and a Republican himself, he was reappointed by President Cleveland because of his peculiar fitness for his post. But his persistent refusal to permit the introduction of political influences into his office drew upon him the hatred of both the machines in New York, and President Harrison gave him as a victim to their implacable hostility. This is a complete surrender to the spoilsmen. Fidelity and efficiency, the President in effect now says, are no sure tenure of office. By the appointment of Mr. Van Cott, a life-long party hack and chronic office-seeker, Mr. Harrison seems to have tried to make plain that what he now proposes is to make party service rather than fitness the essential test of eligibility for office. It is quite appropriate that for this he should be praised by the *Baltimore American*: no two men could well differ more than Mr. Pearson and General Agnus.

CIVIL SERVICE COMMISSIONER LYMAN, in a letter to the editor of this paper, explains that the postponement of the application of the rules to the Railway Mail Service was done at his request. In the crippled condition of the Commission, upon which there are now two vacancies, he found it impossible to get ready the necessary preliminaries before May first. The President has been so much occupied in making vacancies, in most cases without any legitimate reason, and in selecting the more deserving of his party friends to receive the salaries thus put at his disposal, that he has had no time to select two fit men for the Civil Service Commission—offices which, however important, have no special attraction for the general run of politicians. But inasmuch as the President has long delayed to fill these two posts, it will be the less excusable if he should not make proper selections for them. No broken-down school-teacher or clergyman, no hanger-on of a machine politician, can properly discharge the important and delicate duties with which the Commission is entrusted. The work to be done requires first of all good business capacity, and secondly, thorough sympathy with the objects of the reform and familiarity with its application thus far. Unfortunately the salaries of the commissioners are so low that capable men can be had only with difficulty; but the President has one

excellently qualified gentleman at his disposal in Mr. Thompson. The other member should be some one as able and as closely identified with the reform as Mr. Theodore Roosevelt of New York or Mr. Wm. Dudley Foulke of Indiana.

As was to be anticipated, the delay in putting the Railway Mail Service under the rules was taken advantage of by the spoilsmen to cram the service with their favorites. Our Republican Congressmen from Maryland, if the newspapers may be believed, have done their best to get a full share of the plunder, and apprehensive of coming out short, they joined in a request to the President to permit the Mail Service to be looted until July 1st. If the President listens to such advisers, the promised "reform of the civil service, conspicuously begun under a Republican administration," will not be extended to "all grades of the service to which it is applicable," during his term of office. The motto of the despairing Congressman trying to make ten offices go around among a hundred heelers is "to-morrow, and to-morrow, and to-morrow, to the last syllable of recorded time." Even the pretence that the removals in the Railway Mail Service affected only incompetent clerks, was dropped as the date for the application of the merit system approached. In answer to a subordinate, appointed after examination on a rating of 97 per cent, who asked the reason for his dismissal, Mr. J. L. Bell, the general superintendent, wrote as follows, under date of April 13: "Superintendent Vickery has referred to this office your letter of the 11th instant, asking the reasons for your retirement from the service, and in reply would state that the action was taken in consequence of no fault on your part, or for reasons affecting in any way your character or standing as a citizen. The reasons for your retirement were of a political nature." Mr. Bell's frank avowal of spoils principles does not lessen the baseness of this act.

WE did Secretary Noble the injustice last month of ascribing to him an intention to protect his unfortunate subordinates from the head-hunting raids of Corporal Tanner, who savagely demands as many victims per day as a Dyak chieftain. But the Secretary, we are now compelled to admit, has no such intention, for he himself has said it. "Corporal Tanner," says the Secretary, "is an excellent officer, and I am in thorough accord with him, even in the matter of making removals of incompetent or inefficient Democrats and the selection of Republicans. Neither of us makes a secret of the fact that in reorganizing the Pension Office and the entire Interior Department, Republicans are to be preferred just as far as possible in order that the good of the service is not overlooked. We want the best possible service, and in getting it we intend to favor Republicans." The spirit of candor exhibited in these remarks will doubtless cause the Secretary to make no secret of the further fact that this policy cannot be carried out without a direct violation of the Pendleton Act, of the platform promises of his party, of the promises in the President's letter of acceptance, and of his own oath of office.

THE appointment of Mr. James T. Caulk as Special Treasury Agent, an appointment which Mr. Mudd, according to the newspapers, has "strongly urged" upon the Treasury Department, would unquestionably have the merit of causing the minimum amount of disturbance in the routine of the office. We know of no one more likely to maintain unbroken all the traditions which, during the last four years, have grown up around the position. "Jim," like "Sonny," would never dream of lowering the dignity of the office he held by doing any work for the Government. As a "statesman" he would devote his entire time to those great problems of administration which relate to the best way of "capturing a window" or "stealing a ward," and thereby securing something more for himself and his friends out of the public. For the discharge of duties like these he has demonstrated his eminent capacity. During all of Mr. Cleveland's administration, except the last four months, he held on to his office, and at the same time figured as a Republican boss of no small power. It would be doing unmerited discredit to his political capacity to attribute his success in maintaining these two somewhat inconsistent positions to mere good luck. The astute Mr. Caulk had learned his political A, B, C's, and knew that if you want another fellow to do something for you, you must do something for him. Accordingly, while Messrs. Gorman, Rasin and Mahon allowed him to continue to draw his salary from the Government, Mr. Caulk's political friends were always very much opposed to Fusion movements, and were desperately anxious for straightout nominations, and were not slow to declare that if they had to vote for a Democrat, they would rather vote for a "regular," *i. e.* one of Gorman and Rasin's tools, than for a "kicker," *i. e.* for an honest and independent man. The "straightout" Republicans in whose nomination Mr. Caulk or his friends had most voice were usually like Messrs. Brown and Budnitz of the Sixteenth Ward, of the class known as "Rasin Republicans," who can be depended upon to vote with the Republicans only when their votes will not interfere with any of Mr. Rasin's pet schemes. When the "straightout" nominee was not of the class just mentioned, it not infrequently happened that in some unaccountable way he was badly "cut" in the Caulk wards. Had not Mr. Mudd himself run 16 votes behind his ticket in Mr. Caulk's own precinct, he would now be a member of Congress and not a mere contestant.

AT the meeting of the Reform League, Mr. W. L. Marbury offered a resolution looking toward an effort to place the Baltimore police force upon a non-partisan basis. This was taken by Mr. Police Commissioner Schryver as a painful reflection upon the Police Board, inasmuch as in their oath of office they have all sworn to be influenced by no political considerations in their appointments. We were under the impression that this oath was regarded by the Board very much as a subscription to the Thirty-nine Articles used to be by the students in the English Universities. But we are less interested in the process by which Mr. Schryver reconciles his practices, his professions, and his conscience, than in his very erroneous statement that competitive examinations will not test the qualities needed in a policeman. In the examinations held in New York and Boston, candidates for the force are tested in speed, strength, endurance, agility, sight and hearing. Less weight is given to their acquaintance with elementary branches of knowledge. The most successful men in these tests, not those most successful in

drumming up ward influence, are certified, three or four at a time, to the Police Board for appointment. From among them appointments must be made, and by the narrow range of choice politics is excluded. This system has merit for its basis, and has produced excellent policemen. It has won the steady support of the most successful police superintendent in America, one whose opinion we would be indisposed to depreciate even when it conflicted with Mr. Schryver's—Inspector Byrnes.

THE report of Mr. Rose, counsel of the Reform League, pretty well disposes of the charges of attempted fraud in the registration of negroes. He points out that the claim of the Regulars that the registration of 1888 is fraudulent because the white registered vote of that year is less and the colored vote greater than that of the year 1887, is based upon the demonstrably false assumption that the registered vote of 1887 was correct. As Mr. Rose remarks, even the Democratic Legislature, under the pressure of overwhelming public demand, had to destroy the registration lists of 1887 because of their fraudulent character.

Another of the arguments of the Regulars is equally fallacious. They desire to have it believed that because only 90 per cent of the white voters in the city registered in 1888, while the books show 93 per cent of the colored voters registered, fraud is probable. But in 1882, when, as is universally admitted, the registers appointed by Governor Hamilton did their duty fairly, the percentage of colored voters registered exceeded that of whites by nearly six per cent, and, as Mr. Rose shows, the correction of certain errors in the figures reduces the difference between the percentages this year to the small figure of 2.48. Again, he shows that whatever may be the proportion of registered voters of the two colors to the whole voting population, the white vote in 1888 exceeded that of any previous year by at least 10,000. The suspicious-looking fact that in certain precincts colored men are registered where the police found none but whites, Mr. Rose disposes of by showing that in some cases certainly, and probably in all, a more careful enumeration will remove the anomaly. As to the charge that the League has been a partisan organization, taking no note of Republican frauds, it is pointed out that but two colored men have been found guilty of registration offenses in the past year, and of these one was convicted upon evidence furnished at the instance of the counsel of the League. In regard to the character of the registration officers appointed this year, it appears that many are saloon-keepers, some keepers of worse places, some have been heretofore engaged in election frauds, and some are incapable, physically or mentally, of performing their duties. But the hope is expressed that upon proper representation of these facts the Board of Supervisors will make such changes as good faith may require.

THE DESPAIRING BOSSES AND THE RACE QUESTION.

AFTER the signal discomfiture of the Democratic bosses in the elections of 1888, and in view of the grave disasters brought upon the party by their self-seeking, incompetency and corruption, it was of course to be expected, as their first movement in the campaign of the present year, that their official organs and stipendiaries would endeavor to shift the responsibility and blame to other shoulders. In the face of their overwhelming public condemnation by the voters of

their own party, and the emphatic endorsement of its justice by good citizens of all parties, it was impossible for them to come to the front again with the same machine, the same workers and the same pretensions, without some effort to appease or divert the resentful public sentiment which had turned upon them. As no explanation, consistently with truth, could relieve them from accountability for the straits to which they had brought their party, their only resource obviously was to set up new and false issues and skulk behind them. Their predicament was one (as it still is) from which they could not escape, except by false pretences or by putting the unsophisticated on a false scent. They had absolute possession and control, last fall, of the entire organization and machinery of their party. They nominated whom they pleased, and shut the party door in the face of every candidate for nomination of whose "loyalty" to them they had the slightest suspicion. They superintended every manipulation of the primaries and the elections, down to the minutest precinct details. They and their appointees were in the enjoyment of the whole patronage of the State and City, and of the Federal Government in Maryland, with all the power and influence, material and moral (or immoral), which patronage brings. They received and disbursed (if they really were disbursed) all the contributions and assessment moneys, both voluntary and enforced, the payment of which, under the spoils system, has become the recognized and discreditable condition of holding office. Under these circumstances who, but they, could possibly be held to account and retribution, when the canvass which they so governed with autocratic sway, and so identified with themselves, turned out to be a failure and nearly brought their party to grief? If it had been a triumph, instead of a disaster, who doubts that they would have claimed the whole credit of it and made all possible capital out of it? Would they not have had hosannas sung to them by all their mouth-pieces and organs, and have "pointed with pride" to it all, as a demonstration of the falsehood of the "Mugwump" imputation, that they had lost the confidence of their party and had brought it to the verge of ruin? Of course they would, and with all the special emphasis which a genuine ringster loves to use, when he proclaims what he knows not to be true. How then can they—even they—by possibility pretend that what would have been their victory, if it had been a victory at all, was not their defeat, when it turned out to be a defeat and not a victory? They had everything their own way, as we have said. The fact that it was a Presidential year kept the hands of thousands of dissatisfied Democrats off of them, who would otherwise have made them feel, with a vengeance, that the day of retribution had come. In regard even to the campaign of 1887—when the Presidential contest was still a year off—the *Sun* has truly said "the chances were that had the honest voters of the party not feared the effect of defeat upon the Presidential campaign, there would have been such defection or desertion as would have startled those who trade upon the theory that Democracy is invincible in this State."

In the Presidential year itself this restraining consideration was, of course, doubly felt. The Bosses had the full benefit of it, and without it they and their whole array would have gone by the board, beyond peradventure. Only the national contest saved it and them. And why? Because, as the *Sun* truly says in the same article from which we have quoted (Dec. 14, 1888), "the Democratic party embraces a large and controlling number of men who have

faith in the principles of that party, yet have felt keenly the reproach brought upon it by selfish, scheming, unscrupulous men, and by the official corruption or imbecility of those called to fill the public offices." Because, further, as the same journal adds, in its leader on "The New Year and the Political Situation" (Jan. 1, 1889), "there is no reason why a few self-seeking, unprincipled men should be permitted to wreck any party that is otherwise worth keeping alive. It would be quite as wise to scuttle a ship because part of the crew mutinied. The *sensible thing to do in the latter case would be to put the mutineers in irons and sail the ship into port*, and the lesson it teaches is obvious." The moral which the *Sun* draws is, that every citizen should "see to it that the party of his choice and the principles it has in its keeping *be not sacrificed on the altar of any man's ambition, or placed for safe-keeping in the hands of those who have already defiled it.*" And as to the remedy, the *Sun* truly observes, that "very many have come to the conclusion that fire is the surest means of purification, even if it is the most painful," though the *Sun* insists (and we heartily agree with it) that the true plan, when a party is obstructed in carrying out its principles, "and perhaps imperiled in its very existence by unfaithful servants," is to "reduce its presumptuous stewards to the ranks" through the ballot-box. There may, perhaps, be some "fire" even in that "means of purification," but those who really wish to purify—ourselves among them—will not be disposed to quarrel with that, as to either quantity or temperature.

What we have said makes it very clear, we think, that in the coming canvass there is but one true and real issue, so far as the Democratic party in Maryland, itself, is concerned, and that is, whether, after all that has happened, it shall or shall not continue blindly to place itself, its principles, its government, and its destinies in this State "in the hands of those who have already defiled it" and have loaded it down with "official corruption and imbecility." If Mr. Gorman's views and votes as to subsidies and the tariff and the like are Democratic views and votes, it may not be altogether easy, it is true, to say, at this moment, how much real difference there is between a Democrat and a Republican, except that one is in and wants to keep in, and the other is out and wants to get in. But, apart from Mr. Gorman and "statesmen" of his class, the Democratic party in Maryland knows itself and its own principles quite well enough to make no mistake as to the issues between it and the Republican party. In entering upon the coming campaign it can have no open questions in that regard. The absorbing and vital question with which alone it has to deal is a purely internal one. Upon its solution depend not only the future, but the present fortunes—the fate of the Democratic party, even to-day, in Maryland. That question, simply stated, is whether the party shall or shall not consent to go into the coming canvass, under the leadership of the corrupt and venal Ring which has already brought it to so much shame and so nearly to ruin. Will it or will it not identify itself with the gang of political marauders who have so often and so audaciously betrayed its confidence; who have habitually befouled its legislative halls with the worst orgies of a shameless lobby, its statute book with purchased legislation, and its offices with "official corruption or imbecility"? Upon this question the future of the Democratic party in Maryland absolutely rests. Any issue, raising any other question, is a false and fraudulent issue, started with no other purpose than to mislead and

deceive. And this leads us to consider one very grave issue, of that very sort, behind which the Ring, through its mouthpiece, the State Central Committee, has already attempted to shelter itself from public scrutiny and punishment. It is an issue intended really to raise, though artfully to disguise the raising of the hateful and dangerous race issue, in Maryland.

We do not speak too broadly when we say, that among the thinking and conservative masses of the Democratic party, the apprehension of a renewed and aggressive interference, by the Republican party, with the relations between the two races in the Southern States, was perhaps the most serious feeling suggested by the election of Mr. Harrison and of a Republican majority in the House of Representatives. There was and we believe there is no fear or reason to fear that any disposition of that sort exists among the better and more conservative Republicans; but that the unscrupulous politicians of that party, who aim to direct its electioneering policy, will press the sectional and race issue "for all it is worth"—which is the only measure of right and wrong among that class of people in both parties—no doubt was or can be entertained. It was for this reason that the loss of one Democratic Congressman and probably of two, in Maryland, through the unpopularity, mismanagement, discredit, and, in Mr. Rayner's case, almost certainly, the deliberate bad faith of the Bosses, was felt deeply by the whole Democracy of the nation, and especially by the astonished party in this State. With this enormous peril, thus threatening not only the Democratic supremacy in the South, but the whole social organization and public tranquillity there—one thing of course is palpable to the mind of every honest and reflecting Democrat everywhere, and that is, that if the Democratic party, being in a legislative minority, cannot save the South from sectional aggression and the contest of races, it shall and must at least avoid affording not only any plausible reason, but even the remotest pretext, for opening a race crusade. For a Democratic leader or organization gratuitously, falsely, deliberately—and especially for a selfish and sordid purpose—to furnish such a pretext, ready made, to the sectionalists among their opponents, is, in view of the momentous seriousness of the matter, nothing less than a crime. And yet, for the mere purpose of diverting the resentment of their party from themselves, and endeavoring, for the maintenance of their own personal power, to create the impression that its disasters were the result of something other than the recoil of public sentiment upon the machine and its nominees, the Bosses, through their instrument and mouthpiece, the State Central Committee, have not hesitated, openly and without remorse, to commit this very outrage. We refer to the resolutions of that committee, adopted at its meeting in this city on the 3d of April. Let us examine those resolutions for a moment. They appear in the *Sun* of April 5 among the reported proceedings of the committee, and are headed: "ATTENTION TO THE COLORED VOTE."

The Committee "calls special attention to the fact," which it attempts to prove by certain figures and calculations, that the registration lists "conclusively show a large influx of negro voters within our borders, and great neglect on the part of white persons entitled to registration to register." If the Committee had stopped here, its claptrap would hardly have required notice. While an increase in the registration of negroes, of course, does not prove that there has been an "influx" of negroes from outside "our borders," any more

than the absence of a proportionate number of white men's names from the registration lists would prove that there had been an exodus of whites from the State—still there is no particular harm done, when two causes of disparity in the new registration are assigned, either of which might have produced the result, and it is attributed specially to neither. But the Committee goes on and calls "attention to the further fact," which it professes to deduce from a comparison of the Presidential votes in 1884 and 1888, that "there is a disproportion in the increase of the vote of the two parties which can in the main be attributed to an excessive registration of negroes." Now if it be true, as the Committee had just before stated, that the disproportionate increase in the numbers of white and colored votes resulted from an "influx" of negroes into the State since 1887, or from the other equally potent and sufficient cause alleged, viz. "the great neglect" of white people to register, it is somewhat difficult to imagine what more was to be said, or how a comparison of the Presidential figures could throw any light on the comparative operation of these two alleged and equally sufficing causes. It is still harder to understand how such a comparison could possibly prove that the increased registration of negroes was "excessive," merely because it was increased. But this, although conclusive enough, is only a criticism of absurd details and false and forced deductions. The one sufficient answer to the whole ridiculous and wicked false pretence will be found in an exposure of the impudent fallacy on which it rests, from beginning to end.

If there was any one thing conceded, as a basis for the new registration law of 1888, it was the absolute and pernicious worthlessness of the then existing registration in Baltimore. After long years of much lying, to the contrary, the Ring was forced at last to admit, or at all events accept it as a fact, that the existing registration lists were so bad, and had been so long and so variously and fraudulently tampered with, in all conceivable ways, that no beneficial change was practicable without getting rid of them altogether. They were not even fair, or good, or honest enough to be susceptible of satisfactory correction. They were too bad even to bear mending. It was found indispensable, for the purposes of any decent approach to reform, that they should be legislated out of existence, and that an absolutely new and fresh registration should be made under a new and wholly different system. Every one remembers the struggle which the Ring made to adhere to the old lists, and "correct" them (as it was called), and how their resistance was overpowered by the sheer force of public opinion. It is but little more than a year, since these things took place and the registration law of 1888 consigned the old system and its products to oblivion—except as a warning and example. And yet to-day, after the new system has gone into full operation, and has borne its part in the comparative re-establishment of fair and honest elections in Baltimore, the Democratic Central Committee, representing the identical Ring, over whose vain resistance, and for the suppression of whose own frauds it was established by the public will, has the effrontery, the "cheek"—for no other word can describe it—to insist that the new lists are bad, because they differ from the old ones! It was a conceded fact that the old lists were full of the names of white men who were long dead or had never been alive, or had long moved away; that the names of colored voters by the score, and even by the hundred, in the city, had been over and over fraudulently dropped from the lists, or had been purposely so manipulated or misspelt

as to deprive the voters of the suffrage. It was especially to right these wrongs, to cure these frauds, to make the lists true, as they ought to be, instead of false as the Ring had made them, that the new legislation was forced upon the Bosses. And yet, now that the new lists have been made, under the auspices of a better system and better men, and under the most rigid supervision of party vigilance on both sides, the Bosses gravely appeal to the party to come to the rescue because a comparison of the new lists, with the old, demonstrates, as they say, that the new are not to be trusted! Not only that, but they unblushingly ask the party, which they have betrayed and nearly ruined, to continue to let them govern it, on the ground that it owes its misfortunes to the new registration, and not to them and their discredited Machine. Worse than all, they make this a pretext for concentrating the "politics" of the campaign on "the excessive registration of negroes," and calling "upon all Democrats," in that connection, to "assist in an effort to legally correct the registration lists of the State." What that means everybody understands, and the party workers especially. It means to concentrate the odium of the recent party reverses upon the colored population, instead of the white Bosses who brought them about. It means to make the question of color an element in the canvass. It means an appeal to race prejudice and animosity. It means, to "legally correct the registration lists," upon the theory, that where the registration of whites is unsatisfactorily small, it is too small and ought to be increased, and where the registration of negroes is concerned, it is "excessive" and ought to be diminished. A baser appeal, and in the present state of national politics a more criminal one, it is hard to conceive, even with all our experience of the source from which it comes. What is most surprising, is the unbounded and insolent confidence with which it seems to calculate upon the ignorance, the apathy, and the endurance of the Democratic masses.

If any Democrat, who reads this, desires a crucial test of the imposture which it is sought to be practised upon him, let him ask himself, whether it was "the excessive registration of negroes" which elected the convention that unanimously nominated Morris A. Thomas, for a place of high trust, and caused him to fall six thousand votes below the head of the Democratic ticket, with a Republican elected in his stead.

THE BALTIMORE TAX LEVY.

CERTAINLY the tax rate is a matter upon which there is no excuse for the City Council to divide politically. There is nothing distinctively Democratic or Republican about municipal taxation, as the taxpayers of our American cities, some of which are ruled by Democrats and some by Republicans, know from sad experience. One hundred and ninety is the same heavy burden whether laid on by Republican hands or those of their opponents.

The fixing of the tax rate is purely a business operation. The proper committee of the Council ascertains the actual and approximate expenditures for the year, and by adding thereto the floating indebtedness of the city, sums up the total to be provided for the year. The committee then ascertains the probable income from sources other than the levy for the year. Subtracting this sum from the total to be provided for, the remainder is the amount to be levied for. The taxable basis for the year is then obtained from the City Collector, and experience having shown that about seventy-two per cent of the year's taxes are collected before

the expiration of the year, it is simply a matter of calculation to determine what rate, seventy-two per cent collectible, will yield the necessary sum.

As has been said, it is impossible to see how there can be any division politically on this question, and yet such division has taken place both in the Committee of Ways and Means and in the Council itself. More than this, charges are made by each side, with more or less definiteness, that the course of the other side is taken for political effect. The Republicans say that the Mayor and the Democratic members of the Council are endeavoring to blind the eyes of the people to the true state of affairs, and, for the purpose of the coming election, are resorting to subterfuges to make it appear that the rate can easily be reduced below what it was in 1888. On the other hand, the Democrats say that the Republicans seek to make the rate high unnecessarily in order to bring odium upon the present and past Democratic administrations.

We are frank to say that the whole course of this controversy shows that the present Mayor and the Democratic members of the City Council are so desirous, this year, of reducing the tax rate below what it was during the past year, that they are willing to adopt measures to that end, either wholly improper, or which amount simply to a postponement of a portion of the expenses of 1889 to the year 1890. That they are willing to do so demonstrates how necessary it is for the public good, if municipal affairs cannot be lifted entirely from the influences of party politics, that there should be a strong minority membership in the City Council that can be depended upon, if for no other than partisan reasons, to criticise the action and expose the shortcomings of the majority.

It is but fair to the Democratic members of the Ways and Means Committee, however, and to the Democratic members of the First Branch of the City Council (the Second Branch not having as yet acted on the ordinance to fix the tax rate), to say that they have shown no disposition to go to the length to which the Mayor seems willing to go to effect a temporary and fictitious reduction of the rate.

In the article on this subject in the last number of the REFORMER it was shown that, in addition to the other items of floating indebtedness, there was due by the city for the purchase of the Bolton property the sum of \$415,000, which sum the city had been carrying and paying interest thereon for more than a year. It was further shown that the highest valuation put upon the Bolton property itself, which was claimed to be a set-off to this indebtedness, was \$150,000, leaving the sum of \$265,000 to be met by the taxpayers. That this sum is really a part of the floating debt, which ought to be paid at once, seems plain enough. In order, however, to keep down the rate, this amount was not included in the expenditures as reported by the Ways and Means Committee, which simply means that its payment has been postponed until 1890, and that the city must pay the banks which hold the notes for the \$415,000 another year's interest thereon. This postponement was agreed to by all the members of the Committee and by the entire First Branch. If the sum had been included in the levy, the rate would have been increased by thirteen or fourteen cents. The taxpayers of the city have no real cause for rejoicing at the omission to include this amount in the levy; it simply remains unpaid.

The matter upon which the members of the Committee and the First Branch divided was whether there should be a levy of three cents this year, as required by the ordinance,

for a sinking fund for the redemption of the five million loan about to be issued. With the three cents added, the rate was reported at \$1.93. In the Council the levy for this sinking fund was reduced to one half cent, and the levy for the water loan of 1926 was reduced from one cent to one half cent. Thus a total reduction of three cents was effected, and the rate, by a party vote of the Democrats against the Republicans, was fixed at \$1.90. There is room for honest difference of opinion as to whether the whole of the three cents should be levied for this year, in view of the fact that only a small proportion of the stock for the five million loan will be issued before 1890, and in view of the further fact that the City Solicitor, when asked by the Committee whether the provision of the ordinance requiring the three cents to be levied was imperative, gave a Jack Bunsby opinion, which practically left the whole matter in the discretion of the Council. Leaving out this matter, there was practically unanimity in the Committee and the Council, and the rate was finally fixed at \$1.90.

This is the same rate as that of 1888, and while it may, in a way, be gratifying to the anxious taxpayer to know that he will have no more to pay, there is nothing in the situation to cause him to regard it with complacency. Upon the present unequal and excessive valuation of property in this city, a rate of \$1.90 is burdensome in the highest degree, and higher than that of any other of the large cities of the country.

The Mayor knows this, and knows also that the people have found it out and can be no longer deceived by the clap-trap of this being the "most cheaply governed city in the country." He knows also that an election for Mayor takes place next fall, and he has already announced that, purely in the interest of the taxpayers and because he has a laudable desire to superintend for them, as only he knows how to do, the expenditure of the five million loan and the payment of the stock debt of the city to come due in 1890, he would like to be his own successor. He has a deep-seated, irrepressible desire to go before the people next fall with a reduced tax rate, so that his reputation as a "business" Mayor may not suffer. He is apparently willing to resort to any trick to accomplish this reduction, and he has suggested a number of such tricks, all of which partake more of the ways of the "confidence" than of the "business" man.

Several of these were pointed out in the last number of the REFORMER. First, Mr. Latrobe said that there was no floating debt because it had been paid by the collection of taxes in January. A day or two after, he said that there was no necessity to provide for the whole of the floating debt this year. The Council has acted upon this advice and carried the Bolton debt over, to be met in 1890. Then he saw no reason why a larger percentage than seventy-two could not be estimated as collectible during the year, although experience has demonstrated that this is a liberal estimate, and the city has no power to enforce the payment of taxes until the year has expired. Then he suggested that a larger amount of taxes in arrears could be gathered in, although the amount allowed in the estimate was larger in proportion to the amount due than the sum collected last year. Finally he sent a message to the Council by which he proposed that a certain amount should be diverted from the sinking fund for the purpose of reducing the levy for the year. As this proposition is characteristic of Mr. Latrobe's "business" methods in the mayoralty, it deserves especial attention.

It appears that the special sinking fund kept for the redemption of what is called the Park Loan, amounting to \$555,566.25 and due in 1890, has accumulated more rapidly than was necessary, and that there is a surplus of over one hundred thousand dollars now in the fund, which will be still further increased by next year. This surplus, without regard to the condition of the general sinking fund and its ability to meet the other stock obligations of the city as they mature, the Mayor proposes to take out of the hands of the Finance Commissioners and place in the treasury, to meet the current expenses of the year 1889.

Ten years ago, when Mr. Latrobe was filling Mayor Kane's unexpired term in the mayoralty, and was inspired by the same desire that now possesses him to be re-elected, he sent to the City Council a special message, in which he stated that the sinking fund was increasing at a rate greater than was necessary to enable it to meet every stock obligation of the city as it matured. He therefore recommended that an ordinance should be passed directing the Finance Commissioners to pay annually out of the increment of the sinking fund, the interest on certain obligations which the city had endorsed for the W. M. R. R. Co., which interest amounted to the sum of \$202,500, and for which provision up to that time had been made in the annual levy. He said that after this sum was annually diverted, the sinking fund would still continue to increase at a rate sufficient to meet the stock debt as it came due, and he claimed that it was a needless burden upon the taxpayers to have the sinking fund increase at a rate greater than was necessary for that purpose. He submitted to the Council a calculation which he said had been prepared in the City Register's office, by which it was made to appear that this claim was correct. Copies of this calculation are still in existence and can be produced. The Council passed the ordinance directing the Department of Finance to provide funds for the payment of the interest on the \$1,000,000 of stock issued for the benefit of the railroad, and on the \$2,375,000 of bonds endorsed by the city for the railroad, "from the increment of the sinking fund." The ordinance may be found among the ordinances of 1879. This diversion of the income of the sinking fund lowered the rate about twelve cents, and Mr. Latrobe appeared before the people at the next election as a "business" Mayor whose especial gifts were in the desirable direction of a reduction of taxes.

Since that time this sum of \$202,500 has every year been paid out of the increment of the sinking fund, but how has Mr. Latrobe's calculation that the fund would still be able to meet the city's obligations been fulfilled?

On July 1, 1890, there will be due by the city the "consolidated" 6 per cent loan amounting to \$7,306,546.22, and the "Public Park" 6 per cent loan of \$555,566.25, making an aggregate of \$7,862,112.47. The sinking fund at the beginning of this year amounted to \$6,293,954.52. It may possibly, by the time these loans come due, amount in round numbers to \$6,500,000. It will thus be seen that if the *entire fund* is appropriated to the payment of the debt, there would still be a balance of \$1,362,112.47 unprovided for and which would have to be refunded.

But this is not the worst. Three years after, in 1893, the "exempt" loan of \$410,353.87 and the "consolidated" loan of \$2,211,068.05 come due, and one year after, in 1894, "water" loans to the extent of \$4,000,000 come due. So far, therefore, from the sinking fund being able, after the diversion of its income made at the instance of Mr. Latrobe,

to meet the obligations of the city as they mature, the application of it entire to the payment of the 1890's will leave a million and a half unprovided for, with nothing left to form a basis of accumulation to meet the \$2,621,422.92 falling due in 1893, and \$4,000,000 falling due in 1894.

It is upon this state of facts that the Mayor formally recommends to the Council to take the sum of \$125,000 from the sinking fund, simply because one portion of it, kept separate, has accumulated more than is necessary to meet its particular debt, and apply the said sum to the reduction of this year's tax rate.

Comment upon such a recommendation is useless. It is not surprising that even the Democratic members of the City Council, although sincerely desirous to keep down the rate, have taken no notice of this pre-eminently business-like proposition. There is a point in the "business" methods of the Mayor from which even the unsophisticated Democratic Councilman draws back.

A MONUMENT TO MR. PEARSON.

35 LIBERTY STREET, NEW YORK, April 25, 1889.

Editor of the CIVIL-SERVICE REFORMER.

Sir:—Postmaster Pearson of this city, one of the most capable executive officers this nation has ever produced, has gone to his grave, a victim to the spoils system. It is always considered safe to build tombs to the prophets, even if we do not honor them while they are still alive, and it is now proposed to erect a monument in this city, which shall forever testify to the faithfulness of Henry G. Pearson and to the infamy of the system which destroyed him. Please state through your columns that I shall be most happy to be the intermediary through whom contributions may be made for this purpose.

Yours very truly,

WILLIAM POTTS,
Sec'y N. Y. C. S. R. A.

It is meet and right that the friends of good government everywhere should unite in raising a monument to Mr. Pearson. We have elsewhere expressed our high sense of his virtues, and we trust that they may be so generally recognized that a proper memorial of them may be erected.—
EDITOR.

REPORT OF THE COUNSEL OF THE REFORM LEAGUE.

To the Baltimore Reform League:

Ever since the close of registration last fall, assertions have been made that the registration of negro voters was so large as to be in itself strong presumptive evidence that a considerable portion of that registration was fraudulent. At the January meeting of the League I called your attention to certain considerations which seemed to demonstrate that the negro registration was no larger than it fairly should have been. Renewed attention has been attracted to this subject by the following paragraphs from the address issued by the Democratic State Central Committee, at its meeting on the 3d instant.

"It calls special attention to the fact that whilst the registration of the negro voters in Baltimore City increased from 11,744 in 1887 to 13,959 in 1888, or 20 per cent, that of the white voters increased only from 73,145 in 1887 to 77,475 in 1888, or 6 per cent; that in the State, inclusive of Baltimore City, the increase of the negro registration was from 47,122 in 1887 to 49,532, or 5 per cent, whilst that of whites increased only from 189,225 in 1887 to 190,659 in 1888, or $\frac{1}{4}$ of 1 per cent, which conclusively shows a large influx of negro voters within our borders, and great neglect on the part of white persons entitled to registration to register.

Attention is likewise called to the further fact that while the electors of Mr. Cleveland received in 1884 96,866 votes,

they received in 1888 106,168 votes, a natural and gratifying increase of 9302 votes. That whilst the electors of Mr. Blaine received in 1884 85,748 votes, Mr. Harrison received in 1888 99,986 votes, an increase of 14,238 votes, thus exhibiting a disproportion in the increase of the vote of the two parties, which can in the main be attributed to an excessive registration of negroes; and this Committee calls upon all the Democrats to assist in an effort to legally correct the registration lists of the State, to secure full and fair elections thereunder, and it especially urges upon them to take an active part in all primary elections, in order that only proper nominations be made for office."

As these statements are put forth by the organization of the political party to which a large and respectable portion of the citizens of the State belong, and as they insinuate, although perhaps they do not expressly charge, that there has been a large fraudulent registration of negroes, I have felt that my duty as counsel for the League, whose principal object is to secure fair elections for the people of this State, required me to re-examine the whole subject in the light of the allegations made by the Democratic State Central Committee.

The first difficulty I met with was in determining in what part of the State the Committee believed that there had been an excessive registration of negroes. It is perfectly clear that they do think that there has been such an excessive registration in Baltimore City, and also in the State, "inclusive of Baltimore City"; but whether they mean that the excessive registration in the State as a whole is due entirely to the alleged excess in Baltimore City, or that there was also an excess in the State, exclusive of Baltimore City, does not appear. I therefore devoted myself in the first instance to an inquiry into the relative increase of white and colored registered voters outside of Baltimore City. To make the comparison just, it was necessary to treat the Belt wards as if they had been in 1888, as they were in 1887, a part of Baltimore County. This is a consideration which apparently escaped the attention of the Democratic State Central Committee, and renders some of the comparisons they have made extremely inaccurate. Including the Twenty-first and Twenty-second Wards with Baltimore County, the total number of white registered voters in the counties increased from 116,080 in 1887 to 119,650 in 1888, an increase of 3570, or at the rate of 3.08 per cent. These calculations are, as those of the Committee were, based upon the figures contained in the *Sun* Almanac. The registration statistics of the Almanac are approximately correct as a whole; they cannot be implicitly relied on for details.

The colored registered vote in the counties increased from 35,378 in 1887 to 35,996 in 1888, an increase of 618, or at the rate of 1.75 per cent. As the increase in the white registered vote was absolutely nearly six times, and relatively almost twice as great as that of the colored, and as the increase of the latter was both relatively and absolutely trifling, it is clear that the Democratic State Central Committee could not have intended to imply that there is any excessive negro registration in the State outside of the City. The inquiry is therefore narrowed to Baltimore City. The Committee says that the white registered vote increased from 73,145 in 1887 to 77,475 in 1888, or 6 per cent, while the colored increased from 11,744 to 13,959, or 20 per cent. In fact, the relative apparent difference in the rate of increase of the white and colored registered vote was even greater than the Committee states, for, as before mentioned, they forgot that they had included the two new wards, in which the colored vote is insignificant, on one side of the comparison and not on the other. If we exclude the registration in these two wards, we will find that in the remaining twenty wards there were registered in 1887 73,145 white voters, and in 1888 71,009, a decrease of 2136, or at the rate of 2.92 per cent, while the colored vote increased from 11,744 to 13,536, an increase of 1792, or at the rate of 15.26 per cent. There is here a very wide difference; and is strongly suggestive that something was the matter with the registration lists either in 1887 or in 1888. The Democratic Committee apparently takes it for granted that the registration lists in 1887 were in a satisfactory condition. I regret to say that from a

very careful study of those lists, and of the methods of keeping them, for the last two or three years of their existence, I cannot share the faith apparently entertained by the Democratic Committee in their precise accuracy and spotless purity. Nor did the Legislature which wiped them out of existence seem to have had much more confidence in them than I entertain. As throwing some light upon the condition of the lists of 1887, I ask your attention to the following table, which will show the percentage the white and colored registered vote respectively constituted of the number of white and colored voters returned by the police in each year from 1882 to 1888 inclusive.

Year.	WHITE.			COLORED.		
	Census.	Registered.	Per cent Registered.	Census.	Registered.	Per cent Registered.
1882	69,780	54,203	77.68	11,924	9,961	83.54
1883	69,530	59,655	85.79	11,933	10,375	86.94
1884*	70,342	65,184	92.67	12,111	11,823	97.62
1885	71,154	69,437	97.59	12,290	10,077	81.99
1886*	72,752	71,005	97.73	12,766	9,850	77.16
1887	74,351	73,145	98.38	13,243	11,744	88.68
1888	78,829	71,009	90.08	14,438	13,536	93.75

* The police census estimated at mean of preceding and succeeding years; no census taken.

From the above table it appears that at the new registration in 1882, 77.68 per cent of white and 83.54 of the colored voters returned by the police registered. The percentage of colored registered thus exceeding that of the whites 5.86 per cent. At the new registration of 1888, the precinct system, the fact that it was a presidential year, and that there were many different sittings of the registers, brought out a much fuller registration than six years before, 90.08 per cent of the whites and 93.75 per cent of the colored registering. Here, as in 1882, the percentage of the colored registered exceeds that of the whites, though in 1888 the excess was only 3.67 per cent, as against 5.86 per cent in the earlier year. Other things being equal at a new registration, a larger percentage of the colored voters returned by the police than of the whites will register, for the following reasons:

(1) Under any circumstances the police census must always include a greater or less number of unnaturalized persons. These will be practically all whites.

(2) Practically speaking, all the colored people belong to one party; the fact, therefore, that a voter is colored, is enough to induce the Republicans to use all their efforts to get him to register. On the other hand, there is always in every precinct a considerable percentage of white voters about whose political affiliations neither party knows anything, and consequently neither party presses them to register. This very class naturally contains an unduly large percentage of people who need some urging to induce them to register. Moreover, a colored man does not resent the visit of a stranger, or a comparative stranger, of his own color, who comes to urge him to register; many white men would.

(3) Whatever influence party bias may have, and it sometimes has considerable, as was conclusively demonstrated in the trials of Mincher, Mahon, Betz, etc., upon the police or upon individual members of the force, will be in the direction of inducing them to return as many whites, and to omit as many colored men as they can find any pretext for doing.

Under these circumstances, there would be nothing strange if the percentage of registered colored men to colored voters returned by the police exceeded that of the whites, as it did in 1882, when there was no question of fraud, by 5.86 per cent, instead of by only 3.61 per cent, as in 1888. In fact, the difference between the percentage of white and colored is still less, for, as I will have occasion to explain later on, the *Sun Almanac*, from which the figures are taken, has 139 white men in the first and fourth precincts of the First Ward marked as colored. If the error be corrected, the white percentage will be 90.31 per cent and the colored 92.79 per cent, and the difference 2.48 per cent.

The table further shows how it happened that there were in 1888 a decrease in the white registered vote as compared with the vote of 1887, and a large increase in the colored. After the new registration of 1882 the percentage of both

whites and colored registered increased, until in 1884 there were registered 92.67 per cent of the whites and 97.62 per cent of the colored, the colored having nearly but not quite maintained the lead they had gained at the start in 1882. Then in 1885 came the concerted raid on the registration lists, and while the white vote was run up to 97.59 per cent, the colored was cut down by wholesale strikings off in the Fourth, Sixth, Tenth, Twelfth, Thirteenth, Sixteenth and Eighteenth Wards to 81.99 per cent—less than it was in the first year of new registration, 1882. In 1886 the same process was repeated. The efforts of this League compelled the striking off of a good many illegally registered white votes, but the percentage advanced slightly to 97.73 per cent, while the registers succeeded in cutting the colored percentage down to 77.16 per cent. In 1887 the number of whites registered arose to 98.38 per cent, while the active exertions of the Republicans succeeded in registering a number of their colored men, raising the percentage of colored registration to 88.18 per cent; but this was still less by 9.70 per cent than that of the whites. That a large number of the white names on the lists in 1887 were those of persons who were dead or removed, appears from the fact that, although the number of white voters in 1888 was 2136 less than in 1887, a greater number of white men voted than ever before in the history of Baltimore. The total vote polled in the old twenty wards in 1888 was 78,263, in 1887 it was 65,235, in 1885, 59,564, and in 1884, 63,335. The vote for 1888 thus exceeded the greatest before known, that of 1887, by no less than 13,388. As the colored registered vote in 1888 exceeded that of 1887 by only 1792, the total colored vote polled could not easily have exceeded that of 1887 by more than 3000, so that in 1888 there were at least 10,000 more white votes polled in Baltimore City than ever before. If the Democratic State Central Committee had only gone a little deeper into the analysis of the figures, they would not have undeservedly reproached themselves with having failed to get their white vote out. The Committee have also jumped too hastily at the conclusion that it was the increase in the negro registration which reduced the Democratic plurality in the State as compared with four years ago.

In 1884 there were registered in the State as a whole 171,690 whites; in 1888 190,659, an increase of 18,969, or at the rate of 11.05 per cent, while the colored registered vote only increased from 45,690 to 49,532, an increase of but 3842, or at the rate of 8.41 per cent.

In the light of these facts, the claim of the Democratic State Central Committee that the reduction in the Democratic plurality in the State "can in the main be attributed to an excessive registration of negroes" cannot be sustained. Within the last week the *News*, basing its assertions upon a comparison of the police census of 1889 and the statistics of registration as given in the *Sun Almanac*, has stated that in 60 precincts the colored registered vote exceeds the census returns, and that in one precinct there were 119 colored voters registered, although the police could not find one in the precinct. So far as the last startling statement is concerned, it is only necessary to say that the 119 colored voters in that precinct are registered in the *Sun Almanac* and not in the registration book. In fact, there are no colored voters registered either in that precinct or in another of the same ward, the first, in which, according to the *Sun Almanac*, there are 20 registered. This correction disposes of two of the seventy precincts. In at least five other precincts the apparent contradiction is due to the same cause or to a slip of the *News* in comparing. In 20 other precincts it is clearly due either to a mistake in the police census this year, or to the removal from the precincts of colored voters who last year resided there; for the colored registered vote in those 20 precincts did not exceed the number of colored voters returned by the police in 1888. We have thus the explanation as to 27 of the 60 precincts at hand. In these 27 are included 4 of the 16 precincts in which, according to the *News*, the excess is greater than ten to a precinct. Of the 33 remaining precincts, there are only four in which the total colored registered vote exceeds 100. Where the registered vote and the police census are both small, discrepancies between them are of little moment; for in such

cases accidental errors in compiling or taking the census, or in counting the number on the registration books, or the movement of a few families from one precinct to another, will account for any apparent excess. The four precincts in which the colored registered vote exceeds the police census, and in which there are more than 100 colored men registered, are as follows:

Ward.	Precinct.	Census.	Registration.	Excess.
8	9	278	298	20
10	2	95	123	28
13	6	83	102	19
19	5	136	150	14

I shall have these four precincts carefully canvassed for the purpose of detecting any frauds. It is not improbable, however, that in the end mistakes in the police census will be found to be the explanation of even these apparent discrepancies. The police census of 1888 returned only 177 white voters in the ninth precinct of the Eleventh Ward. There are 222 white men registered in the precinct. An investigation showed that the police officer, when he came to foot up his book, had counted fifty-odd white men as colored.

In 1888 there were a large number of colored men, probably mounting up into the hundreds, arrested on charges of having illegally registered. The vast majority of them were dismissed by the police magistrates, and a majority of the rest by the Grand Jury. Only nine colored men were presented for illegal registration. One of these presentments was quashed. In five cases the State confessed a plea of not guilty. One stood his trial before the Court (Harlan, C. J.) and was acquitted. One colored man who was disqualified because of prior conviction of an infamous crime, was indicted for registering, and pleaded guilty. He was sentenced to eighteen months in jail. The remaining case, and the only one in which a colored man was convicted of registering from a place at which he did not reside, was that of a man named Warren, who was committed by the Republican registrar of the first precinct of the Ninth Ward. This Republican registrar, at my instance, pressed the case against Warren, and he was convicted and sentenced to six months in jail. I am prepared to co-operate with the Democratic Committee, or with any one else, in investigating any allegations of the fraudulent registration of negroes or of whites, and whether I have their co-operation or not, I know that you will desire me to investigate any such allegations to the full extent of my means and power.

A similar comparison between the registration statistics and those of the police census as to the white vote will show some still more suggestive discrepancies. A comparison between the *Sun* Almanac and the police census shows that there are 37 precincts in which the white registered vote exceeds the number of white voters returned by the police. In each of these precincts the number of white registered voters exceeds 100, and is usually 300 or 400. In the Second and Ninth Wards, taken as a whole, the white registration is greater than the white vote returned by the police.

As in the case of the colored vote in a good many instances, either the police census this year seems to be incorrect (in some cases I have little doubt that it is), or else there has been a great change in population since last year. But there are no less than 12 precincts, in all of which the white vote is greatly more than one hundred, in which the registration of white voters exceeds the number returned by the police in either 1888 or 1889. These precincts are as follows:

Ward.	Precinct.	Census.	Registration.	Excess.
2	5	332	417	85
4	3	335	351	16
5	6	352	366	14
5	9	347	385	38
6	4	262	263	1
9	1	440	464	24
9	7	274	283	9
10	8	334	341	7
11	9	200	222	22
18	6	365	368	3
21	6	250	251	1
22	9	520	533	13

Here are 12 precincts, in the smallest of which the white vote registered exceeds 250, in which apparently the white registration is greater than the police census returns of white voters. If the returns of the police census and the registration are both accurate, this will be very hard to explain, except on the supposition of fraud. We know that in some precincts, such as the first of the Ninth Ward, there was a good deal of fraudulent registration, but probably a good many of the apparent discrepancies are due to bad statistics.

It is the purpose of the League to investigate all these cases, as well as those in which the registration, although not exceeding the police census of 1888, is greater than that of 1889, as is the case in 25 precincts. In some instances the discrepancy is apparently large, as in the second precinct of the Fourth Ward, where it is 92.

THE REGISTRATION OFFICERS.

As soon as the names of the officers of registration were announced by the Board of Supervisors, I had an inquiry made into the qualifications of each one of the persons appointed. The result of the inquiry demonstrated its necessity. Among the registrars appointed were four men who, while serving in the same capacity last year, were judicially declared to have in bad faith refused registration to legal voters. It is worth mentioning that last year, when the men were first appointed, I protested against their appointment; but, in spite of the protest, the Supervisors retained them in office, with the results already mentioned. I protested against another man appointed this year, because he is now managing Herzinger's notorious "hotel" on Eden street, while its proprietor is serving a term in jail for keeping a disreputable house at that place. In another case, the man appointed registrar, as challenger last year so interfered with voters that one of the judges was compelled to threaten him with commitment.

A man appointed as Republican registrar in one of the worst precincts in the city had formerly been for a short while employed by me to watch registration, and in the course of that employment had demonstrated his utter lack of every quality a registrar ought to have. As registrar last year he was absolutely of no account. He frequently left the office during the sitting to have a kettle filled with beer at a neighboring saloon.

Still another case in the Ninth Ward may perhaps throw some light both upon the difficulties of securing fair registration and of keeping taxes down. It will be remembered that in the course of the inquiry into the populousness of Mr. John Flynn's residence on East Lombard street last fall, it came out that Mr. Flynn was the holder of a position as night watchman on Fulton-street sewer, for which he received \$14 a week, and that he was in the habit of having the duties discharged or neglected by one of his impecunious lodgers, to whom he paid little or nothing. The Mayor immediately and with some little flourish abolished the office as a sinecure, as in truth it was. Our investigations show that Mr. Fred. Bitter, appointed officer of registration for the first precinct of the Ninth Ward, and who keeps a saloon in that precinct, the same in which the notorious Mr. Flynn is so important a factor, now holds the office formerly held by Mr. Flynn, the office having apparently remained abolished for a very brief space indeed.

In the second precinct of the same ward the Board appointed a person as registrar who has frequently served as judge of election on occasions when gross frauds were committed, and who, as a saloon-keeper, has had occasionally to answer for breaches of the Sunday law. The same man was appointed registrar last year. I then protested against his appointment, as I have done this year. Last year he was relieved by the Board; whether he will be this year I do not know.

In another precinct of the same ward the Board has appointed a man against whose appointment I last year unsuccessfully protested on the ground that he was a sporting man and was living in a gambling house. I have this year renewed the protest, adding the additional fact that he is now keeping bar in a notorious house of assignation.

In another precinct of the same ward they have appointed

a fellow who has for years been a hanger-on at the gambling hell formerly kept by "Bud" Kittingham on McClellan's Alley, and have given him as a colleague a worthless Republican who neither lives nor is registered in the ward.

In a precinct of the Tenth Ward they have appointed as a Republican registrar a man against whom the Republicans bitterly protested last year, both because of his extreme age and his non-residence in the precinct. He was allowed to serve last year, he declaring that he lived in the precinct; but as his residence, in fact, was not in it, he did not register at all last year. Under these circumstances, and as he is still a non-resident, I have felt it my duty to protest against his appointment.

In a precinct of the Twelfth Ward an ex-saloon-keeper, who, while in his former occupation, had been indicted for violations of the Sunday law, was, although a non-resident of the precinct and a man against whom I successfully protested last year, when he was appointed judge of election, appointed registrar, and he was given as a Democratic colleague another non-resident who is at present living in a saloon in another precinct of the ward.

In one of the precincts of the Thirteenth Ward, one of the men appointed as registrar is a disorderly rowdy who has been in one or more serious affrays and who is now keeping bar in a low saloon, which the police describe as a thieves' resort. In another precinct of the same ward a man appointed registrar is registered from a well-known house of prostitution in Raborg street, at which house he has frequently visited, but at which he never had a legal residence. He is a resident of the Fourteenth Ward.

In a precinct of the last-mentioned ward the proprietor of a well-known policy shop of the worst class has been appointed registrar; and in another precinct of the same ward one of the appointees was judge of election in the same precinct in 1886, when there were 76 more tickets found in the box than there had been votes polled. He was indicted for stuffing the ballot-box, or for permitting it to be stuffed. The indictment was pending untried when the Legislature of 1886 repealed the law under which he was indicted.

Three men who had been dismissed from the police force for cause were appointed registrars.

In one of the precincts in which, as before stated, one of the registrars, while serving last year, had been judicially declared to have acted in bad faith, he was given as a colleague a worthless vagabond, whose nearest relatives have had the best cause to regret that he ever came into the world.

In another precinct of the same ward, the sixteenth, one of the registrars has been indicted for selling liquor on Sunday at the low saloon he keeps on Pratt street. He is also the proprietor of one of those Sunday resorts which in summer make Sunday at Curtis Bay a day of debauchery.

In another precinct of the same ward, one of the men appointed registrars has for years been mixed up in shady political work, and was on at least one occasion caught in the act of bringing up a repeater to vote.

In still another precinct of the same ward the man appointed, a fellow of bad political reputation, is a non-resident of the ward.

In a precinct of the Eighteenth Ward the two Democratic registrars are the men who served as judges of election in 1886, when the grossest frauds were committed at this precinct. I successfully protested against these men last year.

In a precinct of the Nineteenth Ward a well-known saloon-keeper who has pleaded guilty to violation of the Sunday law, and who is not supposed to be troubled with many scruples in politics, has been appointed.

In one of the precincts of the Twenty-second Ward, Dr. Robert Hall, now under indictment in the United States Court for having conspired to prevent legal voters from voting, by causing their arrest on the day before election on charges that he knew to be unfounded, was appointed. He has, according to the newspapers, declined to serve.

Against the appointment of the above thirty persons I protested, as counsel for the League.

These thirty do not, however, by any means, exhaust the number of the unfit registrars.

In a number of other instances, when protests were to my

knowledge filed against appointments by responsible persons who were personally better acquainted with the facts than I was myself, I did not think it necessary to put in protests on the part of the League.

A number of persons appointed as Republican registrars were protested against by the Republicans because their appointment had not been suggested or recommended by the Republicans of the ward and precinct, and the persons appointed were not such as will give a reasonable guarantee to the Republicans that their rights in the registration room will be properly guarded.

In some cases these persons thrust upon the Republicans were old men; in four cases they could not write the English language, one had defective eyesight, several were non-residents, one was an aged Democrat, another had taken part in a Democratic primary as late as 1888.

Citizens protested against a number of the Democratic registrars appointed. Thus two were protested against because they had interfered with legal voters at the polls last fall, and another for similar conduct in the registration office. Against one man objection was made because he was a justice of the peace and ineligible, and against another who was a registrar last year and who, while serving as such, was frequently drunk and quarrelsome, and who is now a non-resident of the precinct.

I have referred in detail to a number of unfit appointments, not for the purpose of attacking the Board of Supervisors, but to show how necessary such an examination as we have made is, if grossly improper persons are not to be allowed to act in the delicate and responsible positions of officers of registration. No matter how desirous a Board of Supervisors may be to appoint only fit men, it is certain that they will make some mistakes, for interested parties will in some instances succeed in deceiving them. In some wards systematic attempts were made to lead the Board to suppose that reputable Republicans had endorsed for appointment as Republican officers of registration men who were really chosen by the Democrats of the ward or precinct.

Thus in the Thirteenth Ward the names of several Republican residents were forged to the recommendation of a person whom the Democrats desired to have appointed Republican registrar. In at least two precincts of the Tenth Ward Democratic workers went around the precincts, and by representing themselves as Republicans, succeeded in inducing Republicans to endorse gentlemen whom they described as eminently fitted for the place. One of the men thus recommended, and who upon the strength of the recommendation was appointed, was quite an elderly person, who says himself that he has only voted the Republican ticket once, and then he voted for Tom Swann. Another was a Republican who could neither speak nor write the English language.

Under these circumstances the Board cannot be condemned merely because they have in the first instance made some or even many bad selections. They will be justly censurable if, after the facts which make these appointments improper have been brought to their attention, they do not remove these men, and all of them.

There is one respect in which the Board appears to have deliberately departed from a salutary rule to which the Board of 1887, I believe, strictly adhered, and that was not to appoint any saloon-keepers or bartenders election officers. Among the registration officers appointed this year no less than 21 are either saloon-keepers or bartenders.

I believe that the League should devote particular attention, care and watchfulness to the supervision of the registration this summer, for there is a strong probability that a concerted attempt will be made to strike off the names of voters of one color and put on the names of persons of the other color, in each case without much care as to whether the latter are qualified or the former disqualified.

Since the last meeting of the League, the belief I then expressed, upon information obtained, that the bottoms could readily be taken out of the official ballot-boxes and replaced without leaving any marks, has been confirmed by ocular demonstration. Any good mechanic used to handling tools, with a penknife, a pair of tweezers if the bottom is nailed, or

a screw-driver if it is screwed on (and some of the official boxes are made in one way and some in the other), a hammer and a nail punch, can in ten minutes take the bottom out of one of the official boxes and replace it without leaving any trace to show that the box has been tampered with.

The police census demonstrates anew the necessity for a redivision of the precincts. A precinct ought not to contain at the most more than 500 voters. There are now 75 precincts in the city which do contain more than 500 voters each, and of these 35 contain more than 600, 25 more than 700, 15 more than 800, 10 more than 900, 8 more than 1000, 4 more than 1100, 3 more than 1200, and two more than 1300 voters each.

Very respectfully,

JOHN C. ROSE.

REPORT OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE.

To the Baltimore Reform League:

Since the special meeting of the League held in January, its work has related to matters of routine, which are sufficiently explained in the report of its attorney. A few suggestions as to the policy of the League during the next ensuing year may, however, be timely.

It is reasonable to anticipate that the duties of the Committee on Public Officials will prove much more burdensome and important than heretofore. A change of national administration is always followed by an eager competition for public employment, especially among persons unable to secure any other, and the League, through the agency of its proper committee, must see that, so far as may be practicable, no Federal officer shall select an unfit subordinate in ignorance of his unfitness without an opportunity to promptly correct the error. The League must not indeed become an instrument to disseminate idle gossip or gratify personal malice, but when a man's antecedents, associations or habits disqualify him for the service of a prudent private employer, it is bound to protect the public service from his intrusion or, at least, to fix the responsibility for this where it belongs. If any Federal officer is disposed to reward questionable party services by the choice of unworthy persons for minor positions, he should do this with the knowledge that his appointees will be unsparingly and fearlessly exposed.

This Committee may possibly have the opportunity to render a similar service to the community in connection with the municipal administration. It would be neither dignified nor sensible to ask that men of criminal records or scandalous lives should be excluded from the city's employ from a mayor notoriously in sympathy with just such men; but should it happen that a candidate of either party shall be chosen to this important office next autumn whose reputation and past life justify wholly different expectations as to his official action, the League will surely not fail to charge his conscience with responsibility for the grave offence to decency and good morals involved in knowingly keeping on the pay-roll of the city some of the men whose names he will find there.

Public attention has been of late directed to several systems for preventing fraud and bribery at elections, some features of which have been adopted in certain of our sister States or England or Australia. Their purpose is most praiseworthy and many of their provisions are very ingenious, but we must bear in mind that no scheme of mechanical checks and balances, however perfect, will protect the purity of the ballot in a community which tolerates dishonest election officers. The elections of '82, '83 and '84 were held substantially under the same laws as those of '85 and '86, yet the first were undoubtedly fair and the second as undoubtedly mere mockeries, simply because Governor Hamilton appointed officers who did their duty and Governor Lloyd appointed some who did not. While therefore the Committee on Legislation may wisely seek to remedy any recognized defects in our improved but still very imperfect election laws, the Committee on Elections must stimulate public opinion to exact of every officer concerned in our elections—Governor, supervisors, registers, judges and

clerks—a conscientious and impartial discharge of his sworn duty, by exposing and prosecuting any who fall short of this. While men who have attained eminence through, and only through, the most unscrupulous and daring frauds upon the suffrage are still prominent in public life and in the control of the dominant party of the State, eternal vigilance on the part of honest and patriotic men will be the price of a free vote and a fair count in Maryland. The price is high, but the blessings are worth it.

Respectfully submitted on behalf of the Executive Committee.

CHARLES J. BONAPARTE, *Chairman*.

THE HODGES-BUCHHEIMER DEMOCRATIC UNIVERSITY.

OUR readers will hardly have forgotten the famous recommendation of Mr. Hodges to Mr. Fritz Buchheimer, to establish a Democratic University in the Second Ward. That citadel of Democracy had caused to be counted so singularly large a majority "for Hodges," that his ex-Honor's overflowing gratitude to "the gentleman who done it" could find no better outlet than naming him as a rival of Johns Hopkins. A correspondent, who is curious in such matters, has enabled us to complete the history of the incident, by calling attention to the fact, thus far, as we believe, unnoticed, that the Second was the only ward in the city which opposed the ordinance for the establishment of the Pratt Free Library, giving a majority of fifty-seven against it! Obviously, it was the opinion of his ex-Honor, that the true place for an institution of Democratic learning, was a ward in which the people were opposed to reading, even at somebody else's expense. It would have been curious to see how the Second Ward would have stood upon the question of free drinks. But that is a question which Professor Buchheimer, being the chief of its saloon-keepers, would hardly permit to come to a vote.

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[Fig. 2.]

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[Fig. 3.]

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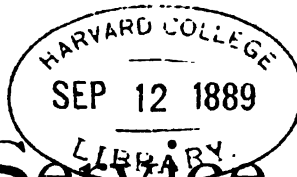
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The Civil-Service Reformer.

VOL. V.—No. 8.

BALTIMORE, AUGUST, 1889.

PRICE TEN CENTS.

THE MONTH.

THE Democratic State Convention of 1887 promised the people that as soon as the constitutional objection which that convention assumed to exist could be removed, the Democratic party would enact a law requiring annual registration in every city of the State having upwards of ten thousand inhabitants. The Legislature of 1888 removed the constitutional obstacle by deciding what every sensible man in the State had for years known was the case, that there was no constitutional obstacle to remove. But, instead of redeeming the promise of the platform, the Democratic majority of that Legislature refused to give us annual registration, and provided instead for new registration only in the even-numbered years and for revision of the lists in the odd-numbered, the years in which the important State and municipal officials are elected. The analysis, published in another part of this issue, of the operations of this revision machinery shows that it is working just as the men who induced the Legislature to adopt it intended it should. It is a great deal more costly to the city and troublesome to the public than annual registration would be. It will leave on the books, for the use of repeaters on election day, many names of disqualified persons, while qualified voters are being wrongfully stricken from the lists. The men who control the organization of the Democratic party, the men who will name the candidates whom the primaries are to nominate, deliberately refused to permit the last Legislature to pass an honest registration and election law, because they were not willing to take from themselves the opportunity of winning by fraud if they found that they had not votes enough to win in any other way.

THE defenders of the spoils system habitually assume that under it the offices are given to the men who have done most to achieve victory for the successful party. Originally this was no doubt true, but in the large cities of the country it has to a great extent ceased to be the fact. In such places the offices are distributed among the guild of the professional politicians, and so long as one of these gentry chooses to call himself by one of the distinctive party names, no matter how persistently he may have betrayed its plans, crossed its purposes and knifed its candidates, the party to which he nominally belongs seems expected to look after him before the "claims" of any one, the professional character of whose politics is more open to question, can be considered. This principle finds a recent illustration in the appointment of Mr. "Jim" Caulk to his old place of treasury inspector. From November, 1884, to November, 1888, Messrs. Gorman and Rasin had no lieutenant in Baltimore half so useful to them as Caulk. In 1885, when the only possible hope of defeating the "ring" here was by the union of all dissatisfied elements in the support of Judge Brown, Caulk attempted to have the Republican convention declare in favor of straightout nominations, and tried to silence a gentleman who in that convention was opposing a resolution in favor of such nominations. When the convention adjourned without naming any candidates, Mr. Caulk was master spirit at a meeting of Repub-

lican politicians, all of whom still remained in Federal office, and who were arranging to have the convention reconvened for the purpose of putting a ticket in the field. Unfortunately for the plans of the majority of the persons present, they had made a mistake as to one of the holding-over officials whom they had invited, and he broke up the whole business by dryly suggesting that it would look better if they all resigned their offices before they joined the Democratic party. It was Mr. Caulk's friends who in 1886 put up Mr. Weatherby, and thus destroyed the otherwise fair prospect of returning Mr. Findlay to Congress. But as Mr. Caulk has so long devoted his energies to politics and officeholding that he probably would have some difficulty in finding anything else at which he could make his living, it is obvious that not to have appointed him would have been to set a precedent which would have cast a gloom over the future career of that large if not overly respectable class who make their bread and butter in politics.

MR. HERBERT WELSH, whose zeal for the cause of reform has often been shown in our columns, has hit upon a novel and ingenious plan for a combined attack upon the spoils system. He suggests that on next Thanksgiving Day every clergyman in the land shall preach upon the wickedness of using the people's offices as a great bribery fund. He has gotten the approval of all the leading reformers of the country for his scheme, and the *Civil Service Chronicle* shows that he has succeeded in securing the aid of divines of the highest eminence. To carry out his idea it will be necessary to send information about the spoils system and the cure to many parts of the country. For this purpose quite a sum of money is needed. We hope that it will be forthcoming, and we shall be glad either to answer inquiries as to Mr. Welsh's plans, or to forward to him contributions from our readers.

ALMOST the sole contribution of President Harrison toward the advancement of the cause of civil service reform has been the appointment of the present board of Commissioners. It is all the more gratifying, therefore, and surprising too, that, in spite of a serious lack of means, the Commission remains so remarkably efficient. The investigations which the board has conducted in various post-offices and custom-houses have done much to procure the enforcement of the law, and the public must before long come to believe in the fact, so positively announced by Mr. Roosevelt, that the Commission "will tolerate no violation and no evasion of the statute. The examinations are open to all, Democrats and Republicans alike; all can apply who choose; all those applying in proper form will be examined and marked with positive impartiality, and will be certified in their order to the appointing officer." This firm language was used apropos of the case of one Greer, Republican, Collector of Customs at Port Huron, who, after publicly expressing his wish to manage his office on the spoils theory, had the secretary of the local examining board request permission to hold an examination, without stating how many names were still on the eligible list. The request was promptly refused by the

Commission, and a statement of the condition of the list was demanded. "The Commission have, of course," said Mr. Roosevelt, "no control over the expressions of any public officer, but they intend to make it their particular duty to prevent any administration of the law in accordance with the theories enunciated by Mr. Greer." In carrying out this determination they came into collision with the most amusing pair of spoilsmen yet brought to public notice, Postmaster Paul, of Milwaukee, and his friend, Congressman Van Schaick. The Commission reported to the President that Paul, like Veazey, had twisted and garbled the lists of eligibles in almost every conceivable manner, in order to produce swindling certificates, whereby certain men could be rejected, although entitled to appointment, and other men, without any rightful claim, appointed. In view of this gross and fraudulent violation of the law, the Commissioners recommend Paul's removal. Thereupon the Republican congressman of the district comes to Paul's relief, after an interview thus described in a Milwaukee paper:

"Senator Paul, you are my friend," said the congressman, "and, no matter what your politics are, I cannot sit idly by and see you leave this position under a cloud, if any effort of mine can gain for you a fair hearing."

"Did I not tender you my resignation last March, and promise you that I would take my hat and leave this place without a word?"

"Certainly you did, and I must admit that you have acted fairly in everything you have done in your attitude toward me."

"Is it not, then, a disgraceful subterfuge to prefer charges against me, to bring about my removal from office, when a word from you was sufficient?"

Congressman Van Schaick's pride was touched, and the usurpation of the prerogatives of his office was made plain to him. He had held the postmaster's tenure of office in the hollow of his hand, and while resting in the security that he could name a new postmaster at his own will, an agitation had arisen in which he had taken no part, and which would end in the discharge of Mr. Paul, under circumstances which would leave him in disgrace. The congressman was fast being won over to the side of the postmaster, where they had one common object to subserve. If Mr. Paul had transgressed the civil service rules, he was unfit to hold the office. If Congressman Van Schaick had permitted him to remain while he was thus breaking the rules of civil service reform, then he, too, was recreant to his trust. Before the conversation had progressed much farther, the interests of both men were found to be upon the same level, and the congressman was as anxious for a vindication as the postmaster himself.

It is difficult to avoid laughing as one reads of this congressman's ideas of his "prerogative"; and yet he has only put into crude shape the principle upon which spoils are now distributed.

Another violation of the law, the collection of political assessments in a government building, by one Hudson, chief clerk of the Railway Mail Service, was investigated at Grand Rapids. Seven affidavits were produced, charging Hudson with having committed this offence. The Commission reports:

If the assertions contained in these affidavits are not disproved or explained by other evidence, the Commissioners believe that they warrant Mr. Hudson's indictment under Sections 11, 12, 13, 14 and 15 of the Civil Service Act.

But Mr. Hudson has submitted, together with his affidavit denying specifically all the charges, the affidavit of the chairman of the local Democratic party organization, denying that Mr. Hudson turned over such sums as were alleged, and also copies of letters from Ergenzeigner and Saulsbury denying the very facts they set forth in their affidavits, as well as letters and other matter tending to show the bad character or the improper animus of the other men who make affidavits against him.

If Mr. Hudson is guilty, he should be prosecuted; if he is not

guilty, then the men swearing falsely against him should themselves be prosecuted for entering into a peculiarly infamous conspiracy to blacken his character.

FEW people are aware how great are the difficulties under which the Commission now labors. For the present year Congress appropriated but \$35,050 to cover all the expenses of a force whose operations extend literally over the whole country. Of this sum \$10,500 goes for the inadequate salaries of the three Commissioners. The exceedingly meagre sum of \$5250 is allowed for travelling expenses, including both the expenses of the Commissioners, whose business carries them everywhere in making investigations, and of the examiners also, who must hold examinations in almost every State. The remaining \$19,300 goes for the salaries of a chief examiner, a secretary, a messenger, a laborer and ten clerks and examiners, in all fourteen persons. The force is worked very hard, and although even now, in the hottest season, the clerks are worked over time, when clerks in the other departments are let off an hour earlier than usual, the work of the Commission is behindhand from sixty to ninety days. Of the last examination two thousand papers are still unmarked, though the next examinations are about to begin. The testimony taken in the New York Custom House investigation three months ago is only just being transcribed from the shorthand notes. Of late, whenever a stenographer has been required, his pay has necessarily come from the pocket of the Commissioner needing him. To do properly the present work of the Commission, it is imperative to have an additional force of six clerks, one messenger, and one laborer; their salaries aggregating \$10,000. For travelling expenses \$2000 more is required. To extend the classified service, as is so important, to the navy yards, the Indian schools and agencies, now little better than almshouses, a further increase of force is needed of six clerks, costing \$8500. There should also be funds to pay one or two outside members on all local examining boards, say sixty persons, costing \$25,000. The secretary of each local board should also be paid at least \$100 for his services, which are now gratuitous. At least \$85,000 is absolutely required. Civil service reformers everywhere should agitate for such an appropriation next winter.

CANDOR AND COURTESY IN THE POST-OFFICE DEPARTMENT.

IN connection with the subjoined letters from and to Mr. Wanamaker, it may, perhaps, be well to recall for our readers the circumstances that resulted in the correspondence. President Cleveland, it will be remembered, directed that the Civil Service Rules should be extended to the Railway Mail Service eleven days after his term of office expired: one of the first acts of President Harrison was to postpone this measure until May 1. In the meantime a very large proportion of the force employed in this branch of the public service was changed, those leaving it being almost invariably Democrats; those entering it, so far as we are informed, quite invariably Republicans. From these facts the general public formed an opinion that the postponement had been ordered to afford an opportunity for sweeping removals and appointments on partisan grounds. We shared and expressed this opinion until it was corrected by a note from Commissioner Lyman, of which correction we were prompt, in our May number, to give our readers the benefit. We accepted Mr. Lyman's explanation as

sufficient to exonerate the President from the charge of ordering the postponement for discreditable reasons; there remained the question whether he had not permitted it to be abused to serve discreditable ends. It was and is conceivable, though unlikely, that for the numerous removals of old officials and the haste shown in selecting their successors, proper reasons might and may yet be given, and, as we were anxious to do no one injustice, and should have been, moreover, very agreeably surprised had this possibility been realized on investigation, we addressed to the several officials to whom we were successively referred a request for information as to the total number of resignations and removals in this particular branch (not the whole) of the postal service, with the result set forth in our last and our present number. Mr. Wanamaker's reply to our inquiry, which was received too late to appear last month, was as follows:

Your letter of June 16th, addressed to "Post-Office Department," was opened by the Chief Clerk and referred to the Railway Mail Department, and did not come to my attention until the present time, on reference from that office.

Your request is to be informed as to the total number of resignations and removals in the postal service since the 4th of March, 1889.

A sufficient answer to your question would perhaps be the same as that made to other newspapers, that there is a daily statement given to the public press of all the changes made in the Post-Office Department, in all its branches, accompanied with the facts whether or not such changes were made on resignations or removals. This is given out daily, and could have been gained by you for the use of your paper, as it has been for the use of the press generally. We have not a sufficient force of clerks to keep repeating this information. It is given out from day to day, and each has to gain it for himself. Still we appreciate this new indication of a desire on the part of you and your journal to ascertain the actual official facts before discussing official matters with the public.

As we understand it, your paper has thus far given scarcely anything but misrepresentations by the way of alleged facts to the people in discussing this question. We are very much gratified to see this change in your disposition, and a desire to deal frankly and fairly, and to come to first sources to gain official facts before taking up official discussion. Therefore, if you are ready to begin the discussion on the basis of truth and candor, and willing to correct the false statements heretofore made in your journal, and to say frankly to the public that such previous information was wrong, and that you henceforth intend to discuss matters connected with the postal service intelligently and fairly, on actual official data, we shall be glad to furnish you with any information at our command.

We need hardly say we did not consider that, by furnishing the information asked, the Post-Office Department would place us under any greater obligation than to acknowledge the courtesy shown. When we were led to suppose from Mr. Bell's letter that it had been definitively refused, we thought and said in July merely that the officers concerned could not complain if in any respect we unintentionally misrepresented them. We now understand Mr. Wanamaker to say that we can have the information desired, provided that, *before receiving it*, we are willing to "say frankly" that our previous statements on the subject were untrue, and that we "henceforth intend" to discuss the questions connected with it "intelligently and fairly." We are willing to say and do say, that if, either from Mr. Wanamaker or from any other source, we learn that any statement we have ever made as to any person whatsoever did that person any injustice, we shall immediately correct it; but we say this, not as a bonus to get a civil question as to a matter of legitimate public business answered by public servants, but as a matter of common fairness. To ask whether we are "ready to

begin the discussion" of anything "on the basis of truth and candor" is only to invite an answer which we do not care to give. But probably Mr. Wanamaker did not mean to be insulting, and if he did it is a small matter, except as a commentary on his own appointment. Moreover, on an attentive reading of the first half of his curiously obscure letter it will be observed that Mr. Wanamaker declines to answer our question on the ground that doing so would overwork his clerks. But this is a mere pretext, as becomes evident further on, where he expressly says that, provided we will admit we have slandered him, he will be glad to furnish any information at his command. In the following letter therefore our managing editor asked him to point out the slander:

I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your favor of recent date, politely declining to furnish the information for which I had asked, as to the Railway Mail Service. I am sincerely sorry that you think it inadvisable to give us the facts in this matter, because the newspapers' statements of great numbers of removals in that service have caused more criticism of the Administration than anything else, except the charges of wanton displacement of the fourth-class postmasters; and an accurate official statement of the facts, if these reports are untrue, would finally dispose of an injurious slander. I regret also to learn that, in your opinion, we have made serious misstatements in previous numbers of the REFORMER, and I hope that you will kindly point them out with as little delay as possible. I assure you that it will give us unaffected pleasure to acknowledge and rectify any error into which we have fallen, for we fully appreciate the many difficulties with which public officers are surrounded, and we should sincerely regret having added to their burdens by unjust statement or comment.

His reply was:

I have the pleasure to acknowledge, with thanks for its very courteous language, your favor of the 17th instant.

I am sure that if you will give a careful re-reading to my former letter, you will see that, instead of declining to give you the information you desired, we met you in the spirit which you showed in your first letter, offering to give you any further facts if you would frankly and promptly retract the previous false statements you have made upon misinformation. It has been the rule of this Department since March last to give to the public, every day, a statement of all the changes made in offices, and whether from removals or resignations. This information has always been open to you. In your seeking this information now from official sources, we supposed that you would notify your readers that the information that you had previously given, and upon which you had made up your judgment, was not official, and that henceforth the discussion of post-office appointments would be founded upon official facts.

The public has a right to know the truth concerning the conduct of the civil service, and if you have inadvertently or from unreliable information misrepresented the facts, you certainly should say so.

We regard this last letter as an evasion. We invited Mr. Wanamaker to point out the misstatements with which in his first letter he charged us. Instead of doing so he makes the suggestion that we shall notify our readers, that the information previously given "was *not official*"—not, it will be observed, that it was mistaken—and that henceforth the discussion will "be founded upon official facts." We beg to assure Mr. Wanamaker that all we want is the facts, with or without the epithet "official," and that his failure to answer the charges made against his management of the postal service is strong evidence that these charges are true.

THE POLICE FORCE UNDER THE SPOILS SYSTEM.

NO one who has any practical familiarity with the methods of our local political managers can fail to perceive that the question of making a change in the law regulating the

police force of Baltimore is rapidly coming to the front as one of the gravest issues of the day in our municipal affairs. Thirty years ago the same question forced itself upon the attention of our people, and a solution was found by brave and liberal-minded men, in spite of the opposition of a venal press. At that time the police force was openly and boldly used by the "practical" politicians, into whose hands the government of the city had fallen, to carry the elections for the Know-Nothing party. It was this method of carrying elections that earned for our city the disgraceful name of "Mob Town," by which it was familiarly and contemptuously designated throughout the country. In those days the fine work of the ballot-thief and the repeater, now so potent and pervasive, were almost unknown; electoral fraud as a fine art was yet in its infancy, and the more straightforward, "American" method of open violence prevailed. Elections in Baltimore became a mere farce and no longer wore even the deceitful appearance of expressing the will of the people; on the contrary, the ballot-box simply registered the decrees of the corrupt political clique which controlled the party machine and which controlled all appointments to the police force. Then, as now, the police controlled the elections, by systematically shielding and sometimes actively assisting the ruffians who did the "dirty work" of the party bosses to whom they owed their appointments. It was this state of affairs that gave rise to the enactment by the Legislature of 1860 of the present police law.

The primary aim and purpose of that law was to take the police force "out of politics." Every one, and especially the able and patriotic men who prepared the law and secured its enactment, recognized the fact that something more was needed than a mere change in the personnel of the force. It was the *system* that needed changing, and in the fierce light shed upon the situation by the constantly recurring deeds of violence and bloodshed at the polls, none could fail to see that so long as appointments to the police force continued to be recognized as a legitimate means of rewarding political workers, that force would continue to be corrupt and partisan, and utterly unreliable for the purpose of suppressing electoral crime, no matter what party might be in power.

It was therefore expressly provided in the new police law that the Police Commissioners, in making their appointments, should make no discrimination in favor of or against any applicant on account of his political or religious belief. The same rule was applied to removals, and the official oath of the Commissioners binds them to observe this principle. The theory of this law was, of course, as good as need be, and, so long as the Police Board was composed of men who sympathized with the spirit and purpose of the law, it worked well enough. But experience has shown that something more is needed than an official oath to make this most important provision of the law effective in practice. As a matter of fact, it has been notorious for years that appointments in the Police Department are made on political grounds, and that the spoils system has fastened itself upon that department as well as upon other branches of our city government.

Everybody knows that, in order to get an appointment on the police force, it is necessary to be a Democrat; and not only so, but that the applicant must have the backing of some influential politician who is in sympathy with the particular faction to which the majority of the Board for the time being belongs. In addition to this, every policeman

knows that under the present system any change in the political complexion of the Board may bring in a set of Commissioners who have full power to discharge him from the force on account of his politics and every temptation to do so by reason of the fact that there is practically nothing in the law regulating appointments to prevent them from appointing their own political workers in his place. The natural consequence is that at every election, either primary or general, the policeman has a strong personal interest in the success of that faction or party to which he belongs, and to whose favor he owes his place.

It is bread and butter with him; he is subjected to the strongest temptation to which a man in his station in life can be exposed, to discriminate in favor of his own party or faction, and it would be simply stupid to suppose that he does not do so.

Therefore it is that, by means of gangs of repeaters and other methods now familiar to us all, frauds have been committed at our elections on an immense scale, under the very noses of the police, on many occasions, and not an arrest made.

Now, is it not obvious that this evil state of affairs is due to the system? Is any one simple enough to imagine that any permanent good would be obtained by merely changing the personnel of the Board, or that a Board of Republicans, or of Independent Democrats, Prohibitionists, or of any other political complexion, would make things any better? Our argument is not against the present Board or the present police force. They are what the system makes them, and almost any other Board or any other policemen would act in the same way under that system. The remedy is, change the system. Deprive the Police Board of the power to appoint their political favorites, by substituting the merit system for the spoils system in appointments on the force, by requiring a rigid competitive examination for all applicants, and compelling the appointment of the man who passes highest, without regard to his politics. When this is done we shall have the police out of politics, and not before.

No candidate for the Legislature should receive the support of the Reformers at the approaching election who is not willing to pledge himself to the advocacy of this law and whose character does not afford a practical guarantee that he will keep his pledge.

If we expect the police of this city to deal fairly by us at that election, we should deal fairly by them, and give them the assurance that, no matter which party is successful, they will be safe so long as they do their duty.

It would be difficult to overestimate the importance of this subject at the present time. There is every indication that the coming election will be a most exciting and hotly contested one.

The burden of taxation in this city has increased from year to year, until now it has become almost intolerable, and there is no doubt but that a strong effort will be made to wrest the control of our municipal affairs from the grasp of the combination of spoilsmen who are responsible for the present deplorable condition of affairs. These men know that the people are against them, and that desperate measures will have to be resorted to in order to enable them to retain the power which they have so grossly abused. The election and registration law enacted by the last Legislature, defective and incomplete as it is, renders it difficult for them to accomplish the amount of fraud necessary to defeat the will of the people in the usual way, and it is

reported that they are even now maturing a different plan. Only a week or two ago, in the course of a debate at the Crescent Society, one of the members of that organization, who is understood to be hostile to the present party management, boldly stated that he had information to the effect that the "regulars" were relying upon the police to "carry the next election for them." The fact that such a statement as this should be made by a responsible man on a public occasion, and permitted to remain unchallenged, is almost startling in its significance, and our experience of the character and previous methods of the men who control the so-called "regular" organization of this city affords every assurance that they are fully capable of making good their threat unless prompt and vigorous measures are taken to prevent them.

Under the present system, nearly every man on the force owes his appointment to the influence of some local worker or boss and is more or less under his control. It is not difficult to guess how that control will be exercised by such men. The result is that the whole police force of the city, which our people are taxed so heavily to maintain, is in danger of being used by a clique of voracious tax-eaters to throttle the people when they seek to lift their voices against their oppressors.

The plan which we advocate is no new one. It is simply to adopt a law similar to that which was enacted in New York and Massachusetts, and which is still in force in those States.

No stronger testimony as to the beneficial working of the system could be desired than that which is found in the sixth annual report of the Civil Service Commissioners of New York State, especially when we remember that the present Commissioners were appointed by Governor Hill, a gentleman who has never been accused of too much partiality for the merit system. On page 7 of their report these gentlemen say :

"There is abundant testimony showing the benefits to the public service derived from the operations of the civil service statutes and regulations. This testimony comes from the several departments of the State government; from the mayors of the principal cities of the State and the municipal authorities; from the Civil Service Commissioners in the large cities; from the Examining Boards; from the press and from intelligent observers who have compared the present civil administration with that of former years prior to 1888."

"Perhaps no more conspicuous example of improvement could be pointed out than is furnished in the admirable conduct of the police force of the city of New York during the recent disturbances incident to the great strike of the employees of the street railways. A large proportion of the officers and men enrolled in the New York police have been appointed under the system of competitive examinations established in 1884 and 1885. The discipline, fortitude and efficiency displayed under circumstances demanding intelligence, endurance and courage, have received the highest commendation from our own citizens interested in the preservation of order and the due execution of the laws, and this praise has been echoed far and wide from all quarters."

And yet Commissioner Schryver objects to the adoption of the competitive system for the Baltimore police, on the ground that it would not afford a practical test of fitness for police duty. The objection is a purely theoretical one. The best answer to it is found in the practical facts which we have cited, and whatever objection may come from Mr. Schryver

or other gentlemen who have a personal interest in maintaining the police department as a branch of political patronage, there is no doubt that the police themselves would gladly welcome the adoption of a law which would afford them a guarantee against removal so long as they are faithful to their public duties, relieve them from the petty tyranny to which they are now exposed at the hands of the political pirates who control their appointment, and place them in a position to be independent of all political parties and factions.

One thing is very certain: the people of this city cannot afford to tolerate the present system much longer without the risk of losing the right of self-government altogether.

THE WORKING OF THE REGISTRATION LAW.

THE registration law of last year provided for a new registration biennially in the even-numbered years, and for a revision of the lists in the odd-numbered years. The machinery for revision provided by the act has been this year, for the first time, put in operation. The Reform League has made every effort to obtain accurate and detailed information as to the way in which it works. This ought to be an easy task, but it is not. The law requires the registrars, within three days after the close of each sitting, to have printed and posted two alphabetical lists, one of which lists shall contain the names and addresses of all persons registered in their respective precincts, and the other the names of all persons stricken from the registry. This law has been obeyed in not more than one precinct in three. At each sitting many names which have been stricken from the registry list have not been advertised at all. In many cases men who have been registered have been advertised as stricken off, and *vice versa*. In at least one precinct the names of 139 men have been advertised as stricken off, although every one of those names is still on the registry. In a number of precincts the residences of the newly registered men have not been published. It has, therefore, been necessary to supplement the defects of the printed lists by minute, patient and persistent inquiry. The League has nearly completed the investigation of every name registered or stricken off at the May and June sittings, and will make like inquiry into the work done or to be done at the other sittings. This study of the practical workings of the law has conclusively demonstrated the following propositions:

WHAT THE STUDY OF THE WORKINGS OF THE LAW SHOWS.

First.—That it costs the city a great deal more money to revise the registration lists than it does to make new ones.

Second.—That the revision of the lists costs the community more time and trouble than would a new registration.

Third.—That the machinery provided for the purging of the lists is inadequate to accomplish the task imposed upon it.

Fourth.—That in practice the law does not sufficiently protect from disfranchisement qualified voters.

Fifth.—That the machinery of the law has been so manipulated as to secure an unfair partisan advantage for the Democratic Ring.

Sixth.—That, in the nature of the case, the registry lists of a large city cannot be fully, fairly and justly revised.

These six propositions will be considered in their order.

REVISION MORE COSTLY THAN NEW REGISTRATION.

First.—It costs the city a great deal more money to revise the registration lists than it does to make new ones.

As was shown in the REFORMER for June, the city will this year pay the registrars \$45,144; last year, for new registration it paid them \$30,888. Under the Reform League draft they would have received but \$17,820, and under the Pearce bill only \$10,692. Both the Reform League and the Pearce acts provided for annual registration.

REVISION MORE TROUBLESOME THAN NEW REGISTRATION.

Second.—That the revision of the lists costs the community more time and trouble than would new registration. Only three out of the five sittings of the registration have as yet been held. The aggregate number of names stricken off and transferred in these three sittings has been at least 14,000, or between one-sixth and one-seventh of the entire registration. But in nearly or quite one-half of the precincts of the city the work of purging the lists has not been seriously begun. In some precincts, where it has been prosecuted in a systematic way, the number stricken off and transferred has reached or exceeded one-third of the registry. There are only a few such precincts, and the large number stricken off in them may be due to special local causes or to the careless or malicious action of the registrars in striking off many names entitled to remain on the books. But in each of 23 precincts scattered all over the city, and apparently presenting a pretty fair type of the whole city, more than one-fourth of the entire registry have already been stricken off or have transferred. It may therefore be assumed that if the lists in each precinct are, by the close of the October sitting, put in the condition in which the theory of the law supposes they will be, not less than one-fourth of the entire registry, or about 23,000 names, will have been stricken off or transferred. It is, on an average, at least three times as troublesome to be transferred as to be newly registered. In the former case you have first to go to the registration office of the precinct from which you have moved, and which may be a very considerable distance from your present residence, and, having there obtained your transfer, you must take it to the registration office of the precinct in which you live; while in the latter case you have merely to walk a few hundred yards to the office of your precinct and be there registered. If one-fourth of the voters are put to three times as much trouble as they would have had to undergo to be newly registered, in this respect alone revision of the lists costs the community three-fourths of the trouble new registration would entail upon it. But it is not only the people who have become disqualified who are in fact compelled to expend time and attention to save their votes. If you attempt to strike off all the disqualified, you must practically compel a good many qualified voters to come up to the registration office in order that they may show that they are qualified. You cannot separate the wheat from the tares of the registry list without exposing the wheat to more or less disturbance. From the information which the Reform League has received it seems probable that wherever the purging of the lists has been attempted on a systematic plan, nearly or quite one-third of all the persons notified to show cause why they should not be stricken off were qualified voters. In order to prove that persons disqualified are so, in many cases it will be necessary to summon witnesses to the registration office, and thus cause more annoyance and loss of time. All political parties are compelled to exert themselves to the best of their ability in securing evidence as to the disqualification of their opponents, and in inducing their adherents to obtain their transfers and to be properly

registered anew. Non-partisan organizations like the Reform League are forced to spend a great deal of money in attempting to prevent the abuses to which revision of the lists is so peculiarly liable. It will cost the Reform League several thousands of dollars just to hunt up and notify the thousands of men who have been and who will be stricken off that they have been so taken off, and that if they wish to vote they must be reinstated or transferred. When the amount of time, money, labor and worry all these things entail are added together, it is impossible to doubt that revision, which is usually defended as less troublesome than new registration, is, in fact, a great deal more so. The best possible proof that this is true is furnished by the fact that with new registration last fall, 13,500 more people voted in the old twenty wards than had ever done so under the revision system previously in vogue.

REVISION WILL NOT PURGE THE LISTS.

Third.—That the machinery provided by law for the purging of the lists is inadequate to accomplish the task imposed upon it.

The law provides the following machinery for purging the lists:

(a) It requires the officers of registration, at the May sitting, to go carefully over the whole list of names on the registry of their precinct, and note for striking off the names of all persons whom, "from their own information, or from information furnished to them by others, they have good reason to believe to be proper to be stricken off." To all persons upon this list they are required to send two notices, directed to such persons at their registered addresses, one notice to be sent through the mails, the other by the police calling upon them to appear at the June or July sittings and show cause why their names should not be stricken off. If no sufficient cause is shown by the July sitting, it is made the duty of the registrars to strike off the names.

(b) Whenever at any sitting any suggestion shall be made to them in writing, signed by any person, that said registration books contain any specified name or names which should be stricken off, the registrars shall diligently investigate; and if upon such investigation it appears that the persons are disqualified, their names shall be stricken off.

(c) The Health Department is required to furnish at each sitting of the registrars, a list of all the adult males who have died since the close of the last preceding sitting of the registrars, so that the names of such persons may be stricken off.

There is scarcely a precinct in the city in which the officers of registration could, from their own knowledge, make up a list which would begin to contain names of all the disqualified voters. In most precincts a list so made up would not contain half the voters who ought to be on it; in some precincts it would not contain a fifth of them. If this list is to be at all full, the officers of registration must make it up from "information furnished them by others." Such information must come either from official or unofficial sources.

REVISION BY THE POLICE CENSUS.

The only official source of information is the police census of voters. In a number of precincts, at the May sitting, the officers of registration served notices to show cause why they should not be stricken off, upon all voters on the registry, but not on the police census. The law does not, however, require the registrars to give any weight whatever to the police census, and the registrars only did so, in fact,

when it suited them. And, of course, in a good many cases, whether they should or should not accept it as a guide was determined by their opinion as to which party in any particular precinct would suffer most if they acted upon it. If the law had intended that every person not on the police census should be compelled to show cause why he should not be stricken off, it should have said so, and there would then have been a uniform rule throughout the city. The fatal objection to the law giving any such weight to this census is that it is, by the testimony of every one who has tested it without respect to party, denounced as so inaccurate that grave suspicion is necessarily thrown upon either the honesty or the intelligence of the force by which it was compiled. If added weight, as evidence, should be given to this census, the temptation to still further manipulate it in the interest of partisan advantage would be increased.

REVISION BY POLITICAL PARTIES.

The impossibility of obtaining full and accurate information from unofficial sources is still more clear. The political organizations will only furnish information as to the disqualification of their opponents, and, except in special circumstances, the only unofficial information furnished will be that supplied by the rival parties. To suppose, therefore, that the registrars will obtain from unofficial sources the names of all disqualified persons is to assume that each political party is so well organized and so well supplied with money that it can, not later than the first of April, or seven months before the election, set on foot, in each of the 198 precincts of the city, a house to house canvass.

HEALTH OFFICE REPORTS.

The Health Office lists of dead men are very valuable. They do not assure, however, that the names of all dead men will be stricken off, for the address opposite any particular name upon these reports is the place at which the man died, which is frequently different from that at which he registered.

SOME LISTS NOT REVISED AT ALL.

In some of the worst precincts of the city, precincts in which the transient population is proportionately the most numerous, there has been no attempt to purge the lists at all. A few dead men have been stricken off, and perhaps a voter or two has been sworn off by a chance comer, but that is all. Thus the number of names stricken off at the May, June and July sittings in the third, fifth, sixth, seventh and ninth precincts of the second ward, the first and fourth of the fourth ward, and the first, second and fourth of the ninth ward, containing in the aggregate 3926 registered voters, was 41, or only one per cent. In the sixth precinct of the twentieth ward, which extends from Carrollton avenue on the east to Gilmor street on the west, and from Harlem avenue on the south to Lafayette avenue on the north, with a registered vote of only 525, there have been 106 names stricken off, or twenty per cent of the entire registry. In the ten down-town precincts mentioned, the population, to a very large extent, lives in cheap hotels and in boarding, lodging and tenement houses. In these ten precincts there are no less than 417 saloons, brothels and gambling hells, or nearly one for every ten registered voters. The sixth precinct of the twentieth ward is a quiet, steady, respectable residence neighborhood, with no hotels, and probably very few, if any, boarding houses, and with only two saloons in it. The great difference in the number stricken off cannot be ascribed to the migratory habits of the negro, for there were

231 negroes registered in the down-town precincts and largely from such select neighborhoods as the "Causeway," the "Space" and the "Meadow," while there were but 102 registered in the sixth precinct of the twentieth ward. In the ten precincts the vote stood last fall, Cleveland 2433, Harrison 977, while in the one up-town precinct it was Cleveland 245, Harrison 256. In the lower precincts but three per cent of the Democrats scratched Mr. Morris A. Thomas, while in the upper he was cut by thirty per cent. But, however easy it may be to understand great discriminations when such wide differences of political conditions exist between precincts, there are other cases in which no such differences exist and in which discriminations almost as great have been made, thus showing that whether the lists shall or shall not be purged depends entirely upon the whims of the registrars. Thus, the fifth and sixth precincts of the twentieth ward adjoin. One gave Harrison 10 plurality, the other 11. One contains 97 negro voters, the other 102. In the latter, as we saw, 20 per cent of the registry has been stricken off, in the former but two per cent. In practice, therefore, revision of the lists is one thing in one precinct and a very different thing in another. In one precinct everybody who has moved and, as we shall see presently, some who have not are stricken off, while in another scarcely a name is erased.

QUALIFIED VOTERS ARE DISFRANCHISED.

Fourth.—That in practice the law does not sufficiently prevent the disfranchisement of qualified voters.

The law requires that every person marked for striking off at the May sitting shall be notified by notices sent by mail and by the police, addressed to his registered address, to show cause by the July sitting why he shall not be stricken off. Every voter stricken off must be notified of the fact through the same means, viz. the mail and the police, and his name must be printed and posted among the names stricken off within three days after the close of the sitting. In a great many precincts this last requirement has been altogether neglected. Thus, in the third precinct of the fourteenth ward 79 names were stricken off at the July sitting and but one of them was advertised. In the ninth precinct of the tenth ward, in which the registrars struck off 76 names after the sitting had closed, and when they had no right to touch the books, they did not advertise any of them. A person who has removed from one house to another in the same precinct is not required to have his residence changed on the registration book, yet the names of many such persons have been stricken off. If notices were sent to their registered addresses they were not received. When serving these notices the police can be either diligent or negligent in tracing up a voter who has moved, and by being diligent and negligent at the right times and in the right places they can save their own party and cost the other a great many votes.

Where the registrars have attempted to deal with large numbers of names, not unnaturally a great many mistakes have been made. Thus, in a precinct of the nineteenth ward, an old resident of the precinct was surprised at receiving after the May sitting a notice to show cause why he should not be stricken off. At the June sitting he showed cause by going to the registration office and making a vigorous remonstrance at having been summoned at all, as he was still living at his registered address. The registrars apologized, and explained that a mistake had been made.

At the July sitting they struck his name from the books. A registered voter of a fourth ward precinct had precisely the same experience. When the Reform League completes its work of notifying the 6000 persons who have been stricken off for other causes than death, it will be possible to say with definiteness how many qualified voters have been stricken off. It is already evident that there will be quite a number of them.

REVISION MADE TO GIVE "THE PARTY" AN UNFAIR ADVANTAGE.

Fifth.—That the working of the law has been so manipulated as to secure an unfair partisan advantage for the Democratic Ring.

The total number of persons of whose strikings off at the May, June and July sittings the Reform League has any record is 7046, although there were probably a few hundred more stricken off. Of those of which the League has any record, only 933 were stricken off in May and June; almost all of these were dead men. In only one precinct, the first of the seventeenth ward, in which 42 soldiers last year illegally registered from Fort McHenry were stricken off, were there any considerable number of names erased at these two sittings. The Republican and Democratic precincts of the city fared alike, the average number of names stricken off in each being something over 4 to a precinct. At the July sitting, when the wholesale striking off began, the figures tell a different tale. As has been stated in the daily papers, the total number of names advertised as stricken off at the July sitting was 5668. The Reform League, however, has the names of 465 more who were stricken off and not advertised, making a total of 6133. Of these there were stricken off the registry lists of the 77 precincts in which Harrison had a plurality 3226 names, or an average of 42 to a precinct, while there were stricken from the lists of the 121 Democratic precincts 2907 names, an average of 24 to a precinct; that is, the average number stricken off in the Republican precincts was 75 per cent greater than in the Democratic.

PARTY RATHER THAN COLOR THE DISCRIMINATING TEST.

Although, of course, the colored voters have fared worse than the whites, the fact that a precinct has few or no colored persons in it does not exempt it from wholesale strikings off. The eighth precinct of the twenty-second ward, comprising part of Hampden, has not a colored man registered in it, but in it Harrison had more majority than Cleveland had votes. Out of the 479 persons registered in it, 44 have been stricken off, while from the registry list of the first precinct of the ninth ward, the "Space" precinct, and the precinct in which Mr. Flynn's registration mill is situated, in which there are 487 persons registered, 23 of them colored, there have been but five names stricken off. This precinct gave Cleveland more than eight votes to every one for Harrison. Again, in the fifth precinct of the eighteenth ward, sixteen per cent of the registered vote has been stricken off, although there are but 23 colored voters registered in it, while in the seventh precinct of the second ward there has been but one per cent stricken off. The former precinct gave Harrison a majority of 96, the latter gave Cleveland a majority of 157.

HOW REVISION IS MADE IN THE TENTH WARD.

An excellent illustration of how this partisan advantage can be gained and maintained will be found in the tenth ward. In this ward the first and third precincts are heavily

Democratic, voting last fall 480 for Cleveland and 272 for Harrison. The rest of the ward is about a stand-off, voting Cleveland 1459, Harrison 1438. The total number stricken off in the first and third precincts is 8 out of a registry of 829, or less than one per cent. The number stricken off in the other seven precincts is 441 out of a registry of 3151, or about 14 per cent. Of course there are Republican precincts from whose registry but few names have been stricken off, and there are Democratic precincts which are minus very many names, but on the whole, as above shown, the average number stricken off in the Republican precincts is 75 per cent greater than in the Democratic.

Sixth.—That, in the nature of the case, the registry lists of a large city cannot be fully, fairly and justly revised.

A law which would aim at securing a proper revision would necessarily be compelled to lay down many precise directions in order to assure that everybody who ought to be, and nobody who ought not to be, should be stricken off. But the experience of this year abundantly proves that you cannot secure from 594 registrars obedience to the law if it imposes many duties upon them. Many of them, with the best intentions in the world, will leave things undone which the law says that they shall do, and under cover of the ignorance of some, the rascality of others will find refuge. When lists are to be revised, many questions of fact are necessarily submitted to the registrars for their decision, and they are not and never will be as a body capable of properly deciding such questions.

JOHN C. ROSE.

FACTS TO PONDER OVER.

HUGH CALLAM, a veteran of the war, and until recently an employee in the department of Public Works, hanged himself this morning. When the department passed into the hands of the Tammany politicians, Callam got a place as a street laborer. On his first pay-day he was assessed fifty cents, but he refused to pay. He gave the money the next time he drew his salary, but after that refused to be blackmailed. So on July 1 he was discharged. He failed to get work, and, becoming despondent, killed himself.—*New York dispatch.*

SECRETARY WINDOM has grown weary of hearing the same old story, day after day, from the same people, and he now proposes to deny himself to callers except upon the presentation of visiting cards. Mr. Windom has probably given up more of his time to office-seekers than any other member of the Cabinet since the advent of the present Administration, and in the meantime the routine work of the department has continued to accumulate to an alarming degree. The clerks in the appointment division say that they have not had sufficient work to keep the force employed, simply because they have been awaiting instructions from the Secretary. On the other hand, the Secretary says he has not had time to look into the merits of many of the pending cases because so much of his time is taken up listening to the appeals of place-hunters. Secretary Windom's room is a delightful retreat for the hungry patriots who get the cold shoulder elsewhere, and it is not unusual to see the same persons there daily sitting around in the comfortable chairs, drinking copiously of ice-water from the silver service near the door. They invariably ask the same questions and usually receive the same answer, but they show up again next day and consume from four to five hours of the Secretary's time that might be devoted to disposing of the very cases the importuning applicants are individually interested in.—*Washington dispatch.*

In spite of the civil service law, which was designed to relieve to a large extent the pressure for official patronage, the clamor for office has never been more loud than since the inauguration of the present Administration. Although the heat of summer is at its height, Washington is yet full of people who came early in March, and are still hanging on in hope of final reward. Republican Con-

gressmen who ordinarily would have gone away for the summer long ago, are still kept here by the importunities of their office-seeking constituents, which reach them by every mail, and Cabinet officers have been compelled to close their doors and see callers only by card, because the crowds of place-hunters left them no time to attend to public business.—*Baltimore Sun*.

A WELL-KNOWN Congressman, speaking of the state of affairs to a representative of the *Sun* yesterday, said: "There is still much room for civil service reform, and I and many of my colleagues in the House would gladly vote for any extension of the civil service law, for there is scarcely a man among them who, if he would express his real convictions, would not tell you that official patronage was a source of weakness to him rather than strength. The trouble with the civil service law at present is that it is a half-way measure. It either does not go far enough or it goes too far. It greatly reduces the number of places at the disposal of the Executive, but it concentrates and intensifies the fight for the remaining offices. The entire civil service, with the exception of Cabinet officers and their immediate assistants, ought to be included within its scope, or it ought to be done away with entirely, and I do not think that the country is prepared for that. Not only ought the department clerks to be under it, but the many special agents of all kinds and the consular service as well. Few people realize the results that could be attained in building up American commerce with all parts of the world, and especially with the South American nations, if a permanent corps of specially trained men were sent out to look after our interests in their ports, instead of the men who are at present appointed either as a reward for party service or to afford them opportunity for travel abroad."—*Baltimore Sun*.

CHAMBERLAIN'S was filled to overflowing to-night with Virginia politicians. The cause of this was the so-called conference of the Wise and Mahone factions. The Mahone people decided to present their call for a convention to the National Committee and leave to them to decide which faction in Virginia should be recognized.

The committee met Messrs. Quay and Clarkson, of the National Republican Committee, at the Arlington to-night, and the whole subject, pro and con, was discussed. While the members of the committee and Messrs. Quay and Clarkson absolutely refuse to divulge any of the proceedings of the meeting, it is well known that the Mahone faction will be recognized, and that the Federal patronage of Virginia, such as it is, will be given to Mahone.—*N. Y. Herald*.

THE official guillotine in the Postoffice Department has worked so steadily ever since First Assistant Postmaster-General Clarkson entered upon his duties that that official thinks himself entitled to a day off occasionally. He took one to-day, and no fourth-class postmasters were appointed. Some idea of the rapidity with which he has worked can be gained by a comparison of the number of removals made since March 4 with the removals for the same period of Mr. Cleveland's Administration. When Mr. Cleveland came in he found all the postoffices in the country filled with Republicans, and when dismissals began to be made there was a great cry made by his political opponents. Yet from March 4 until July 15, 1885, only about 4000 postmasters were appointed, while in the corresponding period of the present year there have been about 13,000, or more than 100 a day for every working day, and there is no doubt but that the number would be much larger were it not for the delays caused by the factional fights in several States. If Mr. Clarkson keeps up the present rate of decapitation there will be very few Democratic postmasters left in office at the end of the first year of his term of office.—*Baltimore Sun*.

RESOLUTIONS have been passed by certain Arkansas Republicans, protesting against the appointment of one True as postmaster at Eureka Springs. They hold President Harrison blameless, on the ground that he was "misled and deceived in the premises," by Powell Clayton, who, in the language of the resolutions, "has openly and notoriously violated repeatedly the will of the Republican party, not only in his own home, but in different parts of the State of Arkansas, and has prostituted his high privilege in our party as the dispenser of Federal patronage."

GENERAL COULTER, of Ohio, the Sixth Auditor of the Treasury, has caused the dismissal of the deputy auditor, the chief clerk and nine chiefs of divisions. He says they are all capable men, and that there is no objection to them except that they are Democrats. When questioned about these removals, he replied: "That's what we are here for, and it's about time that the men who did the horn-blowing during the last campaign should have something to show for their labor."

THE wholesale removals of postmasters serving four years' terms having provoked severe criticism, the department gave out the explanation that such removals were made upon charges. Thereupon the *Evening Post* instructed its Washington correspondent to apply to the head of the Post-Office Department for information as to the character of these charges. The chief clerk stated in reply that it is not the custom of the department to give out the reports of special agents, or to make any statements respecting their contents to the public, and there is no prospect that there will be any change in this usage. On the contrary, the post-office officials who have charge of these matters very flatly say that no information will be furnished in any instance as to the nature of the report of a special agent, except that it might be fairly presumed that when an agent reported upon a case, and there was a removal, the removal was for cause. As to Mrs. Mary L. Clay, the postmaster at Huntsville, Alabama, who has been removed, the statement is officially made that her resignation was asked for because of the report of a special agent adverse to her, and that, as she failed to resign, she was removed. It is alleged that there were complaints from patrons of the office in addition to the report of the special agent, but what those complaints were cannot be learned in Washington. When the request for her resignation was received, Mrs. Clay, instead of forwarding it, wrote to the Postmaster-General, asking the nature of the charges and the author of them. The answer was a notification of removal.—*Evening Post*.

LET us discuss the administrative policy inaugurated by this Administration, a policy that is without precedent and that will be without imitation—a policy of stimulating and receiving secret charges against the reputation of men, ay, as I shall show presently, not only against the reputation of men, but against the reputation of women; of denying to the accused any access to a knowledge of the charges, and of acting upon those charges in the dark... I do lift up a hearty prayer that we may never have a President who will not either pursue, and compel his Cabinet advisers to pursue, the civil service policy pure and simple, and upon a just basis, allowing men accused to be heard, and deciding against them only upon competent proof and fairly—either have that kind of a civil service, or, for God's sake, let us have that other frank and bold, if brutal, method of turning men and women out simply for political opinion.—*Benjamin Harrison*.

SOME MISTAKE.

A LETTER from Washington says that the President is ready to name certain public officers in New York as soon as the party politicians can stop quarrelling over the plunder and agree how it shall be divided.

There must be some mistake in this statement, because the President was elected upon his express assurance that "in appointments to every grade and department, fitness, and not party service, should be the essential and discriminating test, and fidelity and efficiency the only sure tenure to office. Only the interests of the public service should suggest removals from office." To suppose that he intends to do what this report alleges is to assume that the President of the United States means deliberately to break his word. There must be some mistake.

It is also stated that fourth-class postmasters are removed by Mr. Wanamaker at the rate of a thousand a week. This must also be a gross and wilful falsehood, for the Republican platform declares that "the spirit and purpose of reform," not of party spoils, "should be observed in all Executive appointments." Such a system of removals as is attributed to the Postmaster-General would be merely a freshet of spoils, and would bury beneath universal contempt the

Republican claim to be the reform party. It not only pledged itself to reform, but pledged itself specifically to keep its pledge. To assume that the report of Mr. Wanamaker's performances is true would be to assume the party to be a party of liars. There must be some mistake.

In the same unaccountable way it is announced that Presidential postmasters are constantly removed during their terms without assigned cause. Now this is of course untrue. At least it must be so, because the President himself said of this very practice:

"I do lift up a hearty prayer that we may never have a President who will not either pursue and compel his Cabinet advisers to pursue the civil service policy pure and simple, and upon a just basis, allowing men accused to be heard, and deciding against them only upon competent proof and fairly. Either have that kind of a civil service, or for God's sake let us have that other frank and bold, if brutal, method of turning men and women out simply for political opinion. Let us have one or the other."

If there is any faith to be placed in the President's word, it is clear that these reports must be untrue. And who can it be, who by such persistent statements shamefully brands the President of the United States with falsehood?—*Harper's Weekly*.

REPORT OF THE CIVIL SERVICE COMMISSION ON THE POST-OFFICE AT MILWAUKEE.

To the President:—In making our first report on the management of the Milwaukee Post-Office, in so far as it was affected by the civil service law, we were influenced by the statement made to us by the Postmaster himself, to the effect that his term of office had already expired, and that he was merely "holding over" because his successor had not yet been appointed. This proves not to be the case, and we accordingly report more at length. Our examination was made by the entire Commission, and the conclusions reached were agreed to unanimously. The Postmaster was given a full hearing. Every statement and alleged fact on which we base our report was laid before him, and every opportunity offered for him to explain them. His assertion, recently made, to the effect that he did not know the accusations against him, and was condemned without a hearing, and without being given a chance to explain every charge, are simply gross misstatements. In making our report we did not consider a single fact which had not been laid before him.

THE SUBSERVIENT EXAMINERS.

That there had been crooked work in the office is admitted by all; it can be shown to exist by a brief examination of the analytical statements compiled from the certification book, and of the pencil memoranda from which the certifications were actually made. The only question is where the responsibility lies. We examined the secretary of the board, Hamilton Shidy, and the chairman, J. B. Johnson. Shidy is admitted by all to have done the work of the board, the other members doing little save assisting in marking the papers and attending occasional formal meetings, held at long and irregular intervals. Shidy testifies that he was compelled by the Postmaster to give the latter free access to the lists of eligibles, although such access was at that time strictly forbidden; and he further testifies that the Postmaster, knowing those who were eligible, as well as their standing, appointed whomsoever he chose, and then forced him (Shidy) to torture the lists and certification book so as to produce a certification which should bear the appointee's name. This the Postmaster denies.

MR. PAUL'S QUIBBLES.

Shidy and Johnson testified before us in Mr. Paul's presence that on one occasion he examined the papers of an applicant, which papers they had already marked, and forced them, against their own judgment, to re-mark them, giving a lower grade. Mr. Paul's explanation was that he had not *forced* them to alter the marks; but he admitted that he had expressed great dissatisfaction with the marking, and that, in consequence, it had been changed. Shidy, in the

presence of both Johnson and Mr. Paul, as well as of the three Commissioners, stated that the reason for their changing the grade of the unfortunate applicant was to get him out of the way of another man whom the Postmaster desired to appoint. Shidy's words were, substantially, "You remember, Mr. Paul, that we changed the marks as a last resort, because we had exhausted every expedient to get the lists as you wished."

Again Mr. Paul states that he did not examine and never had in his possession the lists of eligibles; whereas Shidy states that they were time and again taken to the Postmaster's room, and Johnson testified before the Commission that he had himself seen them there. Mr. Paul's testimony on this point is not always very coherent, however, for he qualifies his denial by remarking that he "does not think" he ever examined the books "with reference to any appointment, except upon application to Dr. Shidy himself," and adds that he was "unavoidably aware of the state of the register, of the order in which the names stood, before making appointments," and that he does "not think that the register was regarded as strictly private." . . . Shidy testifies that when in July, 1886, the Commission issued a circular positively prohibiting the Postmaster from having copies of or knowledge of the lists of eligibles, he promptly called the attention of the Postmaster thereto; and received for reply, "You can't prevent my keeping copies of the lists."

GERRYMANDERING LISTS OF ELIGIBLES.

Mr. Shidy testifies that Mr. Paul made his appointments first, and then forced him, Shidy, to "gerrymander" the lists of eligibles so as to produce a "stuffed" certification which should contain the name of the already appointed man. Mr. Paul practically admits that he did this in certain cases, stating that the requisitions on the secretary "have always been made, as a rule," prior to the appointment or designation of a man, and that the certifications were made to him "in writing or verbally," and he "thinks" they were made "prior to appointment, with possibly an occasional variation," when "the secretary would modify the certificate." In other words, Mr. Paul admits that Mr. Shidy's accusation is true as regards certain cases; it is therefore merely a question whether Mr. Paul acted illegally and improperly in all instances or only in some.

A peculiarly flagrant instance (among many others almost as bad) of Mr. Paul's conduct in choosing at will any higher class eligible, when there were others of the same class with superior averages to the one chosen, may be found in exhibit A, certifications 54 and 55. On Jan. 20, 1888, a certification was made for stamper which included the names of four carriers; Mr. Paul very improperly refused to take any names from the certification; but Feb. 15 another certification was made, for the same place, and the lowest of the four carriers certified on Jan. 20 was again certified, this time with three stampers, to the exclusion of his companions of higher grade, and was appointed. For such conduct there can be but one explanation, that given by Shidy, who admitted that the first certification was canceled and the next rearranged "for convenience, to bring the desirable men—the men who were wanted—into proper position"; as Mr. Paul himself canceled the first certification, and chose out the man to be appointed from the second, he of course stands responsible for this piece of dishonest gerrymandering. But this is not the full measure of his misconduct in this particular. The carrier (named Keaveny) selected from the second certification for stamper on Feb. 18, 1888, had actually been appointed stamper on Dec. 8, 1887, two and one-third months before, and had been promoted to be carrier Feb. 1, 1888. In other words, Mr. Paul selected a man whom he desired out of the carrier list, passing over carriers of higher average, appointing him as stamper, and then promoted him to be carrier, without even waiting for the "stuffed" certification from which he was nominally appointed. A more outrageous piece of official misconduct it would be hard to imagine.

SOME FLAGRANT ILLUSTRATIONS.

It is, however, so far from being unique that it is simply

a sample of the misdeeds shown in exhibit A, the analytical statement compiled from the certification book and other records. It is these records, even more than Mr. Paul's own statements, that condemn Mr. Paul. They show the grossest irregularities, which are set forth at great length in exhibit A, and need only to be referred to or summarized here. [See the supplementary testimony of Shidy, with quotations from the records.] One man, Wigman, was examined as clerk April 14, 1887; he passed very low, just under 70 per cent, yet Mr. Paul immediately appointed him carrier, and afterwards, on May 6, a certification was made to contain his appointment. Again, one Tabert, examined as a carrier, was certified as stamper on April 14, 1888, having already been appointed on April 1, and two months afterward was promoted to be carrier. [A worse case still has recently been reported by Shidy, but the Commission has not yet had time to verify it. According to this statement one A. L. Trumpf was appointed March 1, 1888, and began work March 23, although not even examined until March 17, the papers not being marked and listed until the 30th, nor the man himself certified until April 14.] On a number of occasions the Postmaster refused to make any appointments at all from certifications, returning them as void, which was entirely improper. How flimsy were the pretexts on which these declarations of "void" were made may be gathered from the fact that what was held to render one certification void was not held to invalidate another when it contained the name of a man the Postmaster wished to appoint. Again, the Postmaster would often cancel a certification on the pretext that a man was a non-resident, and yet in one instance he afterwards appointed to office one of the same non-residents. Sometimes these void certifications were employed to use up a candidate's right to three certifications, sometimes not. It is difficult to discover any reason for such methods of refusing to make appointments from them, unless we accept the statement of Shidy that they were "cooked" so as to get men who were not desired out of the way.

In a number of instances but one name was certified. Again, it is impossible to see why the Postmaster should have accepted such a certification if honestly trying to obey the law; the only possible explanation seems to be that given by Shidy, to the effect that three persons were already "appointed, and more names would not have altered the case at all." Men were continually singled out from the higher lists and certified on the lower, although there were plenty of others on the higher lists with superior averages to the favored ones, who were likewise willing to be certified for the lower places. Other men were certified for positions on lower lists without their consent, and for no conceivable reason, unless it was to juggle with the certifications. Once, after a man had been certified three times and not chosen, and was therefore no longer eligible, the Postmaster coolly proceeded to appoint him. [For a discussion of this case and of the utterly inadequate explanation of the Postmaster, see exhibit A, pp. 9 and 10.] Nor was this a solitary instance of the kind. Sometimes the certification would be so dexterously twisted that of the entire regular list for the lower grade not one would be appointed. Appointments were frequently made prior to certification in any form. [For the last instance, see exhibit A, p. 21.] Even after the visit of Chief Examiner Webster, last fall, the Postmaster continued to appoint men prior to any certification. [See exhibit Y, Shidy's statement, corroborated by the formal request for certification, dated Jan. 16, 1889.]

IGNORANCE OR IMBECILITY.

In short, the official records show beyond possibility of dispute that the lists of eligibles were twisted and garbled in almost every conceivable manner in order to produce swindling certifications whereby certain men could be rejected, although entitled to appointment, and other men appointed, although having no rightful claim to the chance. In order to make use of these swindling certifications it was absolutely necessary that two parties should be privy to, and cognizant of, the whole transaction, viz. the party making the certification, that is, Dr. Shidy, and perhaps his colleagues, and the party making the appointment, that is, the

Postmaster, Mr. Paul. Unless both parties were equally guilty, it follows of necessity that either Dr. Shidy was the tool of Mr. Paul or Mr. Paul the tool of Dr. Shidy. For Mr. Paul to plead innocence is equivalent to his pleading imbecility, for no sane man could have made appointments from a succession of such certifications without perceiving their character, and it is quite incredible that he could by mere chance have picked out from such certification the very individual to favor whose choice it was designed. Mr. Paul cannot plead ignorance of the certification book, for his own signature, as is right and proper, stands therein opposite the name of every man appointed. Mr. Paul alone benefited by the crookedness of the certifications, for he alone had the appointing power; there could be no possible object in Shidy's conduct unless it was fear of thwarting the wishes of his superior officer.

IMMEDIATE REMOVAL URGED.

The conclusion is irresistible that Mr. Paul is responsible for the wrong-doing. He has grossly and habitually violated the law, and has done it in a peculiarly revolting and underhand manner. His conduct merits the severest punishment. There can be no hope of honest administration of the law while he is in power. His further continuance in the office would be a great misfortune, and we recommend his immediate removal.

As for Shidy, he, equally with his colleagues, Johnson and Fahsel, was certainly guilty of grave misconduct in permitting the board to become the tool of Mr. Paul; but he did it under fear of losing his place if he rebelled, being wholly in the power of Mr. Paul; and, unlike his colleagues, who were equally guilty with himself, he had the manliness to come forward and tell what had occurred when the chance was given him. It is manifestly unjust to visit him with any punishment not also inflicted on Johnson and Fahsel. The whole history of the case emphasizes in the most striking manner the urgent need of having at least some members of every local examining board entirely removed from the influence or dictation of the appointing officer. While all the members of the board hold their places at the will of the appointing power there will be perpetual danger that the latter will seek to exercise undue influence over the former. Provision should be made by which at least some salaried members could be added to every local board from outside sources, so that it should contain members removed beyond the possibility of influence from the appointing officers.

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[Fig. 2.]

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[Fig. 3.]

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[Fig. 4.]

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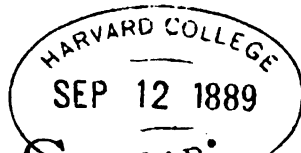
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The Civil-Service Reformer.

VOL. V.—No. 9.

BALTIMORE, SEPTEMBER, 1889.

PRICE TEN CENTS.

THE MONTH.

THE *Washington Post*, now a Republican organ, has begun a violent and abusive series of attacks upon civil service reform, with a view to effecting the repeal of the Pendleton act. It received a decided check recently at the efficient hands of Theodore Roosevelt. Another set-back came from the cabinet. A reporter of the *Post* who asked the Secretary of the Treasury whether, as head of the department, the Secretary was better qualified to select clerks than anybody else, and several other equally sapient questions, was told by Mr. Windom unhesitatingly that he had not the time to make the selections. He said :

"I much prefer to be relieved of the necessity. I would be dependent, in a great measure, on the representations of the aspirants themselves or their friends. I would have countless appeals made to my sympathy by needy persons who are incapable of self-support in other walks of life, and I would have to be constantly correcting mistakes of my own making, as it would be impossible for me to make more than hasty inquiries into the clerical merits of the candidates."

Secretary Proctor thought that if he was obliged to select all the clerks of the War Department he would have very little time for anything else. He said :

"I am very glad to be relieved of the necessity of selecting them, and if the law was repealed, I should feel that it would be something of a calamity to have the work of the Civil Service Commission devolve on me."

THE *Burlington Hawkeye*, another Republican spoils-grabber's sheet, says, in a Washington dispatch, that there is "not a senator nor a member of Congress to be found in this vicinity (and they are constantly dropping into the city) who favors the Civil Service Law . . . every one of them pronounces it a failure . . . The law will be repealed and ought to be." Such remarks are now frequently found in papers which only a year ago protested that their sentiments were expressed in the formula, "The reform of the civil service, auspiciously begun under Republican administration, should be completed by the further extension of the reform system already established by law to all the grades of the service to which it is applicable." Reformers everywhere must be prepared to fight this dishonest attempt of spoils-men to break a solemn pledge. We are glad to find that in this coming contest we shall have the aid of the *Tribune*. In an article entitled *A Reform that has Come to Stay*, the *Tribune* recently showed that the civil service has now grown to such enormous size that the heads of departments cannot personally select their subordinates. It says : "The pressure for office is wellnigh intolerable . . . and the only way out of the difficulty is to enlarge the scope of the competitive system to keep pace with the growth of the civil service." Otherwise, public business, it is shown, must come to a stand-still while 200,000 places are vacated and refilled. "Here and there," says the *Tribune*, "a hot-headed Republican congressman is threatening to repeal the law, and a few minor Republican papers, yielding no doubt to the pressure of local bosses, are attacking it more or less openly. This talk is mere foolishness and froth . . . The

Republican party inaugurated civil service reform, and is pledged to its extension. It is as reasonable that the Mississippi river could be made to run up hill as to imagine that the intelligent voters of the country would countenance a return to the loose, demoralizing, and unscientific methods of the spoils system." But whatever the *Tribune* may advise, there is no doubt we must be prepared for an open assault upon the law, or a covert attempt to defeat it by cutting off the appropriation for the Commission. Let the fight begin. Discussion is as fatal to the spoils system as to a belief in witchcraft.

WE trust that the *Tribune* and Mr. Roosevelt may have the support of the ruling powers of the party ; but we fear that very many Republican politicians will agree with "minor Republican papers," like the *Post* and the *Hawkeye*, in their contempt for campaign pledges. Thus, Mr. Clarkson and Mr. Wanamaker, in spite of the platform declaration that "the spirit and purpose of the reform should be observed in all executive appointments," boast of having removed fifteen thousand fourth-class postmasters in the past six months. With his hands dripping, almost, with the blood of these unfortunate men and women (for he spares neither age nor sex), Mr. Wanamaker has the astonishing effrontery to say to a reporter, "When we have all the money we want, we still thirst for approbation. That's all I want to win." We trust and believe that the American people will perish from the earth before they will give their approbation to two malignant persecutors who have caused more suffering than the last visitation of yellow fever.

THE Republican party in Maryland is unquestionably the party of the minority. Its only hope of success is founded upon the possibility of attracting by good conduct those Independents who are disgusted with the corruption of the ruling party. In 1887 the Republican managers had the sense to see this, and in their platform that year they declared that "reform in the civil service should be thorough, radical and complete." They demanded that "fitness, ascertained by proper, practical and competitive tests, shall admit to the public service ; that the tenure of administrative offices (except those through which the distinctive policy of the party in power shall be carried out) shall be made secure during good behavior." The national platform last year contained a most sweeping pledge of reform. In those two years the Republicans came nearer carrying this State than at any time within two decades. This year their chances of success are regarded by good judges as remarkable. But there are signs that the fatal reactionary element is at work among them. A few days since the Tippecanoe Republican Club denounced the civil service law as a fraud and demanded its repeal. The Federation of Republican Clubs of the third district not long before pledged itself to the baldest spoils principles, resolving that "the principle that the man who sows should be the one to reap" is the platform upon which parties should stand. The resolutions also repeat all the silly claptrap about the Merit System, which has been so often refuted. They assert that under it the majority of appointments are awarded to young men

fresh from schools and colleges, when in point of fact the average age of those who took the examination for pension examiners, for example, in the year 1886, was thirty-three years; of medical examiners, thirty-five years; and of those taking the general departmental examinations, 27.8 years. And out of seventeen hundred and thirty-six persons taking the departmental examinations in 1887-88, only four hundred and seventy-two were college men. The other statements in the resolutions are equally erroneous, and are not worth repeating; but they are equally suggestive of bad purposes. It should not be forgotten by the Republican managers that the Independent voters in this State are determined to get civil service reform, and they will be repelled by any such utterances.

DOUBTLESS the persons who voted for the resolutions have been a good deal surprised at the attention they have attracted from the press of the country, or rather they would be surprised if they knew, as they probably do not, that the press of the country had paid any attention to their deliverances. As far as we can understand, there was not a single person of even second-rate political importance present. It is probably within the mark to say that a large majority of the persons who voted for the resolutions were themselves applicants for petty places in the civil service, and being much more confident of their ability to command "influence" than to pass examinations, were very naturally down on the examination system. According to the newspapers, one of the clubs comprising the Federation has, since the action of that body, voted down similar resolutions. But while the fact that a particular set of petty politicians, hungry for office, have denounced the merit system, is of no special importance to any one but themselves, the Republican party of this city and State has entered upon a course which bids fair to return it to that position of feebleness and disintegration in which it so long was when its hopes and ambitions were all centered about the federal offices, and when it had no expectation and hardly any desire of contesting the city and State on equal terms with its Democratic opponents. The Chairman of the Republican State Central Committee is a candidate for the position of Naval Officer of the port of Baltimore. Of the twenty members of that committee, Messrs. Airey, of the third ward; West, of the fifth, and Stone, of the seventh, are candidates for the position of United States Marshal. Another, Mr. William T. Henderson, of the nineteenth, is a prominent applicant for the postmastership. Mr. Tapman, of the seventeenth, has been for some months a storekeeper under Internal Revenue Collector Hill. Mr. Samuel G. Davis, of the eighteenth ward, is an immigrant inspector. It is well understood that at least four or five other members of this committee expect "to be taken care of." In other words, a half or more of all the city members of the Republican State Central Committee are either in federal offices or are candidates for federal offices. A similar state of things exists in the City Executive Committee. Its chairman, Mr. W. W. Johnson, wants to be Postmaster. With the party organization thus in the hands of men who have such a direct interest in the distribution of federal patronage, it is absolutely certain that on very many occasions the true interests of the party as a contestant for the control of the city and State will be lost sight of while its leaders are wrangling over government offices. A party must stand for more than public plunder to win the votes of those who now hold the balance of power in Maryland.

PRESIDENT HARRISON has committed a conspicuous violation of the pledge of his party by his refusal to place the employes of the Census Bureau within the classified service. The language of the pledge cannot be too often quoted or too deeply impressed on the minds of a confiding public. It was:

"The men who abandoned the Republican party in 1884, and continued to adhere to the Democratic party, have deserted not only the cause of sound finance, of freedom, of purity of the ballot, but especially have they deserted the cause of reform in the civil service. *We will not fail to keep our pledges, because they have broken theirs, or because their candidate has broken his.* We therefore repeat our declaration of 1884, to wit: the reform of the civil service, auspiciously begun under a Republican administration, should be completed by *the further extension of the reform system already established by law to all the grades of the service to which it is applicable.*"

Now, as Mr. Wm. Dudley Foulke asked in his impassioned way at the gathering of reformers in Baltimore last February, what is the meaning of these words? That the reform system is applicable to the Census Bureau is evident, for the purely clerical duties of the great majority of the clerks and enumerators are such that their fitness can be readily tested by simple examinations devoted to their carefulness, neatness, penmanship, and acquaintance with the English language and with the methods of arithmetic. Moreover, the competitive examinations are peculiarly useful inasmuch as the appointments in the Census Bureau will all be new appointments. In an old department, the fact that all the places are already filled with men whose livelihood depends upon their retaining them, serves as at least a partial check upon importunity, and as a sufficient excuse for the refusal of the appointing officer to listen to applicants. But a department embracing thousands of good places, almost every one of which is now vacant, will draw such a flock of "hogs around the trough," that in self-defense an officer desiring to do good work would welcome any proposal to put up the barriers of competitive examinations. That President Harrison does not understand this is incredible. His course is to be explained only on the theory that he has surrendered his convictions of what is right to the blatant demands of spoils politicians.

THE Landlords' Protective Association has heard two notable addresses in the past month upon the abuses of our city government. Mr. Wm. L. Marbury told them that one source of our misfortunes was the fact that our municipal affairs are managed "by practical politicians instead of by practical administrators." "We have fallen," he said, "into the habit of allowing all municipal offices to be treated as spoils to be distributed among the workers of the successful party according to their efficiency at the polls, instead of according to their fitness for the public duties which they are paid to perform." Pursuing this idea, he very suggestively adds:

"Suppose the stockholders of the Pennsylvania Railroad Company elected men to the board because they were Republicans or Democrats instead of because they were railroad men. Suppose the directors elected a president on the same principle, and suppose that it became an understood thing that this president should at once discharge all the old employes who happened to differ with him on the question of protection and free trade or other purely political questions, and to fill their places with the political followers of these directors who had voted for his election according to the zeal dis-

played in drumming up votes for him among the stockholders; how long would it be before that corporation would be in the hands of a receiver? It would be simply absurd; and yet, what is the difference between the case of the railroad company and that of the city?"

Yet this system we have steadily pursued in choosing people for occupations having absolutely no connection with politics—people to sweep the streets, and to pave them—to keep the peace—to put out fires, and to keep accounts. The result has been what might be expected, and even the *Sun* has been forced to admit that we are more highly taxed than any city on the seaboard except Jersey City; and that "our debt amounts to almost four per cent of the *actual worth of every scrap and shred* of property in the city, from the municipal palace of white marble to the five cent bundle of kindling wood in the pauper's hovel." When this language was used by the *Sun*, however, our tax rate was only three-fourths of that we now stagger under, and our debt was less by millions than our present load.

Mr. Mullin, who preceded Mr. Marbury by two weeks, showed that in cases not exceptional at all, house property was taxed to an amount exceeding fifty per cent of its gross returns. He had no hesitation in saying that each man in his audience paid one-fifth to one-fourth of the gross income from his real estate in taxes. A very intelligent builder had told him that of every three houses he built one was for the Mayor and City Council. But while our burdens are thus heavy beyond all reason, the return we get for them is far less than in cities which tax their inhabitants more reasonably. It is good for the sober business men of Baltimore to hear these truths in the calm which precedes the storm of a political campaign. It remains to take heed to them when the storm breaks. Unless our voters can rise above party prejudice to reduce our municipal expenses, the old-time prosperity can never return to Baltimore.

THE MUDDLE, AND THE WAY OUT OF IT.

IT has been cleverly said of the Irish, as a people, that they will believe anything but facts. That this is not an exclusive peculiarity of those who wear the green has been pretty satisfactorily established, we think, by the slowness with which so many intelligent and well-meaning persons have heretofore opened their minds to the realities of the political situation in Maryland. It is very gratifying, however, to know that time has brought conviction to the most of these, at last, and that the existence of political evils which must be cured, at any cost, is now fully recognized by far larger numbers of our citizens than are needed to cure them. Nor is the disposition or determination to set things right at all weaker than the conviction that the thing has to be done. The only difficulty is as to the mode of doing it, and this embarrassment is mainly due to the schemes and devices by which the Ring and its allies and sympathizers, for the last two months, have been endeavoring to mislead and divide the friends of reform. Happily, these efforts, at first plausibly disguised, are now seen through and thoroughly understood. It is, for instance, no longer a matter of doubt—indeed it is hardly denied—that what is known by the taking appellation of the Business Men's Association, has not declined relations with the very Ring, from the paralyzing effects of whose long-protracted and corrupt domination it invited good citizens to join it, in saving the Democratic party. The indignation which was manifested when this was first surmised, became transparent after the public disclosure

of the fact that Mr. Turner and Mr. Rasin were in consultation, with Judge Fisher's approval. It is now matter of notoriety that those eminent and especially trustworthy and patriotic business men, Messrs. I. Freeman Rasin and Stevenson Archer, have not been strangers to the plans by which bossism is to be overthrown and candidates are to be chosen who shall compass its overthrow. Somehow or other, in this mingling of the waters, Mr. Whyte has disappeared from the surface. The Attorney-General's well-known capacity for submarine navigation is, however, too well known, to leave room for the apprehension that he has gone to the bottom finally, because he is temporarily submerged. His diving-bell may be relied on to bring him up at the right time, in the midst of the Business Men or the Crescentites, or, possibly, of both, for, unless all signs fail, the two organizations are, practically, if not "officially," floating in the same current.

By what we have said of the Business Men's Association, we are far from intending to intimate that there are not gentlemen engaged in or affiliating with that movement, whose motives are pure and disinterested altogether, and whose desire to rid the Democratic party of the incubus which is strangling it is thoroughly sincere. But it is as difficult for us to understand how they can suppose that their objects can be attained through the organization to which they have lent their names, as it is easy to see how their less unsophisticated associates are interested in persuading them to think so. There is one thing so indisputable as to be beyond all cavil, at this moment. It is the glaring and notorious fact that the difficulties with which the Democratic party in Maryland is now struggling, and which perilously threaten its predominance, as they have already weakened its coherence and lowered its prestige, are exclusively the work of the corrupt and selfish demagogues and tricksters, known as "the bosses," who for so long have controlled the party organization. If this were not the fact there would be little or no reason why the Business Men's Association, or anybody else, should interfere with the present management of the party, or with the nomination of its candidates in the "regular" way. The very fact that such interference is, by common consent, indispensable to the salvation of the party, and that the business men themselves, by their very organization and alleged purposes, have testified that they believe it to be so, is a concession, so far at least as they are concerned, that the existing Machine is no longer to be trusted with the functions which it has abused and prostituted. To say this in one breath, and, in the next, to admit the bosses themselves into consultation as to how they—those very bosses—can best and most certainly be gotten rid of, does appear to the merely human mind, as ordinarily constituted, to be a very remarkable proceeding—putting it in the mildest way. If any business man had made up his mind that his cashier had plundered him, it would hardly occur to him, we think, to take counsel with the delinquent and his friends, as to the best mode of bringing him to justice. During the honorable service of Judge Fisher on the bench, he would have been slow, we fancy, to take the advice of a criminal or his comrades as to the selection of the jury to try him or the infliction of the punishment imposed upon him. And yet this is precisely what the Business Men's Organization is doing, and what it seems to suppose will command the support and confidence of people, who really and sincerely mean what they say, when they demand a cleansing of the Augean stable. The nominations

to be made this month will determine whether the unclean grasp of the Ring on power shall be loosened or be prolonged, if not perpetuated. In this determination the Ring, as we have said, is to participate. Mr. Stevenson Archer, the mouthpiece and chief organ of the bosses, is to assist in deciding whether he and they shall be ejected or have their lease renewed. The same gentleman, being State Treasurer and dependent for a re-election upon the Legislature to which delegates are about to be chosen, is to take patriotic and impartial part in the nomination of the candidates by whom, if elected, he is to be kept in office or put out! Mr. Rasin, who is bossism in the concrete and at its worst—who is nothing, and never was, and never can be anything except as a boss—a man who has grown rich and powerful through a continuous tenure of office for more than twenty years of corruption and fraud—is to help Mr. Archer in choosing the nominees, on whom the people are to rely to put an end to his career and restore the State of Maryland to that decent and honest government of which he and his have robbed it! We can understand how certain "stalwart" members of the Business Men's Association, whose record is well known, can share in all this and think, or profess to think, that it is right. We remember that in the days of Tweed's domination a nearly successful movement was started in New York to erect a statue to him, and that many thousands of dollars were subscribed, with enthusiasm, to inflict that disgrace on the chief city of the Union. Nothing, therefore, can surprise us on the part of gentlemen who think, with Mr. Hodges, that Mr. Gorman is an honor to Maryland, and that her citizens ought to be "proud" of him. But we are astonished that people who have not such abnormal idiosyncrasies, and have both sincerity and sense, can be blinded by the scheme to which we have just alluded. We cannot understand how they can shut their eyes to the fact that they are, really and merely, but engaged in building a breakwater to the tide of public indignation, which would otherwise have swept away, in one great surge, the abuses under which we are groaning, and the conspirators to whom we owe them and who live by them.

But this is not all. It is not easy to comprehend how the respectable and upright class to which we have referred can accept the position in which they find themselves. They assuredly would not remain in it, if they fully understood it. Notwithstanding the disparaging fact that the worst enemies of good government have shared their councils, have they gained anything by it in the interest of better things? Have they any security that any compromises they have made will be respected by the official Ring organization, or will result in anything but a loss of their own credit and their hold on public confidence? They have already given breathing time to the bosses, and have rendered them enormous aid and comfort, by breaking the instant force of public resentment and retribution, and converting into a parley what ought to have been a merciless assault. By their promises, and the respectability of many of the names by which these have been backed, they have suspended the development of a healthy and vigorous organization, which would have concentrated the entire anti-boss feeling and have made it triumphant, already, by frank, resolute and uncompromising action. If they had been under contract to serve the Ring and save it, they could not better have done their work. Have they got anything in return? The announced determination of the Ring central committee to hold the primaries

in "the time-honored" way has not been modified. The bosses have made no promise and will not hold themselves bound, in any way, to accept the nominations which may be the ultimate result of the various "conferences," though they may have participated covertly in making them. On the contrary, it is notorious that many of the Ring leaders do not affect to regard the Business Men's movement as "amounting to anything," and that they do not hesitate, publicly and contemptuously, to announce that "if the business men will only attend to their own business, the Democratic party (meaning of course the machine) will take care of itself." Nor is there any lack of public notice that the Ring has not the remotest idea of abdicating any of its functions in favor of Judge Fisher's organization. Under the heading of "Maryland Democrats talking matters over," the *Sun* conveyed through its local columns, some days since, to all whom it might concern, the following flattering intelligence. The italics are ours. "Senator Gorman and Chairman Archer, of the Democratic State Central Committee, were in the city yesterday and conferred with a number of well-known politicians about the situation. *It is understood that the Business Men's Democratic Association will be given considerable latitude in selecting regular Democratic nominees.*"

It must be most agreeable to the respectable gentlemen who have favored the Business Men's organization, to know that they are only to have what "latitude" is "given" them, and that it is only to be "considerable," after all!

The paragraph which we have just quoted involves a consideration which has often occurred to us, but which does not appear to have attracted the attention of Judge Fisher and his colleagues. We have never been able to understand by what process they have managed to reconcile their purpose of procuring candidates of proper character and fitness to be nominated, with their determination to submit their nominations, at last, to primaries under the sanction of the Ring officials. Of course there is no difficulty, if the bosses accept their nominees. But this can hardly be in the minds of the Business Men, for it involves their taking advantage of that control over the primaries, which the bosses have persistently exercised, and which is the most flagrant and abominable of the many abuses which have rendered the Ring so justly obnoxious. The *Sun*, as will be seen, does not mince matters, or affect any disguises on this point. It recognizes the fact that "the regular Democratic nominees" are to be "selected" by the constituted authorities, and that the Business Men will only be allowed a certain "latitude in selecting them." They can only become "regular" candidates, of course, through the primaries, and if the Ring does not permit them to go through the primaries successfully, what becomes of the labors and promises of the Business Men? It will only be the old story, told by Dr. Johnson's ghost, in *The Rejected Addresses*—"Parturient mountains often produce muscicular abortions." And yet what better can be expected? If any voluntary organization, like that of the business men, entering in good faith into the service of the community, and making the best selection of candidates that it can, should present them to the public with its earnest recommendation, subject to nobody's approval except that of the people at the polls, and should support them and appeal to the community to do so—no matter who opposed them—we could well understand and no one could do otherwise than approve and applaud such action. But to hold out to the community the promise of fit candidates,

independently selected for their capacity and integrity, and yet after having honestly and wisely agreed on them, or provided for their selection, to make their nomination subject to the ordeal of discredited party machinery, controlled by discredited office-brokers, to whom only bad nominations can be satisfactory—is so conspicuously a compromise with the Tempter and his works, that it can have but one result and admits of but one characterization. Of course there are people to whom the gospel of the primaries is the only political revelation—people who feel “in honor” bound to vote for a candidate whom they know to be utterly unworthy, because they have gone into a primary or a convention to prevent his nomination and have failed. But in this class we cannot believe that the mass of the gentlemen engaged in the Business Men’s movement would be willing to have themselves enrolled.

Of course all that we have said assumes that the best and only mode of restoring the Democratic party to strength and security is to cast out the unclean spirits who have entered into it and defiled it. It is our deliberate conviction—often heretofore expressed, and made more profound by the progress of events—that there is no safety except in the absolute rescue of the party management from the hands of the men who have brought the party to its present straits. No toleration of them—no compromise with them, for a single moment—is consistent with the party’s dignity or integrity, or with the continuance of its power in Maryland. They have subordinated the party to themselves. They must be subordinated to the party, or it cannot live. We hear, occasionally, the singular suggestion, even from intelligent men, that the Democrats cannot afford to put these men *out of the party*. No one suggests putting them out. No reformer, of the sternest type, asks more than that they be put *out of the control of the party*. If they will not continue in the party unless they can govern it, they have clearly no genuine interest in it, and do not honestly belong to it. They do not in fact belong to it, and never did. Their partisanship consists in its belonging to them. But they could not possibly be driven out of it. While their only interest is in what they can make out of the party, and they would leave it, to-morrow, if they were convinced that there was no more “money in it,” for them, they cannot be so convinced. They know their trade too well, not to know that reform will be less active and vigilant after it has done its work, than while moved by the enthusiasm of doing it. They understand, perfectly, the lull that comes after a storm. They may be put in Coventry, but they will be confident of finding their way out, after many, or few days—as the case may be. They will therefore assuredly accept back seats, though it be on the most anxious benches, rather than go altogether out of meeting. There is no fear of that. In the meantime they will not starve. They have waxed fat enough, to live very comfortably on their own tissues during the longest hibernation. Any apprehension therefore of losing their votes is a mere chimera. It can hardly be seriously felt. But if they were to go, horse, foot and dragoons, it would be far better for the party to lose them, than to let them put it to death. This is so plain, in our poor judgment, that argument could not make it plainer, and we earnestly insist, that come what may, the overthrow of the bosses is the chief living issue with which the friends of good government have now to deal. We insist, moreover, that no man is fit to deal with it, unless he is prepared to vote against any and every candidate, no matter by whom

nominated or how, who is under or can be brought under boss-influence, and who is not, in his judgment, competent, honest, untrammelled, and fairly, firmly and explicitly pledged to the reformation of defined, existing abuses by definite legislation.

The foregoing paragraphs had been prepared, before the recent promulgation of their scheme by the Business Men’s Association. We regret that the measures proposed by that body do not require or permit us to recall or modify anything that we had written. We should have been only too happy if it had been otherwise; but looking at the programme recommended, from the most favorable point of view, we can only regard it as a confession of failure. We have no space to discuss it fully, but all detailed objections to the plan of the Business Men are trifling, in comparison with the one, all-sufficing fact, that it is distinctly made subject to “approval by the State Central Committee!” Even with their approval, now obtained, the whole arrangement and all its hopes and recommendations are still to pass through the mill of the primaries—as we said two months ago—on the old familiar path to political perdition! If there is any one thing upon which public disgust is concentrated, the primaries are that thing. If there is any other thing to which the desires and determination of those who would rescue the Democratic party from ruin are pledged, it is the overthrow of the Ring’s power, as exercised through its creature, the Central Committee. Any scheme which involves submission to the primaries and recognizes the sovereign control of that Committee—no matter how well and honestly intended—is simply a surrender of the camp to the enemy.

It is no wonder that the plan of the Business Men’s Association is in the main satisfactory to the regular organization! The chief reform proposed—that is to say, the change in the mode of selecting the city members of the Central Committee, has been silently ignored by that body.

We ought to add, that in spite of its concessions, the Business Men’s Association still appears to contemplate a resolution, binding its members “to support only those candidates who pledge themselves to support” certain indefinite reforms. This is all very well—but, if the candidates, whom the primaries and the convention may present, will make no such pledges, and there are no other candidates in the field, what will such a resolution amount to?

The only way out of the muddle appears to our minds the nomination, at once, of independent candidates, whose fitness and integrity the community will recognize, and the submission of their names, character and pledges to the people at the polls—primaries or no primaries, Convention or no Convention!

A GREAT MORAL QUESTION.

THIS paper has hitherto had occasion to notice the humane work of the Indian Rights’ Association. Mr. Herbert Welsh, whose devotion to that cause needs no public mention, has become convinced that any permanent progress in his peculiar work is blocked by the spoils system. This is the conclusion of most other patriotic citizens who have tried to do practical work in any direction having for its object the honor and well-being of their country. To men having had the opportunities of Mr. Welsh, for accurate knowledge of the practical works of the spoils method, it is its immorality that is the essential evil. It is that its yoke-fellow is always some manifestation of brutality, ingratitude, deceit or treachery that makes the system repugnant to all religious and moral

creeds. The feeling is becoming a conviction that clergymen of all churches and moral teachers of all sorts must not shirk the issue or fall behind in the actual work; it cannot longer be put aside as a question of politics, it is a question of morals. It was this that induced Mr. Welsh to consult widely, especially with clergymen of all faiths, whether on the national Thanksgiving Day a sermon might not be appropriately preached on the evils of the spoils system. The approval of the plan has been remarkably spontaneous and hearty. That to preach this sermon is not to condemn any party, any man or set of men; that it is not in any sense a comparison of any periods, is plain from the following circular, which we print in full:

APPEAL TO THE CLERGY TO PREACH ON CIVIL SERVICE REFORM ON THANKSGIVING DAY, NEXT ENSUING, ADVOCATING IT "SO FAR AS IT INVOLVES FUNDAMENTAL PRINCIPLES OF RIGHTOUSNESS."

No public question seems to us of more vital or more pressing importance than that of reform in the civil service. It is distinctively a question of public morality and of the national character and integrity, contemplating the arrest of the corruption which now most plainly threatens that character and the honesty of the government. The chief source of this corruption is the practice of treating the enormous emoluments of the public service in all its ramifications and details, including the smallest places and employments, as the prize of the successful party at an election. This is an abuse and an evil for which no party can be justly held responsible, but which has become a tradition of all parties, and with the rapid increase of the patronage the demoralizing consequences are already startling. It turns the patronage of the government, designed solely for the public convenience, into a vast bribery fund. It breeds general corruption by teaching the citizen to expect payment for discharge of a duty incumbent upon every voter, and it tends to transform an election from a popular verdict upon differing public policies into a desperate struggle for the emoluments of place.

The disastrous effect of this corrupting system, not only upon the politics and the public service, but upon the standards of public duty and official conduct, upon the self-respect of the people and a pure public spirit, cannot be too seriously stated or too carefully considered. The greatest American statesmen of all parties, the most eminent jurists, the most patriotic and devoted divines, and political students and observers of all countries have pointed out the nature and consequences of this evil, the correction of which is a necessity transcending in importance all merely party aims and political policies of administration. Already public opinion has manifested itself so strongly that admirable national and State laws of limited application have been enacted, and their honest enforcement is conceded to be of the greatest public benefit. But in such a movement nothing should be considered done while anything remains to do. Every patriot in every pursuit or profession, and especially every leader and guide of the public mind, may well assist in the beneficent work.

The moral appeal which shall instruct, inspire and strengthen public opinion to complete the good work, it seems to us would come from the pulpit with peculiar power. Believing that it is its office to apply eternal principles of religion and morals to human conduct, and to aid nations as well as individuals to walk in the right way, holding that George Mason, of Virginia, spoke a terrible truth, which history confirms, in saying that Providence punishes national sins by national calamities, we appeal to the pulpit to demand of the public conscience that specific and acknowledged evils affecting the highest public welfare shall be redressed by simple, obvious and adequate means. In respectfully suggesting, therefore, that on Thanksgiving Day, or such other day as may seem to you fitting, you should devote a sermon to the consideration of this subject, we confidently invite your earnest co-operation in a Christian endeavor to quicken the conscience of the people, and to lead the nation to righteousness.

Among those who have already allowed their names to be given as favoring this plan are—

The Rev. Howard Crosby, of New York; the Rev. James McCosh, ex-President of Princeton College; the Rev. Francis L. Patton, President of Princeton College; the Rev. James O. Murray, Dean of Princeton College; the Rev. John T. Duffield, of the College of New Jersey; the Rev. W. Henry Green, the Rev. Charles A. Aiken, the Rev. Benjamin B. Warfield, the Rev. C. Wistar Hodge, Professors in Princeton Theological Seminary; the Rev. Charles Wood, of Germantown, Philadelphia; the Right Rev. Thomas M. Clark, Bishop of Rhode Island; the Right Rev. O. W. Whitaker, Bishop of Pennsylvania; the Right Rev. Leighton Coleman, Bishop of Delaware; the Right Rev. Henry B. Whipple, Bishop of Minnesota; the Right Rev. W. H. A. Bissell, Bishop of Vermont; the Right Rev. F. D. Huntington, Bishop of Central New York; the Right Rev. Charles T. Quintard, Bishop of Tennessee; the Right Rev. Daniel S. Tuttle, Bishop of Missouri; the Right Rev. John Scarborough, Bishop of New Jersey; the Right Rev. W. E. McLaren, Bishop of Chicago; the Right Rev. T. U. Dudley, Bishop of Kentucky; the Right Rev. George F. Seymour, Bishop of Springfield, Ill.; the Right Rev. Cortland Whitehead, Bishop of Pittsburg; the Right Rev. Francis M. Whittle, Bishop of Virginia; the Right Rev. David U. Knicker-

backer, Bishop of Indiana; the Rev. S. McConnell, of Philadelphia; the Rev. Phillips Brooks, of Boston; the Rev. Thomas F. Davies, of Philadelphia; the Rev. Charles H. Hibbard, of Germantown; the Rev. J. De Wolf Perry, of Germantown; the Rev. W. N. McVickar, of Philadelphia; the Right Rev. John F. Spaulding, Bishop of Colorado; the Rev. James Morrow, of Philadelphia; the Rev. J. Andrews Harris, of Philadelphia; the Rev. George Dana Boardman, of Philadelphia; the Right Rev. John F. Hurst, Bishop Methodist Episcopal Church, Washington, D. C.; the Rev. George P. Fisher, Professor of Yale College; the Right Rev. J. S. Johnson, Bishop of Texas; the Rev. William Ely, of Philadelphia; the Rev. Robert Collyer, D. D., of New York (Unitarian); the Rev. Leverett Bradley, of Philadelphia (Episcopal); the Rev. M. E. Gates, D. D., President Rutgers College, New Brunswick, N. J.; the Rev. J. K. Murphy, Germantown, Philadelphia (Episcopal); the Right Rev. Hugh M. Thompson, D. D., Bishop of Mississippi; General S. C. Armstrong, of Hampton, Va.; Professor J. B. Thayer, of Harvard College, Cambridge, Mass.; John Jay, of New York; the Right Rev. H. W. Warren, D. D., Denver, Colorado, Bishop M. E. Church; the Right Rev. L. R. Brewer, D. D., Bishop of Montana; the Rev. J. T. Gracey, D. D., International Missionary Union, Buffalo, N. Y.; the Rev. William Kirkus, of Baltimore, Md. (Episcopal); the Rev. John Cotton Brooks, of Springfield, Mass. (Episcopal); the Rev. C. C. Everett, D. D., of Cambridge, Mass. (Unitarian); Francis Parkman, Esq., of Boston, Mass.; Hon. J. D. Cox; W. W. Dickson, of Cincinnati, Ohio; Sherman S. Rogers, Buffalo, N. Y.; Daniel C. Gilman, President Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Md.; the Rev. Teunis S. Hamlen, D. D., Washington, D. C. (Presbyterian); Hon. Seth Low, of Brooklyn, N. Y.; the Rev. Herrick Johnson, D. D., of Chicago, Ill. (Presbyterian); the Rev. H. L. Wayland, D. D., of Philadelphia (Baptist); the Rev. George Williamson Smith, D. D., President Trinity College; the Rev. Wm. Preston Johnson, LL. D., President Tulane University, New Orleans; Hon. Dorman B. Eaton, Brattleboro, Vt.; the Rev. Lyman Abbott, D. D., Editor *Christian Union*, New York; the Rev. C. W. Park, Birmingham, Conn. (Congregational); the Right Rev. Thos. Bowman, D. D., St. Louis, Mo., Bishop M. E. Church; the Rev. Morgan Dix, D. D., Rector Trinity Church, New York (Episcopal); Professor Charles W. Shields, D. D., of Princeton College, N. J.; the Rev. F. A. Farley, D. D., Brooklyn, N. Y. (Unitarian); the Rev. J. W. Chadwick, Brooklyn, N. Y. (Unitarian); the Rev. J. H. Allen, Editor *Unitarian Review*, Cambridge, Mass.; the Right Rev. W. F. Mallalieu, D. D., New Orleans, La., Bishop M. E. Church; C. K. Adams, President Cornell University, Ithaca, N. Y.; the Rev. Charles Gordon Ames, Boston, Mass. (Unitarian); the Right Rev. I. W. Joyce, D. D., Chattanooga, Tenn., Bishop M. E. Church; the Right Rev. Wm. Ingraham Kip, D. D., San Francisco, California; the Rev. W. C. Gannett, Rochester, N. Y. (Unitarian); the Rev. T. L. Eliot, Portland, Oregon (Unitarian); the Right Rev. Wm. Stevens Perry, D. D., Bishop of Iowa, Davenport, Iowa; the Rev. Henry M. Ladd, Cleveland, Ohio (Congregational); the Right Rev. S. M. Merrill, D. D., Chicago, Ill., Bishop M. E. Church; the Rev. William R. Richards, Plainfield, N. J. (Presbyterian); the Rev. T. T. Munger, New Haven, Conn. (Congregational); the Rev. Forest F. Emerson, Newport, R. I. (Congregational); the Rev. Wallace Radcliffe, D. D., Detroit, Mich. (Presbyterian); the Rev. Washington Gladden, Columbus, Ohio (Congregational); the Rev. J. M. Hutchinson, D. D., Jeffersonville, Ind. (Presbyterian); the Rev. John W. Dinsmore, D. D., Bloomington, Ill. (Presbyterian); the Rev. J. Torrey, Bar Harbor, Maine (Congregational); the Rev. M. McG. Dana, D. D., Lowell, Mass. (Congregational); the Rev. J. E. Rankin, Orange Valley, N. J. (Congregational); the Rev. John DeWitt, D. D., Professor McCormick Theological Seminary, Chicago (Presbyterian); the Rev. Henry M. Storrs, D. D., Orange, N. J. (Presbyterian); the Rev. E. Kempshall, D. D., Elizabeth, N. J. (Presbyterian); the Rev. J. G. Craighead, D. D., Washington, D. C. (Presbyterian); the Rev. Francis B. Wheeler, D. D., Poughkeepsie, N. Y. (Presbyterian); the Rev. V. A. Lewis, Brooklyn, N. Y. (Presbyterian); the Rev. E. T. Jeffers, D. D., Lincoln University, Pa. (Presbyterian); the Rev. John McClellan Holmes, D. D., Albany, N. Y. (Presbyterian); the Rev. James H. Taylor, D. D., Rome, N. Y. (Presbyterian); the Rev. Thomas J. Brown, D. D., Utica, N. Y. (Presbyterian); the Rev. J. V. Stratton, Andover, Mass. (Baptist); the Rev. E. W. Garner, LL. D., Astoria, Oregon (Presbyterian); the Rev. David Jas. Burrell, D. D., Minneapolis, Minn. (Presbyterian); the Rev. Henry Van Dyke, D. D., New York (Presbyterian); the Rev. J. Henry Britain, Baltimore, Md. (Baptist); the Right Rev. John H. Vincent, D. D., Buffalo, N. Y., Bishop M. E. Church; the Right Rev. Ethelbert Talbot, D. D., Bishop of Wyoming and Idaho; the Rev. Wm. J. Harsha, Omaha, Neb. (Presbyterian); the Rev. Henry M. Booth, D. D., Englewood, N. J. (Presbyterian); the Rev. Charles S. Robinson, D. D., New York, N. Y. (Presbyterian); the Rev. William Hurlin, Antrim, N. H. (Baptist); the Rev. W. H. Barnes, Binghamton, N. Y. (Baptist); the Rev. George F. Bagby, D. D., Frankfort, Ky. (Baptist); the Rev. C. G. Adams, St. Louis, Mo. (Congregational); the Rev. R. S. MacArthur, D. D., New York (Baptist); the Rev. J. B. Calvert, New York (Baptist); the Rev. L. Kirtley, Terre Haute, Indiana (Baptist); the Rev. J. A. Pierce, West Randolph, Vt. (Baptist); W. H. Jack, LL. D., Nanchitoches, La., President Baptist State Convention; the Rev. J. N. Freeman, Denver, Colo. (Presbyterian); the Rev. W. S. Edwards, Baltimore, Md. (Methodist); the Rev. G. Abele, Brooklyn, N. Y. (Methodist); Prof. D. B. Purinton,

LL. D., Vice-President W. Va. University, Morgantown, W. Va.; the Rev. Dr. J. A. Peters, Danville, Pa. (Reformed); the Rev. E. V. Gerhart, D. D., Lancaster, Pa., President Eastern Theological Seminary (Reformed); the Rev. S. P. Leeds, Hanover, N. H. (Congregational); the Rev. W. J. Potter, New Bedford, Mass. (Unitarian); the Rev. J. L. Withrow, Chicago, Ill. (Presbyterian); the Rev. A. L. Vail, Emporia, Kansas (Baptist); the Rev. E. L. Little, Owosso, Mich. (Baptist); the Rev. W. Pope Yeaman, D. D., Columbia, Mo. (Baptist); the Rev. Robert MacKenzie, D. D., San Francisco, Cal. (Presbyterian); the Rev. George L. Dobbins, Bridgeton, N. J. (Methodist); the Rev. H. W. Danforth, Oswego, N. Y. (Methodist); the Rev. A. Boreing, Covington, Ky. (Methodist); the Rev. H. J. Talbott, Indianapolis, Ind. (Methodist); the Right Rev. J. M. Walden, D. D., Cincinnati, Ohio, Bishop M. E. Church; the Rev. Daniel Merriman, Worcester, Mass. (Congregational); the Rev. P. M. Bikle, Ph. D., Professor Pennsylvania College, Gettysburg, Pa. (Lutheran); the Right Rev. D. A. Goodsell, D. D., Cheyenne, Wyo., Bishop M. E. Church; the Rev. George S. Chadbourne, Cambridgeport, Mass. (Methodist); the Rev. W. H. Annable, Syracuse, N. Y. (Methodist); the Rev. J. J. Robinette, Dayton, Tenn. (Methodist); the Rev. E. Provine, Knoxville, Tenn. (Methodist); the Rev. S. Ernest Jones, Wheeling, W. Va. (Methodist); the Rev. A. E. Mahin, Fort Wayne, Ind. (Methodist); the Rev. J. C. Jackson, D. D., Columbus, Ohio (Methodist); the Rev. J. I. Buell, D. D., Grand Rapids, Mich. (Methodist); the Rev. C. W. W. Bishop, Trainer, Penna. (Baptist); the Rev. F. N. Eldridge, Vinton, Iowa (Baptist); the Rev. George Bullen, D. D., Pawtucket, R. I. (Baptist); the Rev. S. H. Whitlock, Quincy, Ill. (Methodist); the Rev. J. H. Johnson, Minneapolis, Minn. (Methodist); the Rev. J. W. Eaton, Albany, N. Y. (Methodist); the Rev. Francis A. Horton, D. D., Oakland, Cal. (Presbyterian); the Rev. J. B. Hartwell, D. D., San Francisco, Cal. (Baptist); the Rev. Bunyan Spencer, San Jose, California (Baptist); Wm. F. Slocum, Jr., President Colorado College, Colorado Springs, Colorado; the Rev. Thomas E. Skinner, Raleigh, N. C. (Baptist); the Rev. Edward P. Goodwin, 354 Washington Boulevard, Chicago, Ill. (Congregational); the Rev. Wm. Hayes Ward, D. D., Editor *Independent*, N. Y.; the Rev. J. B. Middleton, Sumter, S. C. (Methodist); the Rev. G. E. Leonard, Norwalk, Ohio (Baptist); the Rev. G. O. King, Cleveland, Ohio (Baptist); the Rev. O. M. Martin, St. Louis, Mo. (Methodist); the Rev. Stephen Priestley, New Orleans, La. (Methodist); Prof. M. Valentine, D. D., LL. D., Theological Seminary, Gettysburg, Pa. (Lutheran); the Rev. Prof. J. S. Koiner, Conover, N. C. (Lutheran); the Rev. M. B. Balch, Madison, Wis. (Methodist); the Rev. L. L. Wood, Missoula, Montana; the Rev. J. G. Leist, Kansas City, Mo. (Methodist); the Rev. Wm. S. Treas, York, Pa. (Lutheran); the Rev. J. W. Van Cleve, W. Los Angeles, Cal. (Methodist); the Rev. Geo. C. Henry, Des Moines, Iowa (Lutheran); the Rev. H. W. McKnight, Gettysburg, Pa. (Lutheran); the Rev. C. M. Hill, Eugene City, Oregon (Baptist).

Bishop Huntington wrote, in response to the request made of him:

"The measure you propose for bringing to the attention and the conscience of the people of the country the righteous reform in which you are engaged not only commends itself to my judgment, but it falls in with convictions which have long been vital and strong in my mind. Supreme above all political questions in the nation is the question between right and wrong, integrity and corruption, honor and greediness, in the national character. Who shall deal with it if not the ministers of Christ, the Master of society and King of men? What have prophets and teachers to do, if not to proclaim the principles of that Master, and so to serve the kingdom of that King?"

The Right Rev. Bishop Whitehead, of Pittsburgh, in a recent interview said:

"I have replied to the circular, saying that I would be perfectly willing to exert my influence to have the question of civil service reform brought before the public in the manner suggested. I am very sure that the movement will receive widespread support throughout the country, and very probably the majority of the preachers will elect to take the question as their subject on Thanksgiving Day. I cannot, of course, lay my commands on ministers of my church to speak on that or any subject, but I shall certainly use my influence as far as possible in furtherance of the movement. Ministers of my church do not preach on Thanksgiving Day, but no doubt those of other denominations, the Methodists and Presbyterians, will speak on the question before their congregations.

"It is a matter which may be very fairly treated from the pulpit, as it is entirely of a non-partisan nature, and one which appeals to the good citizenship of every member of the community. We are all of us interested in the question of civil service reform for the reason that our individual as

well as our national prosperity depends on the class of men who, as officeholders, carry on the administration of our national affairs. So it is necessary to point out that if righteous-principled and capable men are elected to office, a pure and trustworthy administration may be looked for in return, and that if men of opposite character are placed there, it is not easy to foresee what must be the result. We don't desire that every Tom, Dick and Harry that comes along seeking office should be elected because he has sufficient influence to place him there. The question is one on which the public should be thoroughly informed, and when such men as Bishop Huntington, of Central New York, interest themselves in it, it will be sure to obtain very general attention.

"I have not had an opportunity of forming an intelligent opinion as to the particular manner in which the question should be treated, but since the reform leaders promise to distribute a quantity of literature throughout the country, dealing fully with the matter, and that as Thanksgiving Day is still some way off, ample time will be afforded everybody to familiarize themselves with the question."

Whether every clergyman in this State or whether a handful preach this sermon, good has already been accomplished by the suggestion, but it would be unfortunate to miss a noble opportunity. And those ministers of the gospel who will investigate an evil that is no less deadly because it loves darkness and privacy, who will have the courage to say that the spoils system is a slave system brutalizing to those in power, and debasing to all who work under it, they will find in unexpected quarters sympathy and approval. We should not allow Mr. Welsh to bear all the burden of the working out of this plan. A very little labor on the part of those who approve might surely be given. The clergymen who will preach a sermon on this topic, the laymen who will speak to clergymen of their acquaintance might send their names to this paper, that further communication may be had.—*Civil Service Chronicle*.

MR. ROOSEVELT CONTRASTS THE TWO SYSTEMS.*

I DO not suppose that any one believes that we are getting ideal candidates for government positions under the new method. We see that this method has certain disadvantages. Some of these we think we can do away with, for others we have not yet found a satisfactory solution, but I most emphatically assert that with all its shortcomings the merit system is an immeasurable advance upon the old spoils system. Moreover, some of the objections that apply in England do not apply here. In reference to the objection that by the competitive system we do not get the fittest person, all I can say is that this is probably true, but we come a good deal nearer to getting the fittest than we did under the spoils system. If, for instance, Mr. Bell, the head of the railway mail service, were left absolutely free to manage that service on purely business methods, if it were understood that no matter how administrations changed, that for the term of his natural life, until he became incapacitated by disease or otherwise, and that as long as he gave satisfaction he was to be continued in charge of the service, and to be left absolutely unhampered under this and succeeding administrations as to his choice of subordinates, then it would be perfectly safe to leave this choice entirely in his own hands. But, as a matter of fact, under the old system, Mr. Bell did not appoint his subordinates at all. They were parceled out among all the congressmen of his party, and a few other prominent politicians, each being given so many places to fill, and each being furiously indignant if any question was made as to the candidates whom he chose. Without doubt a number of the congressmen chose men who are most excellent public employes; doubtless they choose them with a view to the interests of the public service, but a very large number certainly choose them also with a view to the political exigencies in their own districts, and the employes thus chosen naturally consider that they

* Letter of Theodore Roosevelt to the *Boston Journal*.

owe their first duty to the politician by whom they are appointed, and their second duty only to the public service. One of Mr. Bell's assistants remarked to me the other day that on the whole, since the civil service rules have been extended to the railway mail service, the result had been very beneficial; for they got fully as good a class of men under the new system, and, moreover, were entirely at liberty to dismiss any of those obtained who did not behave themselves; whereas, of those obtained under the old method, it was necessary to take into account not only the man's misconduct, but also the nature of his political backing before dismissing him. The result was, he stated, that after a few months of service those employees furnished by the civil service commission were at a positive advantage, in point of efficiency, as compared with those furnished by the old spoils system.

The next point made in England against the system is that the health of candidates is affected by the strain of competitive examinations. This certainly is not true here, and the difference is owing to the entirely different kinds of examinations held in England and held here. Ninety-five per cent of our examinations are for places like carrier, clerk and copyist. There is comparatively little chance for cramming for these examinations. The examinations are perfectly simple; they are of a practical character already, and we are trying to make them more practical day by day. A bright, sharp, intelligent man, usually about 30 years old, is shown by that best of tests, experience, to be the man most apt to succeed in our examination. The boy fresh from school or college does not stand so good a chance. This is contrary, as I am well aware, to the statements usually made by the interested advocates of the old spoils system; but it is conclusively shown to be the truth by our records, by which it appears that the average age of successful candidates is 31 years. We lay great stress, for instance, upon the kind of letter a candidate writes; and in writing such a letter a man's general sense and intelligence are the things that count. It would be quite impossible for him to cram up on such a subject. So in examining for the railway mail service, very great weight is put upon a person's skill and quickness in reading addresses from a package of cards. This is a practical test in the very line of the man's duty, and not a subject on which much can be accomplished by cramming. So with the copyist or clerk, very great stress is laid on penmanship, and here again the man cannot cram. The questions in spelling and arithmetic are of a perfectly simple nature, and while cramming here could do something, again the general intelligence will count for more. We think it right that every American citizen who wants to enter the public service should know a little about the geography and history of his native land, and our questions on these points are perfectly simple, and the total mark to be given for them counts but 5 per cent of the whole. So that even if a man failed on them utterly, he could still get 95 per cent on the examination. There are, of course, a few positions like that of assistant astronomer, or of assistant geologist, or of computer in the nautical almanac office, where very special knowledge is needed. Here we examine men on abstruse and difficult subjects, such as astronomy, geology, and the calculus. In no other way could we get the men we need. But these examinations form an insignificant fraction of the whole.

One of the most common forms that the attack on the merit system takes is the quotation of questions asked in these special examinations, with the assertion that they were asked of some clerk or letter-carrier. Just the other day I happened to overhear a very prominent politician from one of the Middle States openly assert, as a proof of the ridiculousness of the system, that one of the questions asked a letter-carrier was how many rings there were to Saturn. Every now and then it is necessary to answer a fool according to his folly, and as a bet seems to be the only argument that some people understand, I offered this gentleman to bet him \$100 to \$10, or similar odds in any shape he chose, that he could not show that such a question had ever been asked a letter-carrier, clerk or copyist. He declined to bet. At first he insisted that his statement was true, then gradually

admitted that it was made by a friend and that he thought it was true, and finally confessed that he was uncertain about the whole matter. As a matter of fact he had taken a question asked in an examination for assistant astronomers, and spoke as if it was asked a carrier.

The third point, that competitive examinations for the public service injure the educational system, certainly does not apply in America for the very reasons given above. For as far as our examinations are not tests of a man's general good sense, they are simple tests of such knowledge as he would now get in our common schools.

My four months in Washington have made me more than ever a most zealous believer in the merit system. I do not see how any man can watch the effects of the spoils system, both upon the poor unfortunates who suffer from it and upon the almost equally unfortunate men who deem that they benefit by it, without regarding the whole thing in its entirety as a curse to our institutions. It is a curse to the public service, and it is a still greater curse to Congress, for it puts a premium upon every congressman turning spoils-monger instead of statesman. A large number of our congressmen remain statesmen and do most admirable work, but it is in spite of, not because of, the spoils system.

"DADDY RAT" AS A CENSOR OF THE REGISTRATION LISTS.

THE Democratic Committee have had prepared and printed a pamphlet of thirty-three pages, which contains the names of 3028 persons who have at some time or other since early in 1870 been received as sentenced prisoners in the penitentiary, jail, or house of correction, together with the crime and the length of time for which each one of these persons was sentenced, their age at the time they were sentenced, their stature in feet and inches, their place of birth, the court or county where they were convicted, and the date of their reception in prison. As it is not at all likely that the Democratic Committee is interested in penal statistics or in prison reform, it may be safely assumed that the purpose of the publication is to facilitate the striking off the registration lists the names of disqualified convicts. If this list were full and impartial, the Committee would be doing a service to the community by bringing the information it contains to the attention of the officers of registration and the public generally, for we doubt not that quite a number of disqualified convicts are registered. Unfortunately, the list is neither impartial nor full. Our attention was first attracted to the significant fact that, although, as we have already stated, the age, height and birthplace were all given, the important circumstance of color, so absolutely essential for purposes of identification, was omitted. As the pages of the pamphlet were turned over we saw the names of some well-known criminals who are colored men, but we did not see any which we recognized as those of white men. A closer examination of the list failed to reveal the names of those effective "regulars," Messrs. Burke and Kennedy, the murderers of Curran, nor, although the pamphlet contains the names of a number of persons sentenced by the United States Court, do we find in it those of Getzendanner or Storm, convicted of illegal voting and registration respectively. We then examined the first hundred pages of the indictment docket of the Criminal Court for 1888, and on those pages we found the record of the sentence to the jail, house of correction, or penitentiary, for other and more serious offences than Sunday liquor selling or simple assault, of 63 white men. The pamphlet contains but a single one of these names. We therefore believe that it is made up almost exclusively of the names of colored persons. Of the 3028 persons whose names are printed in it, at least 985 are legally qualified to vote; 640 of them because, although convicted of offences which would have disqualified an adult, they did not come within the constitutional provision imposing the disqualification, because at the time of their conviction they were under the age of 21; 279 of them because, although adults at the time of their conviction, they were not convicted of larceny or "other infamous crime"; and 66 both because they were under 21 when they were

convicted, and because they were not convicted of larceny or infamous crime. Whether a party organization is bound to go to some trouble to have disqualified voters of its own faith stricken off, raises a point of morals of very much the same sort as the old question whether the Roman citizen who in time of scarcity was offered famine prices for a lot of corn was bound to tell the would-be purchaser that an Alexandrian corn ship had just arrived, and will, we fear, be usually, in practice, answered by politicians as the bulls and bears of the Corn and Flour Exchange of to-day habitually solve the problem of the Roman jurisconsults. But a very different question is suggested when the party organization not only does not hunt up grounds of disqualification against its own supporters, but, when those grounds of disqualification are brought to its notice, deliberately ignores them, as in this case the Democratic Committee have obviously done, because they must have systematically picked the negroes out of lists comprising both blacks and whites. The case has a still uglier look when it is remembered that, as the list shows upon its face, it must have been made up from the prison records, and probably by the prison officials. Here we have again, as so often before, public records and public offices used as part of the machinery of the men who control the party in power and against all other classes of the community. The average "regular" politician has so long accustomed himself to consider that every public office belongs in every sense of the word to the "party," that we doubt whether it occurred to him that the practice which has prevailed here for years, by which the State is annually defrauded out of from one to two thousand dollars to which it is entitled, as the fees for the naturalization of the hundreds of persons whom the Democratic Committee yearly has admitted to citizenship, is at all wrong. For at least five years past the Criminal Court has made no returns to the Comptroller of naturalization fees received or due, although in that time there were naturalized in that court, upon minors' papers, the fee for which is fixed by law at \$3, 580 persons, and upon declaration of intention, the legally prescribed fee being \$2, 300 persons. The issuing of the 580 minors' papers should have brought into the State treasury \$1740, and the issuing of the 300 papers upon previous declaration of intention should have produced \$600, or a total for this court of \$2340. The Clerk of the City Court, according to a statement made by the official in charge in the Comptroller's office, does not return the source from which his fees are received, but the deputy clerk of that court says the Democratic Committee "owes" the clerk between \$4000 and \$5000. We imagine the Committee finds him a most indulgent creditor. However, no matter what we may and should think and say of the motives of the men, and especially of the public officials who are zealous to strike off negro convicts and to keep equally disqualified white men on the registration lists, if the attempt of the Democratic Committee to gain a petty advantage shall result in the removal from the registration lists of some hundreds of convicts, and if this pamphlet shall not be made the pretext for disfranchising negroes who were never convicted at all, but whose names happen to be similar to those of men who were, the commonwealth will be the gainer to that extent. The careful supervision over the registration lists maintained by the Reform League has evidently worked a great change. In the good old days before the League was heard of, Democratic committees did not waste time and money in laboriously compiling lists of disqualified negroes; they simply told Mincher, Mahon, Betz, Bernheimer, Fagan & Co. that they were to strike off so many hundred colored men, and these orders were promptly executed.

OBSTRUCTIVE REGISTRARS.

To the Editor of THE CIVIL-SERVICE REFORMER :

Sir:—The following statement concerning the experience of the Reform League in its investigation of the registration of the first precinct of the fifth ward strikingly shows how great an expenditure of time and money is required to obtain information which the law says any one may have, the obstacles which stupid and malicious

registrars can and do throw in the path of any inquiry into the way in which their work is done, and the utter hopelessness of expecting from the present Board of Supervisors any action which will make the registrars understand that they cannot close their eyes and then claim, when they are accused of having broken the law, that they acted according to the best light they had.

The printed lists for the June sitting in the third precinct of the eighth ward contained among the names transferred from that precinct, the name of Daniel Stansbury. The same name appeared among those transferred from the first precinct of the fifth ward. Upon inquiry, it seemed probable that there was but one Daniel Stansbury, and that he had been transferred to and not from the first precinct of the fifth ward, and that there had been a mistake made in the printed list of the first precinct of the fifth ward. To be certain about it, however, it was necessary to examine the registration book itself.

According to the printed list, there was registered at the July sitting, in the eighth precinct of the fifth ward, a certain Charles T. Thompson, colored, from 713 Stirling street. Information obtained by inquiry was to the effect that this man formerly resided in the first precinct of the fifth ward. We therefore examined, as is our usual course in such cases, last year's poll book of the first precinct of the fifth ward. We there found that Charles T. Thompson, colored, was registered in 1888 from 302 Lewis street. The printed list of persons stricken off or transferred from the first precinct of the fifth ward at the May, June and July sittings in 1889 did not contain the name of Charles T. Thompson. An examination of the original registry was therefore necessary, to show whether he had in fact been stricken off. If he had not been, we wanted a certified copy of all the entries against his name, in order to compare those entries with the others on the registry of the eighth precinct, in order to make certain that it was the same man who was registered in the two precincts. If it turned out that it was the same man, his prosecution would be the natural result.

Among the names advertised as registered at the July sitting in this first precinct of the fifth ward was that of Joseph Maas. Inquiry concerning his right to registration elicited information that he had formerly been a resident of Baltimore, but that, somewhere from four to six years ago, he had left Baltimore, to which he was said to have returned only about a month before he was registered, having in the meantime been a resident of Chicago. If this information was correct, the presumption, though not necessarily the conclusive presumption, was that he was registered illegally here. It therefore became important to get a certified copy of the entries against his name on the registry, in order that it might be known how long he had himself sworn that he had resided in the State.

The law makes it the duty of the officers of registration to permit the examination of the registry of voters and the poll books at any time during which the registry and poll books are in their custody, as well when they are not sitting as registrars as when they are, and to give certified copies of the entries against any name or names upon application for the same. In order that there might be no opportunity for the registrars to question that the law required them to give such certified copies, I wrote to Mr. McClure, the counsel for the registrars, upon the subject, and he answered that it was their duty to give such copies. This letter from Mr. McClure I gave to an agent of the League some time early in August, and instructed him to call upon Mr. Wallace, the registrar of the first precinct of the fifth ward, in whose custody the registration books of that precinct were, and ask permission to examine the registry and request certified copies of the entries against the names of these persons above mentioned.

This agent called upon Mr. Wallace, but did not succeed in obtaining an interview with him until August 20th. When he asked to look at the books and stated who sent him, the registrar positively, and with great coarseness of language, refused to let him do so, and attempted to put him out of his house by force. The registrar positively declined to look at Mr. McClure's letter. In order that there might not be any dispute as to the refusal, I then sent two other persons to see Mr. Wallace, and I personally wrote him a letter telling him what the law was, referring him to the sections and articles of the code which made it his duty to permit the inspection of his books and to give certified copies, and calling his attention to Mr. McClure's letter, which I again sent him. These agents saw Mr. Wallace on the 22d of August. He again declined

to permit the inspection or to look at either of the letters, stating, according to the testimony of both the persons who called upon him, that he did not care a snap of his fingers for Mr. McClure's opinion.

I called the attention of the Board of Supervisors of Elections to the matter, and asked for Mr. Wallace's removal. On the 30th instant, all the members of the Board being present, the charges were heard and the facts were elicited as above stated. I called the special attention of the Board to the circumstance that, although Mr. Wallace's only defence was that he was ignorant of the law, he had wilfully declined to look at the letter from his own counsel when such a letter was handed to him, and that if he was ignorant of the law, it was because he had persistently refused to have his ignorance enlightened. The Board, however, unanimously, Mr. Cathcart delivering the opinion, declined to remove Mr. Wallace, and did not so much as reprimand him, declaring that in their belief he had acted in good faith, but that he was wrong as to the law, and that he must in future permit an inspection of his books.

Very respectfully,

JOHN C. ROSE,
Counsel Baltimore Reform League.

ORIGIN OF CONGRESSIONAL "PREROGATIVE."

To the Editor of THE CIVIL-SERVICE REFORMER :

The idea that a Congressman (or, alternatively, the defeated candidate for Congress, of the dominant national party) has a "prerogative" of directing what appointments shall be made in the district of his residence is a political tradition which, I think, dates from the time of Mr. Lincoln. In the days of the war, with the terrible pressure which it entailed upon the Presidential office, so much regard was accorded the "member" that the idea grew that his wishes were substantially a finality. It must be remembered, too, that many changes were then made: the opposite party had been in power eight years, and there was no civil service law to check partisan removals.

But if the "prerogative" does not date back to 1861, or farther, it is at least twenty years old. I recall a conversation, at Willard's Hotel, in Washington, in 1869, in which the defeated Republican candidate for Congress in a certain district reproached and reproved the present writer for making opposition to one or more of his recommendations for appointment within the district, insisting that I was interfering with a "prerogative" clearly and admittedly lodged in his hands. The gentleman is now dead; he was not a professional spoilsman, and I do not mean to place any blame upon him at all. His view of the case was that of political circles generally at that time. He understood that by running as a candidate for Congress the previous year, though in a hopeless district, he had entered upon a well-defined prescriptive right to say to President Grant who should, and who should not, have Federal places in the district.

Philadelphia.

H. M. J.

OUR CONSULAR SERVICE.

THERE is an evident disagreement as to the purpose for which our consular service was instituted. In the opinion of the more patriotic and intelligent portion of the community, the consul is believed to be a commercial agent who, while there may be many ways in which he can serve those of his countrymen who from time to time appeal to his courtesy and his good offices, finds his chief occupation in helping the commerce between the United States and the country, or the special port, in which he resides. In the furtherance of this object it is necessary for him to collect statistics, to study men and methods, and to acquire a mass of information which should at all times be at the service of his government and its citizens.

If these be the proper functions of a consul or consular agent, it follows, as a matter of course, that great care should be exercised in filling such offices, in order that the incumbents be men of character, ability and address. As a necessary consequence, it would seem advisable to retain such men in their places after they have demonstrated their efficiency, in order that our merchants may have the benefit of the knowledge and experience thus acquired.

The other and the ruling view as to the purpose for which the consular offices were instituted, regards the functions and the duties we have just mentioned as of only secondary importance, and finds their chief value as rewards for the services of the workers in campaign politics. They are used to pay political debts, and the selection of incumbents for the consulates at the disposal of the Secretary of State depends more upon the pertinacity of the well-endorsed applicant than upon his real or supposed fitness.

It is frequently the subject of remark among the German, French and English merchants trading in the Orient, that our consuls are usually able and clever men, but that at about the time they have become familiarized with their work they are displaced in order to make room for some one who will have to learn it all anew.

An instance in point is the case of a consul in an Eastern city with which Americans have important trade relations. During the three or four years that the late consul was in office he succeeded in endearing himself to the entire foreign population of the port, as well as in winning the respect and confidence of the native officials. No better proof of this could be desired than the fact that all the Americans doing business there united in a petition to the President asking that he be retained in office. Independently of this, all the foreign merchants signed a respectful address in which they seconded the request of the Americans. On all hands, it was agreed by those who, through their constant intercourse with the consulate, were best suited to judge of the merits of the case, that our interests would be best served by continuing the late incumbent in office.

Notwithstanding these endorsements, he was displaced. This, of course, not because of any supposed unfitness, but simply because a berth had to be found for his successor.

Now, we have no criticism to make of individuals. The new consul may be fully as able and upright a man as his predecessor, who, for all we know to the contrary, may not have been any more efficient than the official who four years ago had to give way for him.

It is the system we find fault with. When the proper view of the case obtains we shall have a graded consular service in which positions and tenure of office will depend upon character, ability and fitness. The appointments to such a service must needs be non-partisan. Sooner or later, it will come. It will not, however, do to be too enthusiastic as to its early advent, for it need hardly be looked for until our government is in the hands of statesmen instead of trading politicians.—*Textile Reporter*.

THE WORKING OF THE REFORM LAW.

THE following extracts from the Sixth Report of the Civil Service Commission of the State of New York serve to show the practical effect of the reform in the cities of that State.

NEW YORK.

The Mayor, Hon. Abram S. Hewitt, reports as follows: "My opinion is that the effect of the application of the civil service law to appointments and promotions has been to improve the character and efficiency of the persons appointed. It has tended directly to promote the selection from among lists of applicants that are best qualified for the several positions to which they have sought appointment or promotion. The examinations have been practical in their character, and directly adapted to test the fitness of applicants for the various positions referred to. The effect upon the appointing officers has been to impress upon them, in the most direct way, that appointments, under the law, must be made from among those persons who are best fitted for the positions to which they are appointed, and it has thus tended to diminish the pressure upon them to make appointments, irrespective of fitness, for personal or political reasons. I am satisfied that my answer to both questions is especially applicable to appointments in the Police and Fire Departments in the city of New York."

BROOKLYN.

The Mayor, Hon. Alfred C. Chapin, in reply to the inquiry, what, in the Mayor's opinion, is the effect of the application of the civil service law to appointments and promotions, as to the character and efficiency of the persons appointed, states: "That the effect is good;" and in reply to the further inquiry as to the effect of the law upon appointing officers and especially with reference to appointments in the Police and Fire Departments, the Mayor states: "That the effect is good in both particulars."

The Chairman of the Civil Service Commission of Brooklyn, Edward M. Shepard, reports: "That in the opinion of the Brooklyn Commission, the reform system has during the past year made steady progress in the favor of the people of their city. The friction and embarrassments inevitably attending the radical change in official and political methods sought by the reform laws are still great, but they are diminishing. With a wider popular appreciation of the practical character of competitive tests now applied, it would be easy to make the tests still more thorough and satisfactory and to justify the growing popular confidence in the success of the reform." Chairman Shepard likewise remarks: "That in the general service of the city (Brooklyn) the power of removal of persons occupying positions within the competitive schedule exercised upon the mere opinion of the heads of departments was only twenty-eight out of a total of 2055 places. This is an excellent illustration of the continuity of the public service which the civil service laws have largely helped to establish."

ELMIRA.

The Mayor reports: "That the effect of the application of the civil service law to appointments and promotions, as to the character and efficiency of the persons appointed, is favorable." And in reply to question eleven, asking the Mayor's opinion as to the effect of the civil service laws and regulations upon appointing officers, and especially what effect, if any, the law has had upon appointments in the Police and Fire Departments, the Mayor answers: "That it has a beneficial effect. Better men apply for the positions and thus render the standard higher." In reply to question twelve, and as to the effect of the law in regard to political assessments, the Mayor says: "It has been favorable."

NEWBURGH.

The Mayor reports: "That the application of the civil service law in that city has considerably improved the service, as to the character and efficiency of the persons appointed; and that the law greatly relieves him from the annoyance of incompetent applicants, and has enabled him to secure better appointments in the Police Department." He adds, "that no political assessments are made in the city government of Newburgh."

It is greatly to be regretted that the President does not consent to the extension of the civil service rules to the Census Bureau. In the interest of a correct census it is desirable that the employees of the bureau be selected after open competitive examinations. Non-competitive examinations will not answer. Everybody knows what a botch the census of 1880 was—how full it was of errors, forced figures and guesses. The incompetency of clerks placed and kept in the bureau by political influence was at the bottom of many of the deficiencies of that census. With such men it was impossible to get good results. Another cause of inaccuracy was the disposition to make it appear, in the interest of the high protective tariff, that the country prospered as much between 1870 and 1880 as it did between 1850 and 1860, when the tariff was low. That disposition is still strong. It led, in fact, to the selection of Mr. Porter to superintend the census of 1890, and it will doubtless lead to new inaccuracies. A census-taker ought to have no partisan objects to further.—*Baltimore Sun*.

Four years ago the Ohio Republican platform declared that "the Republican party, which enacted the present civil service law, will faithfully maintain it and cheerfully aid in all needed amendments

to give it full force"; that "it is committed to extend the law to all grades of service to which it is applicable," and that "ample appropriations should be made to enforce it in letter and spirit." This year the Ohio Republican platform contained no allusion to the subject of the civil service law. In like manner, four years ago the Pennsylvania Republican platform enumerated among "the live issues," "the establishment of a true system of civil service, which will give a fixed tenure of office, and no removal during the term of office except for adequate public cause"; at the same time arraigning the Democratic Administration for its "hypocritical avoidance of pledges touching the civil service." This year the Pennsylvania Republican platform contains no allusion to the subject of the civil service.

But what could the Pennsylvania Republicans say on the subject of the civil service when so unblushing a spoilsman as Senator Plumb, of Kansas, thus defends the Harrison Administration from the charge that it is not removing Democratic officeholders rapidly: "I think we are doing quite well. There have been four times as many changes made in the post offices in Kansas, by President Harrison, as were made by Cleveland in the same length of time. In my county there is not a Democratic postmaster remaining." The Republican party in Pennsylvania is on record as holding that there should be "no removal during the term of office except for adequate public cause," while Senator Plumb says that President Harrison is making wholesale removals for purely partisan reasons. Silence appears to have been the only possible policy.—*N. Y. Evening Post*.

The importunities of Republican office-seekers have driven George Green, a prominent member of the Kings County Republican Committee, to a sick bed, and made a mental wreck of him. For weeks the place-hunters have given him little rest. They have pursued him day and night.

Mr. Green is more than six feet in height, weighs about two hundred pounds, and is about forty-five years old. He used to have a splendid physique. He has been a shining mark for the office-seekers, because of his supposed great influence with county and federal powers.

Several physicians have been in consultation over Mr. Green's case, and his recovery is pronounced to be dependent upon absolute quiet. Meanwhile, the delegates to the Republican General Committee of Kings County from the twenty-second ward have concluded that their supervisor's condition is hopeless. They have accordingly elected John Sutton his successor as president of the ward association, and have appointed a special advisory committee to look after the federal patronage of the ward.—*New York Herald*.

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[Fig. 2.]

Figure 2 illustrates a piece of work, indicating the amount of porcelain added to take the place of lost tooth structure, as shown in Figure 1, thus arresting the progress of decay.



[Fig. 3.]

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[Fig. 4.]

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THE MONTH.

WE print elsewhere an account of the meeting of the National Civil Service Reform League, together with two admirable addresses delivered by Mr. Curtis and Mr. Bonaparte. We commend these, and also the important resolutions adopted, to the careful attention of our readers. The programme outlined in the resolutions, offered by the Committee on Work, is of great importance, and if faithfully carried out, will result in greatly advancing the cause.

THE Indians are to be congratulated upon the substitution of Mr. Miller, of Montgomery County, for Mr. Morris A. Thomas in the position of Indian Inspector. Those qualities in which Mr. Thomas is most deficient, Mr. Miller, we are informed, possesses in ample measure. Let the present Administration, if it wishes to earn respect for its appointments in this State, make all of them as conspicuously fit as this one of Mr. Miller.

THE removal of Col. Silas W. Burt from the Naval Office in New York is discreditable to President Harrison. To supersede a tried officer of twelve years' experience, of high character, notable for his devotion to the reform system, is a violation of the party's pledge to observe the spirit and purpose of reform in all executive appointments, and of the President's personal promise to make "fidelity and efficiency the only sure tenure of office." Three conspicuous friends of reform, all Republicans, held office through the whole of President Cleveland's term. They were Postmaster Pearson; Mr. Graves, head of the Bureau of Engraving; and Col. Burt, the Naval Officer. President Harrison has got rid of them all, in spite of his declaration, that "it will, however, be my sincere purpose, if elected, to advance the reform."

PARTY service was absolutely the only reason assignable for the appointment of Corporal Tanner as Commissioner of Pensions. His entire unfitness was known before he got office and demonstrated long before he was forced to resign. If the President had observed the party pledge to make "fitness, not party service, the only discriminating test" in appointments, Corporal Tanner would not now be the laughing-stock of the country, and the Republican party would not have to bear the burden of a scandal which increases the more that is learned of it.

AMONG the Democratic nominations for the Legislature in the Third District is the name of Mr. Jno. T. Mason, R., a member of the Reform League. Mr. Mason's high character and aims make him such a candidate as unfortunately seldom appears before our people. Those friends of good government in that district who find any objectionable name upon the Republican ticket cannot go wrong when they substitute the name of Mr. Mason for that of one for whom they would have hesitancy in voting.

Two eminent "Business Men," Mr. Willoughby Smith and Col. Frank J. Harmison, have come to grief by taking

too seriously their organization's attempt to assume control of the Democratic party. With the faith of little children, if not that which moves mountains, Mr. Smith and Col. Harmison, instead of arranging a deal with the owners of the wards where they reside—to wit: Sonny Mahon and Charley Key—set up tickets in opposition at the primary. Needless to say, Sonny and Charley resented this defiance; and Smith and Harmison, were beaten—Smith by a vote of 211 to 1. Thereupon Mr. Smith, considering, perhaps, that he might live to fight another day, subsided into silence. But Col. Harmison, apparently in his capacity as politico-business man, went to Collector Hopkins, under whom Charley enjoys a sinecure as bailiff, and demanded his removal. This was of course refused. The Colonel ought to be informed by some considerate friend that, according to the fixed rules of the spoils system, Charley's victory in the primary has re-established beyond all question his title to his office, which he holds of his over-lord, Rasin, by tenure of night-service. And if Col. Harmison will reflect what an immense advantage the use of patronage gives the bosses, he will go into no more primaries till he has seen the spoils system destroyed.

No ONE acquainted with the workings of the spoils system would be surprised if it were true, as Col. Harmison says, that Mr. Hopkins replied to his demand for Key's removal by saying that Rasin put Key there and he (Mr. Hopkins) had nothing to do with the matter. It will be remembered that it is not very long since Collector Groome, an ex-Senator of the United States, said he had control of but a single one of his subordinates; all the others were controlled by the politicians at whose grace Mr. Groome held office. Under the spoils system the head of an office, who is responsible to the people for the discharge of the duties of the office, is seldom permitted to choose his subordinates. They are thrust upon him from the outside by a power which is irresistible.

GOVERNOR JACKSON, Treasurer Archer, and Comptroller Baughman have insulted the thrifty, hard-working people of this community. Our Maryland law provides for an Insurance Department, the head of which receives a salary of twenty-five hundred dollars per annum. The Insurance Commissioner, as the head of the department is called, is appointed by the Governor, Treasurer, and Comptroller of the State, and holds office for a term of four years. He is authorized to appoint assistants whose aggregate compensation is five thousand dollars a year. His delicate and responsible duties are, among others, to see that each insurance company doing business in this State has an amount of property, in *safe legal securities*, over and above all debts, equal in value to all the policies in force. He is directed by law to compel all companies not complying with this requirement to cease doing business in this State. He has judicial and even inquisitorial powers of inquiry into the financial condition of insurance companies, given him to enable him to enforce this provision. For this position, in which opportunities for corruption are evidently numerous, and where the consequences of corruption may involve cruel pecuniary

loss to the fatherless and the widow in the very hour of bereavement, the Governor, the Treasurer, and the Comptroller have just chosen Mr. J. Fred. C. Talbott. Mr. Talbott has been known for years as a corrupt professional politician. When he was presented to President Cleveland by Senator Gorman for appointment as United States District Attorney, the Baltimore Bar Association passed resolutions declaring his unfitness for that place, and sent a delegation of its members to Washington to lay the facts before the President, who thereupon refused to appoint him. At that time Mr. Talbott was, and we believe he still is, a defaulter to the State of Maryland for fees collected by him when State's Attorney. No adequate comment can with calmness be made upon such appointments as this.

A PECULIARLY gross instance of partisanship in two "regular" registers of voters was recently brought out in a judicial inquiry in the Court of Common Pleas. It was proved that Mr. Kirkland, a candidate for the council, employed a man named Holly, to find out Republicans who could be stricken from the lists. Holly reported to the registers that a Samuel Hicks, a Republican, had moved from a house in Hoffman street, No. 555, and asked that he be stricken from the lists. This was done, although the Republican register showed that Hicks has moved to 506 Hoffman street, in the same precinct, and although one of the "regular" registers lived opposite to Hicks' new residence. The judge very properly put the costs of the proceeding upon the partisan registers, and recommended that the facts be laid before the grand jury. We trust this will be done and such unfairness put an end to. It is only by appeal to the Criminal Court that redress can be obtained, inasmuch as the Supervisors have deliberately refused, on full information, to remove the guilty registers.

THE LATEST SHAM BATTLE.

WE intend no allusion—as might possibly be supposed—to the "Gentle and Joyous Passage of Arms," at Pimlico, which recently caused the admiration of our citizens to rise superior to much mud and water. As a strategic movement, in advance of the next gubernatorial election, that interesting and successful affair might perhaps have reasonably come within the range of our comments. But there is quite enough in the present political situation to monopolize the instant and serious attention of all thoughtful people, and the remoter future may safely be left, for a while, to itself—and Mr. Rayner. What we mean by the "latest sham battle" is the extraordinary series of performances, "conferences," etc., which have resulted in the Democratic nominations now before the people—nominations ostensibly made under the auspices of the Business Men's Democratic Association, and trumpeted as won, by their efforts and persistence, from the frightened and unwilling Ring—but, actually and to all intents and purposes, as effectually nominations of the bosses, as if Mr. Gorman, in person, had made them, by and with the advice and consent of Mr. "Sonny" Mahon.

In the July and September numbers of THE CIVIL-SERVICE REFORMER we considered and discussed the action of the Business Men's Association so far as then disclosed, and gave our reasons at length for believing that it was, and would ultimately prove itself to be, neither more nor less than an "annex to the Ring," as Mr. Cowen happily

described it. We should have been delighted to have reached a different conclusion, if we could, and we should have rejoiced if our prognosis had turned out to be mistaken. This journal, from the beginning, has been unceasingly urgent, in its calls upon the substantial and right-minded citizens of Baltimore, of all parties, whose only interest lies in good government, to take the political redemption of this community into their own hands and cast out the devils of corruption and plunder, under whose dominion the natural development of a great city has been repressed and hindered, and every interest and industry, that should live and move, has been ground down by oppressive and increasing taxation. Nothing, therefore, would have gratified us more than to see the business men of Baltimore—really, truly, and in earnest—as a matter of actual business and self-protection, and not of "politics" or "harmony"—arise in their might, and snatch the helm from the grasp of the pirates who were steering them, on and on, to shipwreck. There has never been a moment at which such a movement, made in good faith and with resolution, would not have been crowned with immediate and absolute success. No Ring, or boss, or combination, could have stood up against it for a single instant, or would have dared to make the effort. It would have commanded confidence and enthusiastic adhesion, and would have walked straight on to the consummation of its purposes, without let or hindrance, and without the help of campaign committees or grand rallies. The conviction, once established, that the people had awakened to their danger and were in dead earnest and did not mean to be balked, would have cleared the field without the firing of a gun.

When we speak of such a movement on the part of the "business men" of Baltimore, we mean all classes of men who labor, or do business, in any honest way—all men who manufacture and buy and sell—all who toil with brain or hands—all who struggle and sweat and pay taxes. We do not confine ourselves to any clique, large or small, of men who are engaged in any particular trade or calling—the wholesale dry goods men, for instance, some of whom appear to think that whenever business men are named, they are alluded to, and nobody else, and that, as holy Job said to his friends, they are the people, and wisdom will die with them. Nor do we mean the stereotyped individual business men who are always on hand when politicians want the cover and cloak of their respectability and character, and are as habitually ready to give it on call—with little or much persuasion—as Mr. Latrobe is to accept a nomination for the Mayoralty. We protest against any such corner in business men, or in business sense or respectability, or business administration. So long as the business community permits itself to be always spoken for and represented by a dozen or two of merchants or traders who are habitually prepared and constitutionally desirous to come to the front, themselves, or bring to the front some friend or associate in their own line of trade, just so long will it throw away its power, and find itself the victim of the astute, experienced, unscrupulous political hucksters, in whose hands a merely well-meaning upright man of business is as a clergyman—or a clergyman's wife, if you please—would be, in the hands of a three card monte player.

With these convictions on our part, if, as we have heretofore said, any body of business men—meaning business and nothing else—had got together, to take the administration of our city government and the selection of candidates for the

Legislature out of the hands of the bosses, and to break up the gang of corruptionists who have so long held the State and city by the throat, and present to the people the names of upright and capable men, who could be trusted with the re-establishment of good government,—we should have welcomed and supported such a movement with all our heart. The moment was most auspicious. The bosses were disheartened. The machine was discredited and assailed, on all sides, and would have fallen under a single vigorous and honest blow. This was the opportunity of the "Business Men's Democratic Association," and a better opportunity was never presented to men who were really in earnest. But they threw it away, deliberately, at the very start. They incapacitated themselves, at the very onset, to do the work which they engaged to do and which was the only justification of their movement and its sole recommendation to public confidence. Instead of turning their backs upon the political conspirators, whose defeat and overthrow was the first indispensable step on the road to better things, they began by taking the leaders of the Ring into their confidence and counsels. They assumed "harmony, in the party," instead of its regeneration, to be their proper objective point. Instead of bending every energy and effort towards stripping "the managers" of the Democratic party, without mercy, of the power so long by them abused and prostituted, they set themselves to work to weigh and measure, with the bosses, the minimum quantity of control with which the latter would be content to part. Instead of selecting candidates themselves—as they had distinctly promised—who were fit to be nominated, and presenting them to the people, with their recommendation, as men who could be trusted to rescue our State and city governments from the thralldom of the machine, they deliberately abdicated that duty, and by their published report, expressly declined assuming "the responsibility" of performing it. They kept others from doing the work, by assuming it, and then failed to do what they had assumed. They limited their action, definitely and explicitly, to assisting in the choice of nine delegates from each ward to a nominating convention, to be elected at primaries to be held under the direction of the Central Committee chosen by the Ring, and expressly submitted their whole programme to the "approval" of that body—the creature of the bosses and the incarnation of every corruption and abuse which had brought the Democratic party to shame. Under the auspices of that Committee, a cut and dried ticket of delegates to the convention was elected, in almost every ward, in the same old familiar machine fashion, of ratifying and registering what had been already preordained. The bosses made no sign, but, as we are told, "accepted"—and they and all their agents, factors and servants, in the convention and out of it—advocated and supported the nominations, and are to-day urging the election of the candidates who are now placed before the people as "the candidates of the Business Men's Democratic Association"! No one will pretend to deny that they are at least equally the candidates of the Ring. How much more than equally, we shall see further on. The result, therefore, of the whole Business Men's movement, at the best, has simply been to divert public attention from the bosses; to save them from the necessity and risk of sailing to disaster under their own colors, and enable them to carry on a canvass, essentially and in all vital regards their own, under the respectable guise and title of a Business Men's campaign. That the Ring, on its side, has acted, in all this, with

even more than its usual sagacity must be conceded. It has likewise transcended even its usual audacity and its confidence in the gullibility of the public. It has played its cards well—such as they are—and with this great advantage over those whom it has managed and deluded into doing its work, that it has no character to lose.

Before passing to the brief comment, which our space permits, upon the ticket which the Business Men's Association has consented to father, we cannot omit to take notice of a circumstance which is very illustrative of the observations that we have already made. On the 18th of September, the *Sun* announced that an endorsement of the nomination of Mr. Skipwith Wilmer as its candidate for the Mayoralty was contemplated by the Business Men's Association, and that it would be acceptable to the party managers. This announcement provoked a good deal of opposition, as a consequence of which the following resolution was adopted by the Association, in a sort of panic, on the evening of the 18th, and appeared in the *Sun* of September 19th, from which we copy it. The italics are our own.

"Whereas it has been currently reported in the public press and otherwise, that this Association *has advocated, or is about to advocate, the claims of particular individuals for some of the nominations to be made by the approaching convention, and whereas the dictation of nominations is entirely foreign to the object and purposes of this Association:* therefore be it

"Resolved, That *this Association has no candidate for mayor or any other office, and that its efforts are, and ought to be, confined to securing intelligent and unpledged delegations to the Democratic conventions.*"

The *Sun* added that "Mr. John E. Hurst presided at the meeting, and the attendance was large."

This was undoubtedly what, in slang phrase, might be designated as "pretty steep," in view of what had been proclaimed, as the object of the Association, in the report of its committee, composed of Messrs. Wm. A. Fisher, John E. Hurst and Douglas H. Thomas, which we clip from the *Sun* of July 2d, as follows, italicizing for ourselves:

"INTENTIONS OF THE ASSOCIATION.

"Their intentions can be shortly and simply stated. *It is their purpose to suggest candidates for the several offices to be filled whose fealty to the party cannot be doubted, and in whose integrity and fitness the public may repose confidence. It is then their purpose to make good their recommendation by all the force which is at their disposal by causing their suggestions, if possible, to be accepted in the nomination of the candidates whom they may recommend.*"

But whether the resolution of September 18th was consistent or not with the previous announcements of the Association, it would, at all events, seem to be explicit enough, and ought to put an end, we should think, to the pretence that the Business Men's Association had really any controlling influence, in the presentation to the convention or the people of the names of Mr. Davidson and his colleagues on the ticket. Strange to say, however, on the 21st of September, only two days afterwards, a considerable number of business men, members of the Association (including Messrs. Hurst, Purnell & Co.), not in the name of the Association, but as individuals, addressed to Mr. Robert C. Davidson the invitation to become a candidate for the Mayoralty, which appeared in the *Sun* of September 24th, and which he

accepted, adding "provided always, that such nomination comes to me in the right way." It did "come" to him, under the "approval" of the Ring Central Committee. As the Business Men's Association pledged itself not to "advocate the claims of particular individuals" for nominations, who was it that advocated Mr. Davidson's? We leave to those who are fonder than ourselves of casuistry, to draw the line between the doings of the members of the Association as members, and as individuals. One thing is very clear, and that is, that if members had the right to do, as individuals, what the Association had pledged itself not to do, they have equally the right, to-day, to vote against the ticket which the Association has pledged itself to support. In reference to that ticket we have room, as we have said, for but limited comment.

As is known to everybody, the control of the next Legislature is the one chief thing upon which the desires and efforts of the Ring are concentrated at this time. Outside of its importance to them, for the customary purposes of the lobby, and of blackmail and plunder generally, it is absolutely vital to the continuance of their power. They could not survive a session which legislated for the people and not for them. All their plans for future domination—for electing Gov. Jackson to the Senate and re-electing Mr. Gorman later on—for putting Mr. Baughman in the Governor's house and giving Mr. Archer a new lease of the Treasurership—to say nothing of getting up a satisfactory canal job—all these things are at stake on the issue of the next election. Much as they value the Mayoralty, with its pickings and stealings, and subsidies to their henchmen and bummers, it is a matter of sheer insignificance to them, compared with the ownership of the next Legislature. Among candidates for the Mayoralty they would, of course, have preferred Mr. Latrobe, because, as is well understood, he can bring more money into the fight than any one else, and will do anything he is told. But they care no more for him than for any other of the tributaries whom they use and cast aside, and they have always been ready to throw him overboard, at any moment, if they found it a good thing to do. It was upon the Mayoralty, therefore, that they were willing to make terms, if they were forced to make any, in order to secure a legislative ticket to suit them. If they could do this and, at the same time, conciliate and keep up appearances for the business men, and create an impression that they were, themselves, disposed or willing to "do what was right," and get themselves some credit for doing it, so much the better. Moreover, even if the candidate whom they consented to accept should be one whom they could not corrupt or directly control, they would hope sufficiently to "influence" him, as they did Mr. Hodges, through his and their friends, the Ring business men, and would at all events be sure that, if he did not knowingly help them, he would not be "hard on them"—to say the least—and that, at the worst, they could so hamper and bedevil him, by a city council of their choosing, that he would be practically harmless. This is the simple history of Mr. Davidson's nomination. The bosses held on to Mr. Latrobe to the last moment, but then finding that they could not get him the full support of the Business Men's Association, and probably could not elect him, anyhow, with his burdensome taxation record, and, moreover, being unable to agree upon any one else, who entirely suited them, they flung him aside, among their other broken tools, and accepted Mr. Davidson. By so doing they threw a tub to the whale of mercantile *esprit de corps*, and secured from

the Business Men's Association the endorsement of their own legislative and council tickets and an undertaking to canvass for their election. It was a triumph of sagacity, in their line, and those who admire what is clever, without worrying themselves to look for "angels' wings" in it, will doubtless greatly admire and enjoy it.

Of Mr. Davidson's fitness for the Mayoralty we know absolutely nothing, and he is so little known, generally, that, outside of a very small circle of men in his own branch of business, we have been able, by diligent enquiry, to find out nothing about him. He is reputed to be, and no doubt is, an upright gentleman, and is partner in a rich and respectable mercantile house, whose finances he is said to have managed successfully. As to how far that, of itself, has fitted him to administer the affairs of a great municipality is a question about which there may be honest differences of opinion, especially among a people who have had experience of Mr. Hodges. We are quite sure that the Bosses did not think of his fitness when they accepted him, any more than they were influenced by his zeal as a Sunday school teacher, of which the *Sun* has given a very touching description. His imitation of Governor Hill, in his condensed description of himself—"I am a Democrat"—we confess does not strike us very favorably. For a Mayor we want something more than a Democrat; for Mr. Latrobe is a Democrat, and so is Mr. Colton. So, also, is Mr. "Hack" Quinn, and so is Mr. Morris Thomas—for whom it is stated, without denial, so far as we have heard, that Mr. Davidson voted last fall. The gentlemen whose idea of the duties of citizenship is embodied in the boast that they "never split a ticket" do not appear to us—with all respect to Attorney-General Whyte—to be exactly the sort of people, whom this community can safely rely on to rescue it from misgovernment and lighten the weary load of its fiscal burdens. Has it not already had its surfeit of men who are "Democrats and nothing but Democrats"?

We feel under no obligation, however, to discuss Mr. Davidson's merits further at this time. When a comparatively unknown man is proposed to a community, as a candidate for a most important office, it is for those who know him and bring him forward, to establish his fitness, and not for those to whom he is offered and is not known, to assume the burden of disproving it. And this is by far more especially the case, as is obvious, where the nomination is suggested and made through the recommendation of the friends of the candidate and out of the ordinary course and routine. But, whatever the individual merits of Mr. Davidson may be, certain it is that the people of Baltimore cannot afford to pay for his services the price which is demanded. They cannot afford to take him, at his best, with the incumbrance of the legislative and council tickets which he has been nominated to float. By common consent, the nominations for the City Council, with very few exceptions, are the very worst that have been made for many years. If Mr. Davidson should by accident be elected, the nominees may be absolutely relied on, in the main, to thwart his best purposes and efforts, whenever Mr. Rasin tells them. Of the legislative ticket, with like limited exceptions, the same may be said without qualification. And we feel ourselves in a position to be able to say, with confidence, from information on which we are entitled absolutely to rely, that the legislative ticket was exclusively the work of the Bosses—that the Business Men were allowed no say whatever in its composition, and were compelled to accept it, as it came from the

hands of the Ring, as the only condition upon which Mr. Davidson's nomination would be permitted. Indeed, with many members of the Association there is now no concealment of this fact. The only man named upon whom the friends of good government could rely for a sincere and honest devotion to their cause—we mean Mr. Mason—was a concession, as we are informed, to the personal good feeling of Mr. Latané—a concession only made, it is asserted, because the district is really Republican, and it was believed that a Democratic candidate could hardly be elected. In fact, looking at the ticket, on its face, it is impossible to believe that such names as those of Mr. Colton, Dr. Henkle, Mr. Fitzgerald, and others on the list, could possibly have been suggested or tolerated, by many of the respectable gentlemen, who now permit themselves to be placed in the position of asking decent men to vote for nominations so disgraceful. And how can it be within the range of possible credence, that an Association, which pledges itself, by solemn resolutions, to the Tilden and Australian election laws, or “such a combination of them as will most certainly secure the freedom and purity of elections,” and which regards all candidates whom it may favor as pledged to “present and favor” such laws, can have willingly entrusted the redemption of those pledges to Mr. John P. Poe? It is impossible for them not to know and remember that, over and above all others, at the last delegate election, Mr. Poe was the man who made the most explicit and wholesale engagements to favor the passage of the Reform League law, or “something better,” and pledged himself, on the stump, to go to Annapolis and stay there until he had secured it, and was afterwards the most conspicuously faithless, of all men in the State, in the violation of his pledges and in his efforts to procure the passage of a law, of his own, so flagrantly discreditable, that even Senator Brown could not be persuaded to report it for passage. But why discuss such a ticket longer? Any one who has read the advertisements of the Grand Democratic Ratification Meeting for October 3d cannot have failed to notice that, while the names of all the nominees on the general ticket are set forth in full, and their qualifications are stated, the candidates for the Legislature and the Councils are not even named, but are huddled together, in gross, under the description of “all other nominees of our City Convention”! Nay more, in the paper signed by gentlemen who agreed to serve as vice-presidents at the meeting, the line is broadly and distinctly drawn, between Mr. Davidson, as “*the business men's choice for Mayor*,” and “*the other nominees of the Democratic Convention*”! Nor can we wonder that gentlemen shrink from reading, in detail, the names of some of the candidates, whom nevertheless they “cordially endorse” in the lump. Which of them is willing to accept, as his own doing, the exclusion of Mr. Harmison and Mr. Willoughby Smith (to which we refer elsewhere) in the interest of “Charley” Key and “Sonny” Mahon? Which of them will recognize, as his act, the nomination, by the Convention, of Mr. “Fritz” Buchheimer, as their delegate to the State Convention, for the First Legislative District? Which of them all will face this community, and say, over his own signature, that he thinks the nomination of George Colton (for instance) is one fit to be made, or that he is in sympathy and fellowship with the people who have just nominated Mr. “Fred” Talbott for Insurance Commissioner and have chosen Mr. Henry G. Fledderman as secretary of the City Executive Committee?

MEETING OF THE NATIONAL LEAGUE.

THE annual meeting of the National Civil Service Reform League took place in Philadelphia on the first and second of October. The sessions were attended by many well-known friends of reform, including among others:

Rev. John Andrews Harris, of Philadelphia, one of the vice-presidents of the Pennsylvania Association; Carl Schurz, of New York; Ellis Yarnall, Everett P. Wheeler, of New York; Francis B. Reeves, Dorman B. Eaton, of New York; Francis R. Cope, Colonel Silas W. Burt, of New York; Sherman S. Rogers, of Buffalo; John J. Pinkerton, of West Chester; Richard Wood, Charles J. Bonaparte, of Baltimore, president of the Baltimore Civil Service Association; Lucius B. Swift, of Indianapolis; A. Sydney Biddle, W. W. Montgomery, E. L. Godkin, of New York, editor of the *Nation*; Walter Wood, Henry L. Richmond, of Buffalo; Joseph Parrish, Edward Cary, of New York; Frank P. Prichard, W. W. Vaughan, of Cambridge, Mass.; Alfred Cope, of Baltimore; George A. Pope, of Baltimore; Morrill Wyman, Jr., of Cambridge, Mass.; Jas. G. Francis, Charles Chauncey Binney, E. M. Moore, of Rochester; F. O. Mason, of Geneva; George M. Coates, William Potts, of New York, secretary National Civil Service Reform League; General William A. Aiken, of Norwich, Conn.; Charles Collins, of New York; Joseph G. Rosengarten, R. Francis Wood and Edward S. Sayres.

The Executive Committee elected for the ensuing year consists of:

George William Curtis, chairman, West New Brighton, N. Y.; Moorfield Storey, Boston, Mass.; Sherman S. Rogers, Buffalo, N. Y.; Wm. A. Aiken, Norwich, Conn.; Edward M. Shepard, Wm. Carey Sanger, Brooklyn, N. Y.; Charles J. Bonaparte, Baltimore, Md.; John Jay, Carl Schurz, Everett P. Wheeler, Silas W. Burt, A. R. Macdonough, Fred. W. Whitridge, New York City; Wm. W. Montgomery, Philadelphia, Pa.; Morrill Wyman, Jr., Cambridge, Mass.

The resolutions adopted were as follows:

First. The National Civil Service Reform League gladly recognizes the steady advance of the reform sentiment in the public mind, and the good results already happily achieved in legislation.

Second. The National Convention of the party now administering the Government made the following declaration:

“The men who abandoned the Republican party in 1884 and continue to adhere to the Democratic party have deserted not only the cause of honest government, of sound finance, of freedom and purity of the ballot, but especially have deserted the cause of reform in the civil service. We will not fail to keep our pledges because they have broken theirs, or because their candidate has broken his. We therefore repeat our declaration of 1884, to wit: ‘The reform of the civil service, auspiciously begun under the Republican Administration, should be completed by the further extension of the reform system, already established by law, to all grades of the service to which it is applicable. *The spirit and purpose of the reform should be observed in all Executive appointments*, and all laws at variance with the object of existing reform legislation should be repealed, to the end that the dangers to free institutions which lurk in the power of official patronage may be wisely and effectually avoided.’”

The President elected upon that platform declared in his letter of acceptance: “In appointments to every grade and department, *fitness and not party service* should be the essential and discriminating test, and fidelity and efficiency the only sure tenure of office. *Only the interest of the public service* should suggest removals from office.”

Third. It is the duty of the League to consider how these solemn pledges have been fulfilled. The personal character, ability and experience and the unquestionable and fearless devotion to reform of the members of the Civil Service Commission appointed by the Administration and the support accorded to them by the President deserve the heartiest commendation. The administration of the reform law has been improved by regulations making the eligible lists public, and permitting the appointment upon local boards of members whose tenure in the service is independent of the heads of the respective classified offices.

Fourth. The execution of the law, however, is seriously endangered by the appointment, with few exceptions, as heads of offices within the classified service, of men who are not in sympathy with the law or its purposes, but who are in many cases its open or secret enemies. A brief necessary delay in the preparation of eligible lists by the Civil Service Commission was improved to sweep out of the railway mail service hundreds of employees, regardless of efficiency, and into these vacancies were hurried hundreds of partisans of the Administration, with but a subordinate regard to their fitness. In the civil service generally, the President seems in great measure to have abdicated his constitutional power of appointment, by placing the appointments at the disposal of partisan leaders, thus enabling them to debauch constituencies and control elections. Thus the pledge of the President, that fitness and not party service should be the sole discriminating test of appointment, is disregarded.

Fifth. An equally flagrant violation of pledges is the removal of thousands of public officers, especially in the postal service, for mere partisan reasons, and especially of some trained by years of faithful service and universally recognized to be peculiarly fitted for their

several positions, and whose only fault was their unwillingness to seek the favor of influential politicians by subordinating to their interests those of the country. Against these excesses of the spoils system, whereby its injustice and cruelty are strikingly illustrated, the League records its unqualified protest.

The League also expresses its regret at the refusal of the President to extend the Civil Service Examinations to the Census Bureau, inasmuch as the proper discharge of the duties of that Bureau imperatively demands entire freedom from partisan spirit.

Sixth. The League renews its earnest declaration of the wisdom of a repeal of the four years laws, which are the fruitful source of political removals. When the power of removal is unrestricted, it is of the highest importance that every officer should be held to the responsibility which accompanies authority, and that every incentive to the arbitrary exercise of authority should be destroyed. To stimulate the official sense of this responsibility, the League recommends to its constituent associations the widest publication of the details of removals, that the public may be fully informed of any case in which its service may be made subservient to personal and partisan objects.

Seventh. The League renews its recommendation that public officers entrusted with power of appointment and removal should be required by law or executive order to place upon public record all appointments, removals and resignations, and the reason for every removal made by them; and appointing officers, when in their discretion they do not select those rated highest upon the eligible list presented to them, should be required in each case to file their reasons for such action.

While fully recognizing that the absolute power of removal must be vested in the appointing power subject only to a sound discretion, the League holds that the system of making removals upon secret charges of specified acts preferred by unknown accusers, without opportunity for explanation or denial, is inquisitorial in its character, unjust in its results, and, like the spoils system itself, repugnant to the spirit of American institutions.

Eighth. The League warmly approves the appeal to the clergy of the United States to commend to the people the moral aspect of the question of reform. The promotion of public honesty, and the stay of increasing corruption, are not political or partisan questions; they are concerns of the truest patriotism, and the pulpit in the discharge of its office of applying eternal principles of morality to human conduct, and aiding nations as well as individuals to walk in the right way, may well demand of the public conscience that specific and acknowledged evils affecting the highest public welfare shall be speedily and effectively redressed.

WORK MAPPED OUT.

A special committee of the League advocated the following plan of agitation, which was adopted:

The report from the special "Committee on Work," as named by Mr. Wheeler, was then read by that gentleman. It outlines a plan of procedure, and is as follows:

Resolved, That the several associations constituting the League be requested, without delay, to take appropriate action to secure adequate appropriations for the Civil Service Commission; to promote the confirmation by the Senate of the Commissioners lately appointed, and to guard against legislation hostile to the merit system, and as means to these ends that each of said associations prepare and circulate suitable petitions; appoint delegations to visit Washington, present these petitions to Congress, and obtain public hearings before committees of that body; hold public meetings at which addresses on the topics above indicated may be delivered, resolutions adopted and committees appointed to lay these resolutions before Congress; interrogate Senators and Representatives from its State before the meeting of Congress (whenever this course seems to be advisable) as to their respective sentiments on the foregoing subjects, and make judicious representations to them, calculated to induce favorable official action on their part; promote public expressions of opinion by noted citizens and the press, advocating the adoption by Congress and the President, of a policy in accordance with the principles of civil service reform; collect and transmit to the Secretary of the League, and to journals friendly to the cause of reform, the facts respecting removals from office, and the working of the reformed system whenever it is in force, and that the Secretary of the League communicate such facts to the several associations.

Resolved, That the Secretary of the League transmit the foregoing resolution to the secretaries of the several associations, with a letter urging its prompt consideration, and that the President of the League address to the Presidents of the several associations a circular letter suitable for publication, impressing upon them the importance of the action therein advised.

Resolved, That the Executive Committee of the League co-operate with the several local associations in organizing the agitation proposed in the first resolution, and assist them in obtaining well-known speakers for their meetings, and proper introductions for their delegations and committees in the national capital, and that it cause to be prepared maps, with appropriate quotations and statistics, for exhibition at public meetings.

Resolved, That the several monthly papers published in the interest of civil service reform be requested to have at least one article in each issue, between December and June next, devoted to

the subject of Congressional action relative to the reform, and to send marked copies of each issue to the persons whose names shall be furnished them by the Executive Committee of the League, the actual cost of publishing such additional numbers to be defrayed by the League, and that the several associations be requested to promote the circulation of these papers, especially among those who are not members of such associations.

Resolved, That the Executive Committee be authorized in their discretion to undertake a thorough investigation of the working of the Civil Service law under the present Administration, and for this purpose to secure, if they shall think fit, one or more suitable representatives, who shall further, if approved by the committee, present the cause of civil service reform to popular audiences in different parts of the country and aid in the organization of associations in union with the League, and also obtain information as to proposed legislation at Washington; correspond with the Executive Committee and local associations, see that petitions and resolutions are duly presented and delegations and committees received, and generally promote by all proper means the objects of the League.

Resolved, That, to meet the expenses of the action which the Executive Committee is hereby authorized to take, the Treasurer of the League request the treasurers of all the affiliated societies to send him the names of persons in their judgment able and willing to contribute toward such expenses, and then send to all persons thus suggested a circular setting forth the importance of the proposed work, and asking their assistance in paying for it.

CIVIL SERVICE REFORM AS A MORAL QUESTION.*

ON May 16th, 1887, a well-known gentleman, who then delivered by request a very interesting address at the annual meeting of the Civil Service Reform Association of Maryland, criticized with some severity the sentiments of a writer in the last preceding number of the CIVIL SERVICE REFORMER. "To this . . . writer," he said, "the principle of civil service reform may seem to be one of high morality: it has not to the majority of the people of this country appeared to be that so much as to be a principle of wise and intelligent administration." The writer thus censured happened to be myself, and I take advantage of your courteous invitation to defend the view thus justly ascribed to me. I do this not because the merit of my own opinion is a matter of any public interest, but because the question involved seems to me of great and practical importance. When I admit my belief that "the principle of civil service reform" is "one of high morality," I mean that all men who have sufficiently reflected and are sufficiently informed to entertain an intelligent opinion must and do think alike on the subject; that no one who has any claim at all to public attention really doubts that "the principle of civil service reform" is just and beneficent; if he says that he doubts this, he tells an untruth; if he violates this "principle" in official conduct, he does so, just as he may commit theft or adultery, knowing that he does wrong.

I concede that there may be room for honest and enlightened difference of opinion as to the practical application of the principle; the merits of competitive examinations or fixity of official tenure are subjects of fair debate; we may approve of requiring stated reasons for removal or abolishing four year terms without thereby pronouncing ignorant or insincere every one who thinks otherwise; but these questions of policy have nothing to do with the *principle* of civil service reform. An honorable and patriotic man may reasonably doubt (as many doubt) whether the Australian ballot system is suited to American institutions, but a man who promotes or excuses any form of cheating at elections is simply a scoundrel; a good citizen may justifiably question (as many question) whether prohibition is either expedient or practicable, but one who regards with complacency or indifference the evils of intemperance must be an enemy to mankind. So one or another means to secure an efficient public service may or may not commend itself to every one's judgment, but I, at least, cannot imagine a good man who has thought on the subject, and who knows enough about it to think to any purpose, and who yet fails to see that to promise or confer public office as a bait or reward for

*A paper read at the annual meeting of the National Civil Service Reform League, at Philadelphia, October 2d, 1889, by Charles J. Bonaparte.

personal or party service is always and everywhere immoral; that it is a breach of trust and a form of bribery.

Some confusion of ideas as to this may perhaps be due to an argument often used by reformers. Unquestionably, no one in his senses would think of managing his own business as the people's business is still managed in great part, and was managed universally before the reform legislation of recent years. A man who filled up his store or factory with workmen chosen because they agreed with him as to the tariff or State's rights, and changed whenever their places were needed for more effective political workers, would probably get into a strait-jacket even before he got into bankruptcy. But to a moralist there would be a vast difference between his behavior and similar conduct on the part of a President or Governor or Mayor. After all, he would be but doing as he chose with his own; unless he endangered the rights of his creditors or the comfort of his family, the worst to be said of him would be that he was a fool for his pains. If, during his absence, however, his trusted manager or foreman were to deal thus with his interests, the most charitable critic would recognize in the latter something worse than a fool. His conduct might not be a crime, while the larceny or embezzlement of his employer's goods would be; but this is only because for so unlikely a form of moral obliquity no law has made provision: it would be equally abhorrent to right-thinking men, equally dangerous to society. And this is precisely the conduct of every public officer who creates a vacancy or makes an appointment for personal or partisan gain. A President who deprives the country of an upright and competent postmaster or naval officer to meet the views or advance the ends of selfish and unscrupulous political intriguers is no less blameworthy than one who should give them the public moneys: he may be, indeed, less keenly conscious of his guilt, if he has lived long years in a moral atmosphere poisoned by the malaria of "spoils" politics, but while he has any conscience or honor left he will feel ashamed of what he does.

The question is equally clear if regarded in another aspect. All thoughtful and patriotic men agree that bribery, more or less direct and more or less open, in connection with elections is a great and growing evil, although it is no less evident that this evil can be much more readily recognized and denounced than remedied. But it is a perfectly legitimate and logical outcome of the spoils system in politics, and cannot be consistently condemned by any one who approves of using appointments to influence political action or reward partisan service. Whether a "worker" is paid by a check or by a sinecure—whether a man's vote is bought for five dollars or for the chance to dawdle a fortnight at street sweeping, can make no difference as to the right or wrong of the matter; or rather, while the man bribed is equally guilty, whatever the form of his reward, it is surely more odious and more noxious to bribe with what is the people's than with what is one's own, to purchase suffrages or influence at the taxpayers' cost, than to pay for these out of the corrupter's pocket.

It will be readily understood that, in my view, to establish the principle of civil service reform, or, in other words, to thoroughly eradicate from our politics the doctrine that offices are spoils, is a work which interests good citizens almost beyond any other. Compare it, for example, with the movement for tariff reform with which it is often classed. I entertain certain very definite views as to the relative merits of free trade and protection, and I believe that every one who thinks otherwise is mistaken; but I must, in common sense and candor, recognize the fact that many intelligent and conscientious men, of whom some have devoted far more time and thought to the subject than I have, do think otherwise. Motives on either side are, indeed, freely impugned in discussion, and, no doubt, many protectionists have a more or less conscious bias from self-interest, while free traders sometimes approach the subject rather as students than as statesmen; but, after all, the question is one regarding which the purest and wisest men here and elsewhere have not agreed, and do not agree, and while this is true, it is not a moral question, as I use the words. I shall always vote against a party professing my views as to the

tariff if I believe that in so doing I shall, on the whole, promote the cause of honest government and pure politics.

In saying this, I do not overlook the fact that moral considerations affect the expediency of tariff reform. The most earnest protectionist, if sensible and candid, will admit that a tariff not solely for revenue is a prolific source of corruption and intrigue in the National Legislature, and that this constitutes a strong argument for free trade. But this argument may not be to all minds decisive: protective imposts are in theory laid for the public good, and a conscientious man may uphold them, as many do, without denying their liability to grave abuse. There is the same distinction between approving them and approving the spoils system that there is between licensing saloons and licensing brothels: the former may be often nests of vice and crime, but they are not, whilst the latter are, *mala in se*.

In dealing with questions really political, charity and forbearance in argument, a readiness to accommodate differences by compromise, and the pursuit of practical good at the expense of theory or sentiment, mark the worthy citizen of a free State. He assumes his adversary's sincerity, and expects from him the same consideration; he recognizes in those against whom he contends, not his enemies, aiming to injure him and their common country, but his and its friends, seeking its welfare as earnestly as he does, though not, to his mind, so wisely. But when there arises, as I believe there has arisen here, a true question of morals; when the task allotted to friends of good government is not to convince mistaken fellow-citizens of their error, but to shame or frighten faithless public servants into doing what these know to be their duty and to rouse a sluggish or careless people to a sense of wrong and danger; when, in strictness of speech, there is need, not for argument, since no one truly disputes what we maintain, but for an effective appeal to public opinion against insolent persistence in wrong-doing, then our bearing should fit the season. We can make no bargain with iniquity; we ask, and ask only, that public trustees shall do their duty; not the half, or any other fraction, but the whole of their duty; not that they do it here and there, or now and then, but that they do it everywhere and always, and we can and will be satisfied with no less. To tell us, in extenuation of this unfit appointment or that unjust removal, that elsewhere the guilty officer has done what he ought to have done here, is no more to the point than obedience to the eighth commandment would justify a breach of the seventh. And in dealing with such an officer, we must see to it that he knows what we think of him. Believe me, such as he are not to be gained over to righteousness by soft words or tender silence or diplomacy in any form. They will never love us, do what we may; but they will and do shrink from hearing us tell them what in truth they are. No spoilsman, however hardened, is really indifferent when he hears, "You are faithless to your trust and false to your oath of office; your motives are unworthy, your excuses mere sophistry; and, however much you may stupefy your conscience or deceive your neighbors, you know in your heart that you are not an honest man."

CIVIL SERVICE REFORM.*

SINCE our last annual meeting the second party change in the administration of the national government, since the formation of the League, has occurred. Seven months of the new administration have passed, and as friends of civil service reform our questions to-day are obvious and simple. What was the declaration of the successful party upon the subject of reform? What were the pledges of its candidates? How have those pledges been fulfilled, and what are the prospects of reform? Four years ago, in speaking of President Cleveland, then recently elected and inaugurated, I said that he "was not committed to the prosecution of reform as the candidate of a party which seriously desired it or promised it." Certainly I cannot say

*An address before the National Civil Service Reform League, at the annual meeting in Philadelphia, October 1st, 1889, by George William Curtis.

this of President Harrison. The promises of the successful party last year were as ardent as they were detailed and absolute. They left nothing unexpressed. The pure purpose of reform was depicted in the platform with a touch as glowing as that of the poet in his epitaph upon a highly respectable lady—

"Yea, Venus, Pallas, Diana and the Graces,
Compared with her should all have lost their places."

The irrepressible platform pledged the party to many things, but to nothing with such reduplicated and reiterated zeal as to reform in the civil service; and having done this in the most precise and positive words, it pledged the party with especial fervor to keep its pledges. Indeed, such was the frenzy of fidelity that less excited friends of the good cause were fain to say,

"Choose a firm cloud before it fall, and in it
Catch, ere she change, the Cynthia of this minute."

To the ardor of the platform the protestations of the President, as a candidate, fitly and fully responded. He declared that it would be his sincere purpose, if elected, to advance reform. He said that fitness, and not party service, should be the essential test in appointment, that fidelity and efficiency should be the only sure tenure of office, and that only the interest of the public service should suggest removals from office. The significance of these words is unmistakable. Naturally and fairly interpreted they forecast an executive action absolutely incompatible with the practice known as the spoils system. The country had precisely the same assurance from the successful party of a policy of honest reform in the civil service that it had of an administration favorable to the policy of protection, and that no doubt might arise from political differences between the executive and the legislative branches of the government, the result of the election showed that the executive and the legislature would be in entire political accord.

When a great representative body of American citizens voluntarily and solemnly proclaim that they hold certain views upon the tariff or upon the system of public pensions, or upon the internal revenue, which they invite their fellow-citizens to support by voting for their candidates, they cannot be supposed to trifle with popular government and with their own honor by deliberately hanging out false lights. In a republic where the government is administered by party, if the party pledges of an authorized convention prove to be tricks and lies, the party justly forfeits public confidence, and every member of it is vicariously dishonored. When its authorized representatives, in order to secure for the party the control of the administration, declare that the spirit and purpose of civil service reform should be observed in all executive appointments, and that all laws at variance with the object of existing reform should be repealed, there is no doubt of the meaning of the words nor of the impression which they are meant to convey. The declaration is a voluntary, definite and solemn engagement with the country, and those who, in consequence of such an engagement, are entrusted with the administration of the government are bound in honor to fulfil it or to show adequate reason for their inability to discharge their obligations. If they sneer at declarations which by their acceptance of office have become their own, as absurd; if they chuckle over violations of their own pledges; if they choose to figure officially as statesmen forsworn, they do not discredit or injure the cause to which they eagerly professed fidelity, nor do they show it to be unwise, untimely or impracticable. The discredit, the shame, the dishonor, fall elsewhere than upon the cause of reform.

President Harrison thus entered upon his administration as the choice of a party which expressly claims the honor of beginning reform in the civil service, and has vehemently promised to complete it. Not content with requiring that the existing law should be extended to all grades of the service to which it is applicable, the party went entirely beyond these grades and affirmed that "the spirit and purpose of the reform should be observed in all executive appointments." This, however, was not a pledge to any extraordinary action.

It was merely a declaration that if the party were successful at the polls the Administration would do its plain constitutional duty. For such it is. Whether the Convention had said anything upon the question or had remained silent, the executive duty would have been the same. For the executive is morally bound, as Mr. Bonaparte, President of the Reform Association of Maryland, said in his admirable annual address last May, to discharge all his duties upon acknowledged principles of equity and regard for the public interest and economy.

It is the duty of every administration, in obedience to such principles, not to remove honest and efficient public servants whose duties are in no sense political, but which remain the same whatever public policy the country may have approved at the election. The reason is not that they have any vested right in office, but that the country has the right to the most efficient and devoted official service, which is impracticable when office is regarded not as a public trust, but as party spoils. Nobody is so foolish as to assert the right of any public agent to his place. There are always equally honest and capable and fit persons, who, with the same experience, might be as serviceable and efficient. The simple and conclusive argument against change is not vested right; it is that there is no good reason affecting the public interest which in the case of satisfactory officers requires change. Arbitrary removal for causes not connected with the service is as pernicious to public as it is to private business. To make such removals, therefore, is contrary to public policy, which the administration is morally bound to respect.

But more than this. Mr. Madison, who was a wise interpreter of the Constitution which he largely moulded, said that an executive who should make such removals ought to be impeached. The Assistant Postmaster-General is reported to have stated that about 15,000 fourth-class postmasters, more than quarter of the whole number of such officers, were displaced during the first five months of this Administration. But the change in every instance, when not due to death or resignation, or to some reason connected with the service, is, according to Mr. Madison, an unconstitutional act. If a postmaster has been removed because of his religious belief, or his philosophical or scientific theories, or his views of a tariff, or of the question of the seal fisheries in the Behring Sea, or of a sub-Treasury, or a United States Bank, his removal has been not only a violation of the deliberate and repeated pledges of the party of administration and of the executive, but it is an act which in the case of a great business company would lead to the dismissal of the agent who had abused his power, and in the case of a President, Mr. Madison says should subject him to impeachment.

Undoubtedly the President has the power of removal. That was the decision of the first great Constitutional debate in Congress. But, like all executive power, it may be abused and exercised in an unconstitutional spirit. Removal, made arbitrarily or from an unworthy motive, cannot be justified by the mere fact that the power of removal exists. In the last angry days of the slavery controversy, when Mr. Douglas argued that the people of a territory, meaning a majority of male white adults, had the right to establish slavery if they should choose to do so, the conclusive answer was that they had no moral right to choose to do a wrong, for a wrong slavery was adjudged to be by the common conscience of mankind. All power is to be exercised reasonably, not arbitrarily, and in case of the President, it is to be exercised in accordance with the constitutional intention and with the announcement previously made to the country of the principles by which, and the spirit in which, it will be exercised, and which the country has approved.

How, then, have the pledges of the successful party and candidate been fulfilled? Have fidelity and efficiency proved to be the sure tenure of office? Has fitness and not party service been the essential test in determining appointments? Has the interest of the public service alone dictated removals from office? Has the great pledge of the platform that the spirit and purpose of reform should be observed in all executive appointments been honorably fulfilled? Or have such

appointments generally been made precisely as they would have been made had there been no platform promises, no pledges of the candidate, and no public interest in civil service reform?

It is not an answer to these questions, it is only an evasion of them, to say that reform is not favored by a majority of the people. The only way in which the views of a majority of the people can be known is by the result of an election. If the election of last year showed that the country was in favor of protection, it showed by precisely the same demonstration that it is in favor of civil service reform. If there be any relation between party platforms and the pledges of candidates and the results of an election, the country in electing Mr. Harrison declared for civil service reform. For if an election cannot be held to be a popular approval of the platform and the personal pledges of candidates, who shall decide how much of them, and in what sense and degree any of them, have been approved? In any event, whatever doubt may rest upon the views of a majority of the people in regard to reform, there can be no doubt of the views and purposes and pledges of one citizen. There may be some question of the extent and degree of the sympathy of others. But if the simplest statement which the English language permits, if the plainest engagement to pursue a certain course of conduct, if the most solemn pledges uttered before God and the country have any meaning, there is no doubt whatever of the opinions and intentions upon this subject of the President of the United States.

Nor is it any answer to the questions to say that the President cannot outrun public opinion nor proceed faster than his party will permit. When a party has made no distinct or intelligible declaration upon a question involving his action the President may plausibly plead that his party has not declared its views, and that he must conform his conduct to a course which he believes the party would support. But when his party, in the act of nominating him, distinctly states its views and prescribes the rule of his action, he can no longer offer that plea. It is open to another, but not to him. His party engages to support him. His duty is to follow the course which his party proclaims, which he prefers, and which the country by his election has approved. He cannot plead that the party chiefs, Secretaries, Senators, Representatives, local leaders, newspapers, and committees, are cruelly coercing him to violate the party promise and his own pledge, without conceding that the party platform was a trick, and that the party sought power under false pretences. Still less can an honorable President offer this plea when his party in nominating him has prescribed his course, because when the same plea was urged for a President whose party had purposely made no such definite declaration, it was denounced as a futile and desperate excuse for sham and fraud, for monstrous hypocrisy and contemptible charlatanry.

Our question, however, is not whether one President violates pledges more or less frequently than another. Still less is it a question of the comparative sagacity of the friends of reform in their party action. We meet not to explain or justify such action, not to defame or exalt any administration, but as friends of reform, and unmindful of party sympathies, to measure fairly and accurately the situation. Our question is whether the great pledge of the party of administration that the spirit and purpose of reform should be observed in all executive appointments has been fulfilled. If the pledge has been kept, our meeting must be one of unmixed congratulation. If it has been reasonably fulfilled, we must all rejoice. If the administration party by the conduct of its executive, Cabinet, Senators, Representatives, and recognized leaders, by the general tone of its press and of its adherents, proves that the platform was a just statement of the actual reform spirit and purpose of the party, there is not an honest friend of reform who will not gladly confess any error of judgment in political action while he intones triumphantly the *Gloria in excelsis*.

What, then, is the answer? What is the spirit of the party and the conduct of the Executive? The answer of course involves great detail and can be only generally indicated. Let us look at the signs of party feeling.

A few weeks ago, a hilarious administration party organ at the capital of New York, one of the most influential and representative party journals, exclaimed: "Fifteen thousand fourth-class postmasters have been removed to date, and Mr. Clarkson remains in Washington with his coat off and his shirt sleeves rolled up. Go it, Clarkson! Out with the whole fifty-five thousand by January 1st." It adds with natural enthusiasm that civil service reform cannot command the support of a corporal's guard of Republicans in New York. In Missouri, the chief party organ thinks Mr. Clarkson's labors, although laudable, yet rather deliberate in the direction of true reform, and is confident that "when the dog days are over and cool weather sets in Colonel Clarkson will greatly accelerate his speed." The leading rural organ in the State asserts plainly "neither political party cares a Continental about this humbug civil service reform." In New Hampshire the chief administration organ, arraigning reform as "a stuffed and painted and unpopular humbug" and "a bald and rickety affair that bullies and wheedles good citizens," inexorably condemns it "to the scrap heap." In West Virginia a zealous organ believes devotedly that the spoils belong to the victor, and the editor having secured his part of the booty, announces that at the earliest practicable date every Democratic appointee in the office entrusted to him, "from the humble and poorly paid applejack gaugers to the well paid storekeeper and clerks will be succeeded by Simon-pure-all-wool-and-yard-wide Republicans." In Pennsylvania an administration journal of importance declares that "the people are tired of the sham of reform and would gladly snow it under with their votes." In Ohio a similar representative administration organ warmly commends an officer who disregards the humbug. In Iowa the Washington correspondent of a journal of the same character says that no administration member of Congress that he meets favors the law, and announces that "it will be repealed, as it ought to be," while one of the chief journals in Central New York holds, notwithstanding the express words of the platform, that the President is not bound to go beyond the law and enforce the spirit of reform. Another, commending the refusal of the President to place the clerks of the Census Bureau under the rules of the Civil Service, declares its belief that the decision will be satisfactory to the party.

This is the tone of the larger part of the press of the administration party. No jeer is too contemptuous for reform, no epithet is too acrid. No platform of the opposition was ever denounced by party fury with greater scorn than that with which a representative body of the administration press now spurns its own. Naturally this uniformity of tone in the party journals throughout the Union is echoed by party assemblies. The Federation of Republican clubs in the third Maryland district, representing twenty-three associations, pledge themselves not to support for any office a candidate who honestly adheres to the National Republican declaration upon reform. The Central Committee of the District of Columbia denounces "the cowardly, treacherous policy that to the defeated belong the spoils." The Republican General Committees in two New York counties denounce as un-American and unfair the Civil Service law which the Republican platform pledges the party to extend; and State conventions of the administration party in three of the great States which it controls, Pennsylvania, Iowa, and Ohio, which formerly loudly declared for reform, are this year silent. Three members of the Cabinet decline to profess their adherence to the most emphatic declaration of the party platform, and one laughingly remarks that he does not think he has appointed many Democrats to office so far. Eminent Senators and Representatives of the party sneer with warmth at the cant of reform and dog the President for patronage. One Representative announces that he will "test the sentiment of the House on the sham Civil Service law," alleging that "nine-tenths of the members know that the law is a fraud and say so in private," and the energetic Representative proposes "to smoke them out and put them on record."

These are facts wholly without precedent in our political history. To find a parallel we must appeal to imagination

and suppose some Secretary in Jackson's Cabinet publicly laughing at the party platform; and Democratic clubs and committees and a powerful part of the party press eagerly sustaining the United States Bank and insisting that true Democracy and the genius of American institutions demand its recharter and permanence. Or we must try to figure Republican Senators and Representatives of the last generation arguing the justice and humanity of the Fugitive Slave law, and the Republican press and local committees asserting the right of slaveholders to take slaves into the territories, and declaring the freedom of the territories as demanded by the party platform to be unconstitutional and un-American. The Republican platform of thirty years ago did not declare against the extension of slavery into the territories more forcibly and absolutely than the platform of last year declared for reform of the civil service. Such an attitude of party leaders and of the party press in former years toward the platform of its own party would have been that which the larger part of the administration press and of the boldest and most aggressive administration leaders to-day hold.

While this is the public sentiment of the party as revealed in all the ordinary methods, what is the executive action? Does that conform to the platform promise and the President's pledge? The knowledge of every citizen in his own community answers. The daily record of the newspapers for seven months answers. The general political proscription; the policy which President Harrison when a Senator defined as "the frank and bold, if brutal, method of turning men and women out simply for political opinion"; the clean sweep which is proceeding in the post office; the alarm which pervades every branch of the service; the open, flagrant contempt for public opinion, for private information, and for the party promise, which was shown in the appointment of the late Commissioner of Pensions; the executive refusal to include the Census service in the rules, and the removal of public officers conspicuously fitted by character, ability and experience, who have absolutely and confessedly disregarded politics in their devotion to official duty and the public service—all these facts, and such as these, answer the question, How has the executive action conformed to the party promise and the President's pledge?

There are two signal illustrations of the manner in which those pledges have been kept. The fundamental principle of reform or of reasonable conduct of the public service requires the retention and reappointment of public officers in important places who are especially fitted for their trusts by personal character, proved ability, by long service, and great experience; who are in no sense active politicians, and who are exclusively and most efficiently devoted to their official duties. When the administration came into power upon a platform of reform, it found two such officers in the city of New York, the Postmaster and the Naval Officer. Both of them had what is almost impossible under a spoils system, pride and enthusiasm in the public service, in which both of them were knights without fear and without reproach. The Administration could have given no such practical proof of its regard for reform as their retention in office. One of them, the Postmaster, was summarily dismissed at the expiration of his term, nor can any reason connected with the public interest be assigned as the cause of his dismissal. The other, the Naval Officer, was displaced before the end of his term without a word, or a sign, or a reason alleged. The ablest and most serviceable of experienced public officers are dismissed like messenger boys. There is no other civilized government which pursues in its public service a course which the President has truly described as brutal, and which he has chosen to pursue.

There is no pretence that the public interest, or the principles of reform, or the professions of the party, or the pledges of the President, required their dismissal. The President, speaking for the party, had made the four pledges which I have mentioned, and every one of them was violated by these dismissals. It is not pretended that there was any reason for the executive action except the desire to reward party service which, whether a sound reason or not, the President had publicly disclaimed, as a proper motive for appointment or cause for removal. The dismissal in the

case of the Naval Officer was delayed only until the factions of the party, which had proclaimed that the public service should not be made party plunder, could agree upon a satisfactory distribution of the spoils. The result is that the two public offices, one of them by far the largest and most important of its kind in the country, which were in themselves conclusive illustrations of the practical value of reform to the public welfare, have been degraded again into prizes of partisan activity by the administration of a party which solicited support upon the plea that reform of the civil service, auspiciously began under its guidance, should be further extended wherever it was applicable. The genius of Shakespeare, which embraces all experience and gives us words for every emergency, in the passionate scene between Hamlet and his mother, depicts him as accusing her of conduct which "calls virtue hypocrite" and makes her vows "as false as dicer's oaths."

Do I conceal or distort the significance of the situation? It must be judged, of course, as a whole. Certainly every act of the administration is not a violation of the party declarations. Every removal is not unjustifiable, nor is every appointment unnecessary. But whenever a change is made the essential question, according to the principles of reform and the party pledge, is not whether party politicians demand a change, but whether there are legitimate reasons for it. It is not enough that the appointment of a postmaster or a naval officer shall be acceptable to the party machine of which he is screw; the vital question is whether the interests of the public service and the express engagements of the party with the country require that a perfectly competent and satisfactory officer shall be dismissed? This question is not answered by saying that his successor is personally honest and intelligent. If all the public officers were changed every week, the supply of honest and intelligent successors would not be exhausted. The appointment of a good officer is no excuse for the needless and arbitrary removal of another good officer. This League justly held that the course in regard to the civil service pursued in Massachusetts by the late administration was no excuse for the course pursued in Maryland. It is true that Rome was not built in a day and that a great reform cannot be accomplished at once. That is a sound general proposition. But no executive bent upon reform in the civil service would urge as an excuse for displacing an entirely capable officer that he desired to reward a serviceable partisan with his place. Upon these terms Rome would not only never have been built, but the first stone would never have been laid.

The President has selected an admirable Civil Service Commission. Every member of it is a sincere believer in the necessity and the practicability of reform, and its vigilance and vigor are the best earnest of its effective service. He has refused also to extend the time appointed for including the railway mail service within the rules, and he has authorized the publication of the eligible lists. Besides these few executive acts, the significance of which is destroyed by the general executive course, there is little that shows any effective party regard for the resounding promises of the platform. The few administration Senators and Representatives who have professed to favor reform and who lashed with stinging rhetoric the failures and inconsistencies of the late Administration, now, when their conviction and courage find a fitting opportunity, are passive and silent. They see the general violation of pledges by which the party pledged them. They see the principles which they declare ought to control the power of appointment and removal openly disregarded. They see the abuses running riot, and apparently with their connivance, which they have themselves denounced. Yet instead of frankly refusing to do what they joined in declaring should not be done, instead of indignant protest in the name of their party and of honest politics which should alarm those who make merchandise of the party faith and of the public service, they wail feebly that it is doubtful if the country really wants reform, that the pressure of trading politicians is very strong, and that there are many other important questions.

There is, indeed, a firm and strong protest in a portion of the party press against the abandonment of the platform.

But these papers, like the leaders, do not condemn the constant contempt for reform shown by the Administration. They commend the personal character of those who are appointed to office, without stating frankly that it is not the appointment but the removal which truly indicates the spirit and drift of the Administration. They speak in no tone of challenge and command and conscious power to arrest the executive and the party chiefs of every degree in the reckless repudiation of good faith with the country. Unwilling to own that the platform promise and the executive pledge are of those professions,—

"That palter with us in a double sense,
That keep the word of promise to our ear
And break it to our hope,"

they serve only like stakes planted in a current to show the swiftness of the stream. One of them only, so far as I know, and that a Republican journal in Philadelphia, with an independence worthy of an American newspaper, with whatever party in sympathy, says of the Administration what must be accepted as a just verdict: "The Administration, in almost every one of its acts since it was inaugurated on the 4th of March last, has scouted and flouted civil service reform and trampled under foot its own promises to respect it. It has turned it out of doors and barred the doors against it. That is the truth about the matter in brief, and the Administration and its organs could do no better, wiser thing than to frankly confess that, having found civil service reform to interfere with its plans, it whistled it down the wind as remorselessly as it would dismiss an objectionable tramp."

So say you, Mr. Foreman, so say we all, gentlemen of the jury. There was never a more comprehensive and significant declaration of reform made in a party platform than that under which the present Administration came into power. But no party ever broke faith with itself and with the country more completely. It is not, however, a new situation. During the nine years of the existence of the League, whatever may have been the profession, reform has not been the practice of either party. Nevertheless, it has advanced steadily and surely in the face of party contempt and wrath and denunciation.

"Yet, Freedom! yet, thy banner torn, but flying,
Streams like a thunder-storm, against the wind."

Last year I recounted in detail the actual achievements of reform in the laws and practice. They mark the rising tide of public sentiment. "With public sentiment," said Mr. Lincoln, "nothing can fail; without public sentiment nothing can succeed." The severe standards by which the executive conduct in regard to the civil service is tested by intelligent and independent citizens who believe that honesty is the best political policy, the impressive and startling contrast offered in the centennial year of the Constitution between the tone and course of the first and later administrations, the deepening sense of shame that alone among the great powers of Christendom we degrade our own public service, all show unmistakably how profoundly the public conscience is stirred. The spectacle of the moment is a great object-lesson. The argument for reform is steadily driven home by wanton party prostitution of the public service. Happily, there is a conservative and patriotic public intelligence which is the sure and invincible bulwark of popular institutions, because it saves popular impulse from its own excesses. When that intelligence fails, the republic ends. But that it is not failing our recent history shows. It has already extorted from party a profession of reform. It will presently compel a policy of reform, unless, as Goldwin Smith suggests, party can be maintained only by corruption and the bribery of place. But that is not yet the American faith. We do not believe that popular government is possible only when dishonest. But, on the contrary, although taught by recent and startling experience that corruption is to-day the chief peril of the republic, and believing that nothing more certainly stimulates it than the practice of converting the vast sum of the salaries of the civil service into a bribery fund at every national election, we have seen the awakening and the advance of the spirit of reform. As

with all progress worth fighting for, the contest is stubborn and resolute. Delays and defeats are inevitable, but temporary. The advance is sure. The thunders of the church did not persuade Galileo that the earth did not move, and the roar of the party machine and the gross violation of public pledges by the President, the Postmaster-General, by Senators and Representatives in Congress, by party committees and local leaders, all of which we have heard and seen before, do not convince us that the reform sentiment of the country is not stronger every day.

The successful party in the election of last year pledged itself to promote civil service reform, "to the end that the dangers to free institutions which lurk in the power of official patronage may be wisely and effectually avoided." It was not the power of patronage, but a great humane, patriotic purpose that created the party which made that declaration. Did the complete control of the patronage of the government for a quarter of a century, a patronage enormously increased and extended and bestowed solely upon partisans, strengthen the party in public confidence, or elevate its leadership or secure its ascendancy? Is it not true that with the great increase of patronage, political corruption has greatly and consequently increased within the party and throughout the country? Is it less true that the determination no longer to treat the vast sums paid in public business salaries as a fund to reward partisan service would be the first serious check to the corruption which now threatens our political life? Thirteen years ago one of the most eminent of Republican leaders said in the Senate—and if it was true then is it less true now?—"I have heard the taunt from friendliest lips, that when the United States presented herself in the East to take part with the civilized world in generous competition in the arts of life, the only product of her institutions in which she surpassed all others beyond question was her corruption." When, three years hence, we welcome that world upon our shores to another competition of proficiency in those arts, shall we be content with industrial superiority and material splendor? While our inventive genius, our daring enterprise, our swift civilization of a continent, may stir the wonder of the world, shall it not be our proudest boast that as the material miracle has been wrought under popular government, our greatest achievement is the moral miracle of the constant purification of that government by the virtue and intelligence of the people?

REPUBLICANS AND THE REFORM.

THE New York *Tribune* has recently published a number of strong editorial articles in defence of the merit system and attempting to show that no spoilsman can be a good Republican. On the day before the meeting of the New York Republican State Convention the *Tribune* contained a strong letter from a well-known friend of the cause of Reform in which the writer said:

"The National Convention of 1888 made certain what the Republican leaders had so often claimed before, to wit, the impossibility of being a free-trader or a spoilsman and a Republican at the same time. . . . If the Republican party is not thoroughly committed to civil service reform in its widest possible application, if it is not opposed to every antagonism to, or limitation of, the principle, then words have lost their meaning, and political honor, sincerity and consistency are things of the past. . . .

The *Tribune* echoed this appeal to the conscience of the party, saying "that the National Convention of 1888—the tribunal of last resort for Republicans—unequivocally championed the merit system. . . . The great body of Republicans desire the complete triumph of the reform." Mr. Platt's convention, however, passed the matter over, as boss-ridden conventions have generally done this year, with a perfunctory "approval" of "the purification and elevation of the civil service."

The Maryland Republicans, at their State Convention just held, took a better position. They re-affirm their "adherence to the principles enunciated in the National Republican platform of 1888," with which our readers are

only too familiar. Then in another resolution they "re-affirm the declarations made by the Republican party of our State in its Convention of 1887 with regard to selections for and the tenure of civil offices." The language thus adopted by reference was as follows:

Resolved, That the Republican party of Maryland, adhering to the principles affirmed by their National Conventions in respect to the constitutional rules governing appointments to office, declares that the reform in the civil service should be thorough, radical and complete. To that end it demands the co-operation of the legislature with the executive department of the Government, and that Congress shall so legislate that fitness, ascertained by proper, practical and competitive tests, shall admit to the public service; that the tenure of administrative offices (except those through which the distinctive policy of the party in power shall be carried out) shall be made secure during good behavior; and that the power of removal for cause, with due responsibility for the good conduct of subordinates, shall accompany the power of appointment.

Resolved, That the principles thus declared with reference to the National Government should be applied in their full force to the government of the State of Maryland and of the city of Baltimore.

But while this declaration is better than the contemptuous silence of the Democratic Convention presided over by Mr. Hodges, the host at the "governmental table," we regret that the Republicans did not explicitly re-state their demand for reform. There have been sporadic indications that some of the clubs of the party prefer to continue to wallow in the mire of the spoils system. Their only hope of success in this State, however, rests upon their being able to convince decent people that hereafter they propose to live cleanly. The Republican party, if it wishes to command the votes of those who hold the balance of power in this State, must strive for a complete overthrow of the spoils system in Maryland.

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THE MONTH.

THE attempt of Senator Gorman, by means of an attack upon the motives of Mr. John K. Cowen, to divert public attention from the question of reforming abuses, has brought upon the "Generalissimo of the Lobby" a severe and deserved rebuke. The letter of an Independent Democrat, which we print elsewhere, truly declares that the present revolt in the Democratic party is a revolt against Gormanism and Gorman. The Senator, in raising other questions, is therefore acting in his own personal interest, and is consequently unfit to advise Democrats as to the welfare of the party. If any one doubts this patent fact let him read this incisive letter. "You, Mr. Gorman, you and your misdoings, your corruptions, your prostitutions of power, your humiliation of the Democratic party, and your conspiracies against its honor—these are the issues which the people have before them."

THE editors of the Baltimore *Sun* addressed certain questions to the candidates for the Legislature, among which was this: "Are you in favor of the next Legislature passing a civil service law for Baltimore?" All the Independent candidates answered thus:

"We are. We were nominated upon and stand pledged to a platform which contains the following plank among others: 'A civil-service reform statute for the city of Baltimore like that of New York, with the provision of the Boston act authorizing laborers, without distinction of party, to register as applicants for city work, thereby protecting the city workmen in the exercise of their right of voting free from the dictation of city officials, and changing city employment from the gift of a 'boss' to the right of the working classes.'"

Most of the "Regular" candidates either made answers in the negative or dodged the question. Some of their replies were as follows:

John B. Keplinger: "The question is somewhat broad and indefinite. I would support such a law if properly guarded and confined within reasonable limits as to the subject-matter."

Charles H. Carter: "I am in favor of a law to prevent incompetent men from being appointed."

Edward D. Fitzgerald: "I am in favor of a law to prevent incompetent men from holding public offices, but I am opposed to any law which would retain in office men who are opposed to the success of the administration in power because of their political sympathies."

Charles J. Philbin: "I am favorable to an examination for competency. Those holding office should be submitted to examination as well as applicants. As applied in national affairs it is nothing more than a farce."

J. Harry Preston: "I believe the public service should be administered in as clean a manner as possible, and I will advocate any law that will have this aim in view consistent with democratic principle."

Mr. George Colton's answer was so characteristically demagogic that we give it in full:

"In monarchical governments, where office-holders are never changed except by death or for crime, where the King never dies, civil service may be all right, but in a republic like ours, where nothing commands the attention of the people more than politics, I am opposed to any such idea in the appointment to office, except as to competency. 'No good general would think of recruiting his

army from the camp of his foes,' and I believe in every administration filling its offices from those who share its sentiments."

Both Messrs. Mason and Brown of the Third District declare in favor of the reform, but we do not think this fact makes Mr. Mason's superiority over Mr. Brown any less conspicuous than it was before. The other candidates who favor a reform law are James E. Swindell, Wm. Fraser, and Henry Barger. Mr. Poe is ominously silent.

WE sincerely hope that every reader of this paper will use all good means at his command to secure the election of Mr. John T. Mason, R., to the Legislature, and the defeat of Charles W. Brown. Mr. Mason has for years been a member of the Reform League, and is heartily in favor of a good election law. Moreover, his excellent legal abilities will make him a most useful legislator, and his spotless character places him beyond the slightest suspicion of personal corruption. In this respect Mr. Brown is in an unfortunate contrast to Mr. Mason. Mr. Brown's very questionable conduct in the matter of the oil contracts, and that of Mr. Budnitz also, render the future public careers of these two gentlemen subjects of grave suspicion. We hope the defeat of both of them may be accomplished without injury to the rest of what, when they are removed, is a very respectable ticket.

ALTHOUGH now a professed and practised spoilsman, Mr. Hodges has made at least one good argument for giving public officers fixed tenure during good behavior. In explaining why he had been obliged to appoint men of bad character to office, he said, "few people . . . have any conception of the difficulty of selecting proper men. . . . The selection in nine cases out of ten must be made from . . . office-holders and office-seekers. Men of good ability, holding permanent business positions with good wages, do not apply and would not accept. *They are unwilling to give up business positions of certain tenure for political positions of uncertain tenure, and they are right.*" We may add that in no other Christian and civilized country would they be required to make such a choice.

A HIGHLY dramatic effect was introduced into the campaign for good government by the public disclosures of "Bill" Harig and "Charley" Goodman. Their story, fully confirming the charges of the Independent speakers that Mr. Gorman was directly concerned in the frauds and violence of the past fifteen years, has attracted profound attention. The Ring has attempted to divert this attention by showing, what every one knew before, that both the narrators have often been guilty of crimes of violence. Goodman, we are informed, says in reply that he has been charged with twenty-eight assaults; that twenty-one of these were committed at the instigation of various bosses, big and little, and that, for them, being recognized as "political" offences, he has received no punishment. As to Harig, the record of his criminal prosecutions, as set forth by the Ring in the daily papers, is incomplete without the addition of the various "places of profit and trust" which have been given to him by the very men who profited by his crimes. Thus, on

December 15, 1875, as appears from this publication, Harig was arrested for assault, and bailed; but within three months after Mr. Latrobe appointed him fireman of the City Hall. Again, in 1879, after he had committed several other assaults, Latrobe re-appointed him to that position, and afterwards gave him a letter of recommendation. In 1884, or shortly thereafter, when the Rasin influence became paramount at the Custom House, although in the meantime he had been before the courts for various offences, Harig was given a post in one of the public stores, which, we believe, he still holds. The Ring, by calling attention to the crimes of these men, also called attention to the sort of appointments made under Ring rule.

THE report of Mr. Theodore Roosevelt upon the condition of the Baltimore Postoffice is an interesting document. We learn that a preliminary investigation by an inspector had shown various irregularities in the method of appointment, "but it appears that they were due to an honest misconception of the rules on the part of both the postmaster and the local examining board." The charges of wholesale dismissals of postoffice employes for political reasons Mr. Roosevelt declares to have been sustained, there having been a "clean sweep" of the office. Mr. Veazey habitually and grossly violated the law, and turned out four-fifths of the old employes, filling their places "with men, many of them of such evil character as to greatly demoralize the service." Of "367 carriers and clerks composing the classified service of the Baltimore Postoffice there are now left but eleven (Mr. Brown says thirteen) who were in the public employ four years ago." Therefore, of the original force of the office about 96 per cent has been changed during the last four years. This is a greater proportion than has ever been changed in the public service, taken as a whole, during a similar period, even in the worst days of the pure patronage system. Most of this change, however, was due to Mr. Brown's predecessor, Mr. Veazey. "Mr. Brown states that when he took office he found one hundred and three of the old employes still remaining; of this number, therefore, which had survived the ordeal of Mr. Veazey's rule, Mr. Brown himself removed eighty-eight per cent. So demoralized was the office that he was likewise forced to dismiss over half of Mr. Veazey's appointees. Even more extraordinary is the fact that he was obliged to dismiss more than one-fifth of his own."

"One result of all this is made very apparent by the certification book. According to this book, among those appointed during the three years prior to last November, the declinations averaged only about one every year; but of those appointed since that time about half have declined. The appointees do not think it worth while to take office since the change of administration, evidently believing that the measure which has been meted out to their predecessors will now be meted to them in turn."

"Another result is shown by the seemingly almost universal payment of campaign assessments at election time. Almost all the clerks who were questioned admitted that they had 'voluntarily' paid last fall for campaign purposes sums varying from 2 to 4 per cent of their salaries. If this average held good among all the employes, something like seven thousand dollars must have been paid in all, which would quite justify the remark made to Postmaster Brown by some of the local committeemen of his party, that 'his men had all contributed well.' The money was generally paid in a

building about twenty steps distant from the postoffice. Mr. Brown brought no pressure to bear on his clerks to make them contribute; but as he very truthfully remarked, he supposed they paid with the hope of getting some benefit, 'as the average man is not particularly anxious to get rid of his money'." . . .

In view of the condition of the office when Mr. Brown took charge, and of the absence of any settled policy as to removals, Mr. Roosevelt declines to make any recommendation as to Mr. Brown's retention in the service. He does recommend, however, that when an officer removes "a very large percentage of the employes—whether 80 per cent or a less number, but at any rate one so large as to raise the presumption that the removals have been made for political reasons—and if he can give no adequate and satisfactory reasons therefor, then he should be deemed to have violated the civil service law, and should be himself dismissed or his resignation requested." We trust Mr. Wanamaker will adopt this very moderate rule, and follow it—to the very manifest improvement of the postal service.

THE TRUE ISSUE NOT TO BE DODGED.

THE most striking characteristic of the present political canvass, on the part of the Ring and its coadjutors, is the persistent industry with which the real and vital issue of the campaign is ignored or evaded. As far back as the 14th of December last, in an editorial article headed "THE KEYNOTE OF THE NEXT CAMPAIGN," the *Baltimore Sun* placed on record its views of the situation, in terms which commanded, for the most part, the sympathy and adhesion of the best men of all parties. It stated, in explicit and forcible language, that "a large and controlling number of men who have faith in the principles of their [the Democratic] party, have yet felt keenly the reproach brought upon it by selfish, scheming, unscrupulous men, and by the official corruption and imbecility of those called to fill the public offices." It did not hesitate to affirm that "if the honest voters of the party had not feared the effect of defeat upon the Presidential campaign, there would have been such defection or desertion [in the election of the preceding year] as would have startled those who trade upon the theory that Democracy is invincible in this State." Having thus announced the existence and extent of the feeling of disgust which pervaded "a large and controlling number" of Democrats, the *Sun* proceeded to assign the reasons which justified it, in terms so vigorous that we shall not venture to abbreviate or condense them. Its language was as follows: "*Take our legislation and our Legislatures for years past, and who can look back upon some of the events associated with them with any other feeling save that of shame? That a lobby has been on hand at each recurring session is of itself evidence that there was congenial work for them to do. But there is no need for inference about it, for the fact is perfectly well known that it has plied its infamous trade unblushingly, and too often successfully. Bills perfectly right and proper in themselves have been halted, to compel their advocates or those interested in them to buy them through, and if the price of corruption was not paid, then defeat was almost certain. Other measures intended to work abuses and grievous public wrongs have been put through by sheer force of bribing, while it has been a well understood game to introduce a bill seriously affecting some perfectly legitimate business, in order to compel those affected by it to*

plank down enough money to defeat it. Not only this, but so controlling has been the power of money that last winter a bill was stolen from the calendar under the most exciting circumstances, and the thief continues to this day, if not undetected, at least unpunished. Legislation is of necessity vicious that has its origin in such methods, and the remedy for it is so obvious that the people who vote will be pretty certain to find it out."

No severer impeachment of Ringsters and Ring methods ever came from the Reform League, or was heard at a meeting of Independent Democrats, and no editorial expressions of the *Sun* ever represented, more entirely, the convictions or embodied the experience of the public. But the *Sun* did not stop there. It insisted not only that shameful and corrupt legislation had been for years the result of the existing order of things, but that the non-enforcement of good laws—"a weak and uncertain execution of the statutes," as it said—was "almost as great an evil" as the iniquitous legislative frauds which it had just denounced. It illustrated this by the disgraceful failure of the State authorities to suppress and punish the open and public violation of the oyster laws, "until driven to do their duty by the force of public opinion." The *Sun* then proceeded to suggest the remedy. These were its words: "There is a remedy for these and other public wrongs to which we do not now refer which the political leaders of the State will do well to apply. Indeed, the rank and file of the Democratic party, if wise, will take the matter into their own hands. *The one sovereign remedy, is the nomination of first-rate men for the public offices to be filled next fall. Not only does party success demand it, but the cause of honest government, which ought to be above all parties, equally demands it. Send men of integrity and capacity to the Legislature, and an end will be put to jobs and corruption in passing laws.* Every man who seeks a nomination has some local reputation, and each delegate to a party convention can readily tell whether the candidates for office are men the lobby would venture to approach. *If so, turn them down remorselessly, and nominate only such as are known to be above the reach of a corrupt solicitation.*"

Later on, in its editorial of April 5, 1889, the *Sun* pursued the subject, in language which we should only weaken by compression. Referring to the elections of this fall, it said: "The Democratic party can readily save its prestige and its power by placing before the people men of independence, integrity and ability for the offices, and especially for the Legislature, which has been by far its weakest point. The people will take no chances about a matter so vital. The idea that this great city, full of talent, character and business capacity, should be represented in the councils of the State by ignorant adventurers or pretenders of high or low degree, who do not seem to know a thievish job when they see it, or if they do, are only the more attracted to it, is simply preposterous. The people demand representatives who really represent something besides their own pockets or the corrupt schemes of their masters. *We want honest legislation first of all.*"

Still later, on the 25th of June last, the *Sun* returned to the charge, in an article headed "Honesty the Best Policy in Politics." Here is what it said in regard to the candidates whom the Democratic party ought to choose: "Certainly a proper mental qualification for any office is an absolute necessity, and no man ought to be thought of as a candidate who is deficient in this particular. *But something*

else is sorely needed, and that is honesty of purpose and perfect independence of all individual influence. The man who feels that he owes his nomination to some political chief of high or low degree is in a measure disqualified from the start, for the chances are that he understands perfectly well that he has been supported on the theory that one good turn deserves another. Indeed, the idea is less one of reciprocity of favors than of absolute ownership on the part of the politician who has safely lodged his man in office. Hence the individual who has permitted himself to be so used is in no proper sense the representative of his party, but he is the mere agent and tool of some unscrupulous politician who has succeeded in arming him with power to be employed for his master's benefit. And what results? A venal Legislature, where citizens have to pay for what of right they are entitled to; corrupt councilmen, who permit themselves to be counted off, as the tools of notorious tricksters, to say nothing of other questionable acts performed to curry favor with some boss whose politics and business go hand in hand."

In its leader of June 19th, on "The Selection of Candidates," the *Sun* had already suggested what it regarded as a *sine qua non*, no matter what method of nominating candidates might be adopted. "One thing," it said, "in our judgment, ought to be insisted upon in any plan that is adopted, and that is that the names of the candidates shall be presented to the public long enough beforehand to enable the voter at the primary, or in whatever form he may act, to know whom he is supporting."

We have made these extracts, at length, (italicising for ourselves) not merely because they contain sound reform doctrine which we are only too glad to spread and enforce, but because they demonstrate, without more,—and upon authority which the "regulars" at least cannot impeach—that the great and leading purpose of the best men in the Democratic party to be served in the election which is upon us, was to vindicate itself from the shame which boss-management had brought upon it through the Legislature, and to render the continuance of corrupt misgovernment impossible by "turning down remorselessly" not only the "notorious tricksters," to whom we owe it, but the "tools" who represent nothing but "their own pockets, or the corrupt schemes of their masters." Above all, we wish to emphasize the fact that the Legislature has been and is, and was recognized by the *Sun* as being "by far the weakest point" of the Democratic party and "that we want honest legislation first of all." Upon this point, of course, no argument can be needed. Secure to Mr. Gorman control of the General Assembly and he will give a quit claim deed, to-day, for any and all other patronage which the coming election may involve. Sooner than run the risk of provoking the antagonism of the Business Men's Association to his legislative ticket, he was willing to drop Mr. Latrobe and compromise on Mr. Davidson for the Mayoralty. Sooner than have his legislative ticket defeated, he would, if necessary, "knife" Mr. Davidson and the Business Men, to-morrow. He knows that with the Legislature in his "absolute ownership" (as the *Sun* calls it), he will secure, in the first place, the success of his own schemes for his personal aggrandizement and that of his friends—the unseating of Senator Wilson in favor of Governor Jackson—the re-election of Mr. Archer as State Treasurer—the promotion of Mr. Baughman to the Governorship—the consolidation of his own plans for re-election to the Senate—the consummation of a satisfactory Canal job, and divers other contemplated jobs which it would be too tedious to mention,

including the call of a Convention to remould the Constitution. This latter project, remotely hinted at in Mr. Gorman's speech at Ellicott City, is distinctly avowed by Gov. Jackson, as will be seen from an interview with him reported in the *Sun* of October 26. Mr. Gorman knows that with a Legislature belonging to him, the municipal government of Baltimore, no matter who may be Mayor, will be powerless in his hands. He will have absolute control of the taxation question, and of Civil Service Reform and High License and all other questions and reforms which depend upon the action of the General Assembly. He can hamper the Mayor of the city at every step, and frustrate his best intentions all the time. Just as he contemplated investing Mr. Hodges with new powers and making him independent of the City Council, by his famous and ridiculous "Pooh Bah bill," he can shear Mr. Davidson, or Major Shaw, or the Council itself, of any and all powers which they may be disposed to exercise in a direction unfavorable to his political or personal interests, or hostile to the prolongation of Ring rule. We say nothing of reforms in the election and registration laws, of course, because it goes without saying that, with the Legislature at his beck and call, there will be no refuge for the ballot-box except in the uncovenanted mercies. It would be an interesting spectacle, indeed, to behold Mr. John P. Poe voting for an election (or any other) law which Mr. Gorman disapproved of, and putting his contumacy upon the lofty ground, that he was impliedly pledged to do so by accepting a nomination for the Senate under the resolutions of the Business Men's Democratic Association! Judge Fisher would, no doubt, gladly be present, to witness the sprouting of Mr. Poe's wings for such a flight!

All that we have said, thus far, has been merely in aid and illustration of the statement in the opening sentence of this article, viz. that the real and vital issue of this campaign is that which has been most industriously evaded or ignored by the Ring and its coadjutors, in discussion and in every other way. Indeed, all sorts of other issues have been as industriously raised by them and put conspicuously forward to mislead and deceive. One would not think, from reading the proceedings at the meetings held by the Ring "under the auspices of the Business Men's Democratic Association," that the canvass involved anything but the wisdom and necessity of administering the city government "upon Democratic principles," and of counteracting the "corrupt schemes of corporation attorneys." No one would suppose that the wholesale evils and disgraces of legislative misgovernment which excited the indignation of the *Sun* and of all good people in the Democratic party, six months ago, as we have shown, had ever existed. There has been no change in the Ring, in either its morals or its manners, since the last election, when it was trodden under foot, by the people, in the person of Mr. Morris Thomas, its fittest and truest representative. It has just made an Insurance Commissioner of Mr. "Fred." Talbott, and has chosen the same Mr. Morris Thomas as the Secretary of its Campaign Committee! Mr. "Fritz" Buchheimer is its delegate to the State Convention—elected, we are sorry to say, by the Convention of the Business Men's Democratic Association—and the notorious Fledderman is made Secretary of the City Executive Committee. Mr. Gorman makes public glorification of Mr. Rasin, and tells how he and everybody else "loves" Mr. Baughman! They stand by each other, those gallant Dick Turpins! confessing no sins, professing no repentance, and leaving all the compunction and morality to be done by

their "business" friends. True, the report to the Business Men's Democratic Association, made by Messrs. Fisher, Hurst and Thomas, in July last, did concede, in a mild and inoffensive way, what the *Sun* had vigorously asserted with no mincing of words.

"*Discontent with the methods of party management,*" said those gentlemen, "*and suspicion of the integrity of its results, have long been growing, and have taken deep root in the public mind. No candid man can assert that they are without foundation.*" And yet it is notorious that the Business Men's Association is making no canvass on that issue, or against the methods which it thus impeached. It is proceeding absolutely as if no Ring ever existed. It is making no fight with legislative frauds and abuses or their authors, directly or indirectly. It has not even declared war upon them, by resolution, or declaration of any sort. As we stated in our October issue, it is not only notorious, but confessed, that the Business Men were not permitted to have "any say" in the legislative nominations, and that with the exception of Mr. Mason, the candidates for the Senate and House were all named by the Ring, and the ticket was "put through" the primaries, on one day, and through the Convention on the next, precisely in the old familiar fashion. Instead of following the wise and all-important suggestion of the *Sun*, that "the names of the candidates should be presented to the public long enough to enable the voter at the primary . . . to know whom he was supporting," the Ring, or the Business Men, or whoever controlled the matter, took no antecedent steps to enlighten the people, or give them time to inquire as to the character or merits of the candidates whose names were to be presented to the Convention. The Business Men, in fact, by express resolution, declared that they would suggest no candidates, but would confine their efforts to selecting "intelligent and unpledged delegates to the Convention."

The Ring accordingly nominated its own legislative ticket as if no Business Men's Association existed, and the latter "cordially endorsed" it, and is now working, shoulder to shoulder with the Ring, to elect it. And this, although Mr. George Colton—perhaps the most representative, and indeed historical corruptionist in the State—is at its head, under escort of Dr. Eli J. Henkle and Mr. Fritz Buchheimer's twin-brother, in politics, Mr. Fitzgerald!

We have no desire or design to criticize unduly the political action of the Business Men's Democratic Association. We believe that a large number of its members went into the movement in entire good faith and with the purest motives. Outside, however, of the old staggers, whose names are stereotyped as endorsers of the Ring, whenever it wants its respectability to be vouched for, very few of them had any of that practical familiarity with politics which would have enabled them to cope with the difficulties of the situation which they volunteered to encounter. They had no idea of the task which they assumed, when they undertook to handle pitch without being defiled. They had no real conception of the character of the people they had to deal with when they attempted to bring the Democratic bosses into "harmony" with anything politically honest. They did not realize the radical impossibility of harmonious accord, between men whose only aim was to secure good government, and a gang of political tricksters and traders, of whose very existence the corruptions and plunder of misgovernment were fundamental and indispensable conditions. The result of their efforts was precisely what was to be expected.

They found, when it was too late, that "harmony" could only be purchased by a compromise, which was in reality a surrender on their part. They had to take what they thought was fifty cents on the dollar, rather than nothing. They were compelled either to confess their movement to be a *fiasco* and retire, or make the best terms they could and go through the forms. They therefore agreed to submit their plans to the "approval" of the bosses, and the consequence was that, in exchange for permission to urge the nomination of Mr. Davidson for the Mayoralty, they bound themselves not only to accept, but "cordially endorse" the Ring nominations for the Legislature. They thus abandoned, absolutely, the real and great purpose of the campaign, that is to say, the reform of legislative abuses and the expulsion from power of the unprincipled conspirators who, as the *Sun* so emphatically urged, had brought the Democratic party to shame by legislative bribery and corruption. Not only this, but in consideration of the nomination of a "Business Man" to conduct the Mayoralty on "Democratic principles" (in the place of Mr. Latrobe, who did the same thing), they not only accepted the nominees of the Ring for the Legislature, but have undertaken to father the whole ticket, and let the campaign in its behalf be conducted under their respectable name and auspices. They are thus, openly and without disguise, assisting the bosses to retain their hateful ascendancy at Annapolis, and continue the orgies of corruption there which have already so greatly humiliated, disgraced and endangered the Democratic party in Maryland. It is not unnatural, therefore, that their "head-quarters" and those of "the Democracy" should be side by side, as we see them on Baltimore Street—Mr. Lloyd L. Jackson on one side of a wall and Mr. Morris A. Thomas on the other, administering the same "Democratic principles." It would be a poor compliment to the public intelligence to suppose that such a "fusion" is likely to be misunderstood, or that the people will not appreciate, duly, the diversion that is sought to be made, by the weak and paltry attempt to substitute Mr. Cowen and the B. & O. R. R. for the one, great, real issue.

HIGH LICENSE VERSUS THE SALOON IN POLITICS.

THERE are two views now prevalent among good people relative to the liquor question. A number of very respectable citizens hold to what may be called the prohibition theory; that is, they consider the manufacture and sale of all intoxicating liquors as an unmixed evil, and because intoxication is a principal source of crime and inflicts untold misery and wretchedness upon thousands, therefore they hold the production of the means of intoxication to be morally a crime which should be prevented or punished by the strong arm of the law. But there is another equally respectable and more numerous class who believe that it is no part of the function of the State to prescribe what its citizens shall or shall not eat or drink, so long as they do not by excesses make beasts of themselves and become nuisances to other people; and that as the citizen within this limit has (at least so far as the community is concerned) a right to drink liquor whenever he may see proper to do so, therefore the manufacture and sale of liquor for this purpose is legitimate and should stand upon the same footing as every other legitimate business. They further insist, however, that those who carry on this business for their own profit shall, like those who carry on any other business, be held responsible for any damage which may be inflicted upon individuals and also for any expense or inconvenience to which the public may be subjected by means of it, and that they should be required to make full compensation

therefor; and further, that the operations of this business may properly, like those of any other business, be so limited and controlled by law as to restrict to a minimum the evils to the public which are likely to result from it. Thus the business of building and operating street passenger railways in cities is universally recognized to be a perfectly legitimate one, but it is not permitted to be carried on in any well-governed city except under certain restrictions. In the first place, before even the tracks are allowed to be laid, the municipal authorities decide whether or not the convenience of the public requires such a railway along the proposed route; they then determine whether, in view of the liability of accidents to the passengers as well as to those using the highways either as pedestrians or in vehicles, it is advisable that the cars be propelled by horse power, steam or electricity; they then require the builders of the proposed railway to pay into the public treasury a certain sum for their franchise or right to lay tracks and run cars in the manner agreed upon; and finally the builders of the road are required to indemnify the property-owners along the route for all damage done to property or depreciation in its value directly attributable to the building of the new road.

Upon the same principle it is contended that as the property-owners in this city are now taxed annually over \$827,000 to maintain a police force, \$60,000 for the Criminal Court, \$55,000 for the City Jail, and nearly \$250,000 for asylums, hospitals, dispensaries, House of Refuge and other institutions, making a total expenditure of nearly \$1,200,000; the necessity for which arises mainly from crimes, diseases and poverty, at least two-thirds of which are directly attributable to the evil of intoxication; and as there could be no intoxication unless some one manufactured and sold the intoxicants, it plainly follows that carrying on the liquor business in Baltimore subjects the taxpayers to a cost of \$800,000 per annum, and that those who conduct this business for their own profit should in common justice be made to bear this expense, instead of the taxpayers; and that to this end the license of liquor dealers should be fixed sufficiently high to produce an annual revenue equal to that sum. Moreover, it is contended that as the effect of high licenses is to reduce the number of liquor saloons, and as intoxication and all the evils usually attendant thereon are always found to be most prevalent wherever there are the most saloons, the adoption of a system of high licenses would greatly promote the cause of good morals and good government, by diminishing the amount of drunkenness in the community, and that it is just as proper for the municipal authorities to consider and take precautions against the bad moral influences to which its citizens may be subjected by a superfluity of saloons, as it is to consider and take precautions against the physical dangers and inconveniences with which they may be threatened from a superfluity of street railroads. The class of citizens who hold these views may be designated as the advocates of high license.

There is still a third view of the liquor question, but those who hold it can hardly be classified as good citizens, for they consist of those who because they derive some personal advantage or profit, either directly or indirectly, from the prevalence of intoxication with the attendant sin and misery which it produces among their fellow-citizens, not only selfishly oppose all attempts to check this evil, but actually do all that lies in their power to increase it. This class is satisfied with the present system of dealing with the saloons, and would vigorously oppose any new legislation in relation thereto.

Now inasmuch as it is obvious to every one that there is not the slightest possibility of obtaining prohibition in Maryland at this time, the most practical as well as the only logical course for the prohibitionists to pursue is to join forces with those who favor a high license, for the greatest obstacle to all prohibitory legislation is the tremendous power of the saloon in politics, and "how can one enter into a strong man's house and spoil his goods except he first bind the strong man, and then he will spoil his house." Experience has shown that high license is a most effective instrumentality wherewith to bind that very strong man, the saloon power in politics. We all know that the smaller saloons

are so many centres around which all that is most corrupt in politics is constantly crystallizing, and that they are not only the training schools where the vast army of ballot-box stuffers, repeaters, fraudulent officers of registration, judges and clerks of election and political wire-workers generally have received their technical education in the first instance, but are often also the headquarters to which they habitually resort to get their orders for the day and where the funds are usually disbursed for corrupt purposes. In that most interesting and instructive little book, "Machine Politics in New York," written in 1887 by Mr. Wm. I. Ivins, then Chancellor of that city, there is a table showing that of the 1002 primaries and conventions held by the different political parties in New York City before the election of 1884, 633 were held in saloons and 86 were held in buildings next door to saloons. Although saloons are not often used in Baltimore for holding primaries, an examination of the various reports of the Committee on Elections of the Reform League will show that they are utilized here in other ways for political purposes to an extent which makes them quite as important to the effective working of the machine as in New York.

It is, moreover, notorious that the saloons which habitually violate the laws against selling liquor on Sunday, and the two or three hundred which are carried on without license, constitute one of the principal sources from which the sinews of war are secured by the managers of the dominant political party; for, in order to secure immunity from prosecution, they are regularly assessed and as regularly pay a heavy tribute to the power behind the throne. Now, of course, the greater the number of these saloons, the greater will be their power and the wider the influence which they exert politically, and whatever tends to decrease their number must equally tend to diminish that power and influence. The Brooks High License Law in Pennsylvania has reduced the number of saloons in Philadelphia from 6000 to about 1500. We now have in Baltimore over 3000 saloons, a greater number in proportion to the population than there is in New York, and probably than in any of our large cities excepting, perhaps, Chicago. Could these 3000 be reduced to 750, or even to 1000, and each of them required to pay a license of from \$500 to \$750, those who pay such licenses may be safely trusted to see that no rivals in business will be permitted to compete with them unless they are compelled to pay a high license too. The immediate effect which such a decrease in the number of saloons would have upon public morals by diminishing the amount of drunkenness in Baltimore, and consequently the amount of crime and misery for which it is so largely responsible, would only be equalled by its political effect in diminishing the influence of the saloon-power in party management. There need be no sacrifice of principle on the part of prohibitionists in supporting a movement in favor of High License, for the question presented is not whether the States shall legalize the sale of liquor by licensing it—for that is an established fact already—but the question now before us is—since the State does license the saloons, shall it not fix the fee so high as to tax three-fourths of them out of existence at once, and so diminish the political power of the others as to make prohibition possible whenever a majority of the people of the State shall be in favor of it.

The Democratic managers in this city and their immediate followers belong to the class which does not favor any new legislation upon the liquor question, for as they rely upon the saloons under our present system to furnish them with the men and money required for campaign purposes, they may be naturally supposed to regard that system with the same affection which we may imagine Mr. Andrew Carnegie and other owners of iron rolling mills in Pennsylvania to entertain for the present high tariff on steel rails. If the Democratic managers really have the pious and humane feelings which the character of their nominee for mayor would seem to indicate, they doubtless look upon the present system as an especial provision of a benevolent Providence for relieving their necessities, and would consider it a most aggravated case of cruelty to animals for any wicked legislature to interfere therewith. This explains the diplomatic silence on the High License question in the plat-

form adopted at the "Business Men's Convention" which nominated Mr. Davidson and others, for although the business men are by no means distinguished for their sense of humor, even they have sufficient perception of the eternal fitness of things to know that it would never do to put a cold-water candidate like Mr. Davidson upon such a platform as would be acceptable to the friends of the saloon keepers, so they wisely concluded to say nothing in the hope that the Prohibitionists and High License advocates would rely upon Mr. Davidson's past record, and the saloon keepers would rely upon the past record of the party, and both sides derive equal comfort and encouragement therefrom.

But at the Democratic State Convention held the next day the State managers took a broader view of the situation, and evidently concluding that the time had come when it was necessary to "pander a little to the moral sense of the community" upon this subject, they solemnly put forth the following oracular deliverance:

"HIGH LIQUOR LICENSE."

"In dealing with the important question of taxation for State and local purposes they declare that power should be conferred by appropriate legislation upon the city of Baltimore and other municipalities to raise revenue for local purposes by additional licenses to carry on such branches of business or trade or to conduct such occupations as are now required to be licensed for purposes of State revenue, but shall in no way deprive the State treasury of the revenue derived from licenses as are now or may hereafter be provided by the Legislature of this State. By such an enlargement of municipal power the rate of local taxation in the city of Baltimore and in some of our other cities and chartered towns may be materially reduced without lessening the revenue of the State and without injustice or oppression to individuals. By a judicious adjustment of licenses to sell liquor, with the superadded restrictive features which experience elsewhere has proved to be salutary and effectual, such legislation should be made to subserve the double purpose of reducing the rate of taxation on property, to the great relief of the people, and at the same time of largely removing from our midst the degrading and destructive vice of intemperance."

This it will be seen, while apparently advocating high license, in reality pledges the party to nothing, unless the declaration "that power should be conferred by appropriate legislation upon the city of Baltimore and other municipalities to raise revenue for local purposes by additional license, etc.," be construed as a promise that such appropriate legislation will be enacted; and this promise, if it can be called one, is given in such language as by implication to declare that the Legislature will not pass any high license law itself, but will only authorize the City Council to pass one. Of course any movement for a high license must be expected to encounter the active opposition of the managers and of the saloon power at every stage of its progress, and if it has to run the gauntlet in the City Council as well as in the Legislature, the chances of its defeat are more than doubled; so that when we closely analyze the Democratic deliverance it practically amounts to about this: While we fully approve of the high license system in theory, we will take every precaution in our power against ever allowing it to be put into practice in Baltimore City.

FAIR ELECTIONS.

IS there any reason to believe that if the "Regular" candidates for the Legislature are elected a satisfactory election and registration law will be enacted? However large a part some of the members of the Business Men's Democratic Association may flatter themselves they had in selecting their candidate for Mayor, none of them have been hardy enough to deny that the legislative ticket is the handiwork of the bosses. No one pretends that these latter gentry have any more liking for fair elections than the great father of all the bosses is popularly supposed to have for holy water; but some credulous souls occasionally say that now that public opinion has manifested itself so unmistakably upon this question, and now that the party has given such promises of better things, the managers will have to pass a good law. Like Patrick Henry, having no way of judging of the future but by the past, let us look

back, not into ancient history, but only to the action of the last Legislature. For at least two years preceding that election the prevention of election and registration frauds had been the principal topic of political discussion in this State. The Democratic Convention of 1887 pledged the party to do everything possible to secure absolutely fair elections, and these pledges were repeated over and over again on the hustings in every possible form of expression by the recognized leaders and orators of the party, and by many of its legislative candidates; yet when that party had triumphed and those candidates were elected, they deliberately refused to enact a law which would have rendered fraud so difficult as to be on a large scale practically impossible, and refused to enact such a law because, and only because, the party managers wished to retain the power to cheat when, as the Yankees say, they had a mind to.

To assert that the General Assembly of this State was controlled by persons who differed from the men whom Judge Duffy sentenced to jail and Governor Jackson pardoned, only as wholesale dealers differ from retailers or the officers of an army from the privates, may sound harsh, but is it not true? For its failure to give us a good registration and election system the Legislature of 1888 cannot plead that there was doubt as to what was the best method of attaining that end. For months before it assembled at Annapolis some of the best equipped minds in the State had been studying what sort of machinery was required to guarantee that every citizen should be able in peace and quiet to cast one vote, and but one, and to have that vote honestly counted and returned. The fact that all those who examined the problem reached a solution identical in fundamentals and in nine out of every ten details, showed how little doubt the experience of this and other communities had left upon the question as to what a good law should contain. Almost immediately upon the meeting of the Legislature five bills on the subject were introduced. One was that prepared by the Reform League and endorsed by the Republican State Convention. Another was the work of Mr. James Alfred Pearce, who had been appointed by the Democratic State Convention to draft it. Attorney-General Whyte, whom usage in this State designated as the draftsman of all important party legislation, was the author of a third. A fourth, introduced by Mr. Joyce, was understood to represent the views of the Crescent Club wing of the local Democracy. Mr. John P. Poe, with the approval of the Code Commission, composed of Judge Fisher and Messrs. Crisfield and Alexander, had embodied the fifth in the draft of his Code.

These bills therefore represented every shade of political opinion, and yet they were, even as to the number of the sections they contained and as to ninety-nine one-hundredths of their language, precisely alike. A legislature honestly desirous to give the State the best possible law could have safely concluded that where there was agreement among these doctors there was nothing more to be said, and it could have in a few days considered and decided the points in controversy between them. But this Legislature did nothing of the sort, and for some time nothing of any sort. Then Messrs. Bernard Carter and John P. Poe appeared at Annapolis with a pamphlet containing the draft of three laws the enactment of which would have made the then existing system worse than it was. Mr. Poe, be it remembered, was the same man who a few weeks before had united with everybody else in recommending the adoption of what was substantially the Reform League law, and the same gentleman who is now a candidate for the State Senate. It soon became evident that to pass these laws would be a pretty dangerous experiment, as the people evidently understood them quite well. But, as they were the official party measures, they were taken as the basis of the legislation of the session upon the subject, and, after some of their worst features, which public opinion most decidedly condemned, were stricken out and some good provisions most determinedly demanded were inserted, these drafts became laws. The Republicans and the anti-Ring Democrats made an unsuccessful effort to substitute the Pearce bill for them. In voting down the Pearce bill the Legislature was compelled to choose on a number of

points between the machinery suggested by Mr. Pearce and that advocated in private by the party leaders. A few of the more important points as to which this choice was made will be stated, and every man can judge for himself whether such a choice could have been made with any other design than that of facilitating fraud.

First.—All the other bills were in themselves complete and consistent registration and election codes. All previous laws upon the subject were repealed. If any one of them had been enacted, a pamphlet copy of them would have contained all the law upon the subject. The measures which were adopted left the old laws unrepealed, except in so far as their provisions were inconsistent with those of the new ones, and whether they were inconsistent was a matter which every citizen, every registrar and every election judge had to decide for himself as best he could. Every doubt and every ambiguity in an election law opens the door to fraud and trickery. Even honest registrars and judges are likely to solve every doubt in favor of the party, as honest inquisitors used to decide every doubtful question in favor of the faith. Then, under cover of the honest mistakes of good men, any amount of cunning rascality can escape punishment.

Second.—The Legislature declined to give the promised annual registration in the city, and decided in favor of biennial, the new registration to be in the years in which representatives in Congress are to be chosen and the revisions in the years when State and municipal officers are elected, and when, consequently, there is no Federal supervision of the registration. Every one knows that in a large city annual registration is the only possible system which can give even approximately fair results. When attempts are made to revise lists, either a large number of legal voters will be stricken off or a large number of disqualified ones left on, or, as is still more likely to happen, a large number of legally registered "outs" will be stricken off and a large number of illegally registered "ins" will be left on. The registrars are called to decide upon an immense number of questions involving propositions of law which they do not even understand, and presupposing familiarity with rules of evidence of which they never so much as heard.

After biennial registration was conceded there was absolutely no honest argument to be made against annual. Biennial registration does not save expense. The salaries of registrars this year cost the city \$49,368; under the Pearce law we would have had to pay the registrars for annual registration but \$10,692. It does not save trouble. The statistics of this year's registration indicate that in a year at least one-third of all the voters become disqualified to vote in the precincts in which they were registered in the previous year. To make all the corrections in the lists such a state of things requires will give the community more trouble than annual registration can possibly do. It does not get out a larger vote. Last year there were 13,500 more votes polled in the old twenty wards under the new registration than had ever been polled before under the old revision system, and this year, as the registration lists are, there will, even independent of other influences which will operate in the same direction, be a considerable falling off in the vote. "Revised" registration lists afford enormous opportunities for fraudulent voting, but they do not facilitate the polling of a large honest vote.

Third.—The Legislature determined that registration should begin six months before the election instead of as many weeks, as the Pearce law proposed. This change affords and was intended to afford opportunity for double registration and colonization. Worse still, it strengthens the power of the machine in both political parties by requiring them to be engaged in active political work in each precinct of the city from about the middle of March, when the names for registrars are sent in to the Board of Supervisors, until election day, or for about two-thirds of the year. Under these circumstances any party which cannot command at all times an army of professional politicians is practically powerless.

Fourth.—The Legislature, for no other conceivable reason than to render repeating more safe and easy, refused to permit the registrars to be the judges of election.

Fifth.—For the same purpose, and in order that it might be still in the power of corrupt registrars to disfranchise their political opponents or such of them as had not time to go to the court-house to get a certificate, by misspelling their names on the poll-books, the Legislature refused to permit the original registration books to be used at the polls.

Sixth.—With an eye to protecting the repeater, affording opportunities for rowdiness and bulldozing on occasion, and enabling the briber to see that the bribed carried out his bargain, the Legislature declined to direct that the voting should be done in a room into which only one voter at a time should be permitted to enter.

Seventh.—In order that respectable voters might be tired out and compelled to leave without depositing their ballots, the Legislature refused to authorize a redivision of the voting precincts, although there were then some precincts with more than a thousand voters in them, and there are now some with nearly fifteen hundred.

Finally, in order to secure immunity for a score of indicted ballot-box stuffers and fraudulent registrars, the Legislature declined to insert in the laws they enacted a provision that the changes they were making in the laws should not affect pending prosecutions.

Can all these expressions of the Legislature well be explained upon any theory consistent with the desire of the men who controlled the General Assembly to prevent fraud and corruption? If not, are the vague promises of 1889 more likely to result in a good law than were the precise pledges of 1887?

BUSINESS PRINCIPLES IN CITY BUSINESS.

THAT the affairs of a municipal corporation should be conducted on business principles no one will openly deny. There has been no candidate for the Mayoralty for the past fifteen years who has not pledged himself that if elected he will discharge the duties of the office to the best of his ability, and administer it upon business principles. There has been no incumbent of the office during the same period who has not claimed and does not now claim that during his term the office was so administered. It has been a part of the stock in trade of Mr. Latrobe, as an ever-blossoming candidate for the Mayoralty, that he regarded the place as one the duties of which should be met and discharged by the person holding it precisely as if he was the president or chief executive officer of a railroad, steamship company or other great corporation. It has been his boast that his administrations have been conducted on business principles.

This term, so frequently used that its use has grown tiresome, is one the meaning of which everybody understands. It means that Baltimore City is a great corporation, the members of which are all its citizens, and that the Mayor and City Council are its President and Board of Directors, while all the other officials are the employees of the Board; that to this Board, with the Mayor at its head, is entrusted by the members of the corporation the duty of meeting the objects for which the corporation has an existence. These may be summed up in the one idea—providing for the general welfare. The paving and lighting of the streets, the opening new ones, the policing of the city, the protection of its health—everything is included in the term the general welfare. The individuals, members of the corporation, have agreed that the agents selected by themselves shall be charged with the duty of looking after their common interests in certain specified matters.

In order to enable these agents to discharge this duty each member of the corporation agrees to furnish his proportion of the money necessary, according to the value of his property. Nothing can be plainer than that this is a business matter, that the agents are presumably selected because of their qualifications to do efficiently the work assigned them, and that it is their duty to do that work in such a way as will cost the members of the corporation the least possible amount consistent with the work being well done.

There is one great distinction, however, between this business corporation, the City of Baltimore, and other corpora-

tions with which it is compared. The latter have for their object a return of profit to their members upon the money invested. With a municipal corporation it is all outlay. There is no profit side in money to the transaction at all. There are certain things which the citizens want for their comfort and protection. They employ their agents to furnish these things, and it is simply a question of how much each citizen must pay out for them. There is more reason, therefore, for the strict application of business principles to the management of the affairs of this corporation than any other. Where large profits are being made, stockholders may be able to stand some extravagance and even a little plundering, but where everything is outlay there is no margin for speculation or waste or even charity.

How are the agents of the corporation, the City of Baltimore, to apply business principles to the discharge of their duties, or rather, what are the business principles which they are thus to apply? The answer is simple enough. They are not to be guided by sentiment or by considerations personal to themselves in the selection of the subordinate officers upon whom the carrying out of the city's work devolves. These are to be selected solely for their efficiency, and are to be required to do the work given them with industry and at the least expense consistent with its being well done. This is what a business administration of the city government means. It can mean nothing less. It means, for example, that when the Mayor comes to select a City Commissioner, he shall select him not because of some sentiment, such as that he was a friend of his youth, or that he belonged to the same church or to the same political party, or that he was out of work or had a large family to support, or that he had rendered good service in securing the Mayor's election, but because in his honest judgment he will fill the position of City Commissioner better, discharge its duties more efficiently and economically than any one else whom he could appoint that would accept the place.

Unless "administering the city government on business principles" has this meaning, it has no meaning at all, no more than administering it "on Democratic principles" has.

The question then arises, Can a municipal government be administered upon business principles and at the same time upon a partisan basis? In other words, can a Democrat, elected Mayor, determined to appoint none but Democrats to office under him, really administer the government on business principles, or, vice versa, can a Republican do so?

It seems to us that the answer to this question is plain upon its face. There is an element introduced into the choice by the Mayor of the agents to do the work of the city which is contrary to all business principles, an element which in no other corporation, in no other business, enters into the selection of employees. What is this element? It is the political belief, the party affiliations of the person to be selected. Why is this element introduced? It is apparent that it is not introduced from mere sentiment, because the man who, as Mayor,—himself a Democrat or Republican, as the case may be—selects none but Democrats or Republicans for subordinate positions, does not act in the same way in other business relations which he may have. Take the case of Mayor Hodges, for example. He announced his intention of appointing none but Democrats to office, and steadfastly carried out his intention in the Mayoralty. Has he had a similar intention and acted upon it in reference to the large and successful mercantile business of which he has been the head for many years? He would doubtless characterize as absurd the idea that he would choose his partners, his bookkeeper, his clerks, his salesmen, because they were in accord with him politically. Business methods and the laws of trade know no politics. Why was it, then, that as Mayor he made it a prerequisite to appointment to office that the appointee should be a Democrat?

He would probably answer that he was elected Mayor as the candidate of the Democratic party, and that therefore he could select none but Democrats; that while he was the Mayor of the whole people of the city, he was yet the representative of a party, elected as such, and that he must be guided in his appointments by the advice and counsel and recommendations of those whom he recognized as the

leaders of the party whose candidate he was. This could be thoroughly understood if parties were divided upon questions appertaining to municipal government. But there is no such division. Every one admits this. There are no Democratic principles or Republican principles that have any relation to the proper administration of the city's affairs.

We have, then, a political organization the principles of which have nothing whatever to do with the functions of the city government, electing the city's Mayor, who says that, because he is elected as the candidate of this political organization, he will appoint no subordinates except such as are also members of the organization. More than this, the Mayor so elected recognizes the right of certain persons who are the controlling influences in the organization substantially to make the appointments for him, and these persons, in the nature of things, are bound to recommend for appointment those who, in their opinion, have been most useful in promoting the success of the organization.

No sensible man can fail to see, especially no good business man can fail to see, that it is impossible upon such a basis to conduct the city government upon business principles. Party service, reputable or otherwise, becomes the criterion instead of honesty, capacity, efficiency. When the merits of applicants are considered, the question is not which will make the most capable officer, so that the taxpayer will get the best return at the least outlay, but which has been the most active partisan, has contributed the most to the success of the ticket. Under such a system the offices are filled with politicians, who realize that their tenure depends not so much upon faithful and honest work in them as upon continued work for the party. The work of the city which they are paid for doing is neglected for party work which got them their places in the first instance and which they believe will enable them to keep them.

The expenses of a city government administered upon a party basis must necessarily increase out of all proportion to the growth of population. The demand for office is ever becoming greater. Party workers are greatly in excess of the number of offices. They are clamorous for place, and the inevitable tendency is to make places for them. There is no such thing as the abolition of an office. Even when it is patent that offices should be abolished, they are found to be filled with men who have been useful, and the success of the party demands their retention. We had some years ago a striking example of this in our city government.

When the electric light was introduced it was said that the 225 lights would displace 681 gas lamps, and that the services of a large number of lamplighters, whose salaries aggregated about \$6000, could be dispensed with. The next year the city employed just as many lamplighters and paid them as much as the year before. The Superintendent of Lamps said in his report: "It has not been found practical to reduce the number of lamplighters, as there are gas and gasoline lamps scattered in the alleys and small streets between the electric lights and the same extent of territory has to be gone over as if gas or gasoline only was used."

Does any one believe this to be true? The absurdity of it is seen in this, that the same thing would be true if the whole city was lighted by electricity, so that the city would still have to pay \$45,000 per year for lamplighters. The truth was that the lamplighters in the districts in which the electric lights were placed were useful ward-workers whose services the party could not dispense with, and they were retained and paid their salaries as before for lighting a few stray lamps in alleys and small streets.

This is but a single illustration, although a very apt one, of the proposition that it is impossible for a party Mayor, determined to appoint none but partisans to office, to administer the city government upon business principles. Many similar ones might be given.

In the present contest for the Mayoralty there ought to be no hesitation on the part of those who are really desirous to see the office administered upon business principles. Mr. Davidson, the candidate of the Democratic party, while promising, as all his predecessors did, to give the people a business administration, avowed in his speech of acceptance and has reiterated the avowal, that being a Democrat, he

believed the best interests of the people would be subserved by "applying Democratic principles to the administration of the municipal government." This is simply absurd in so far as it assumes that there are any Democratic principles as such thus applicable. What Mr. Davidson meant, however, and what his partisans understood him to mean is patent. He gave notice thereby that the party organization, whose candidate he is, would, under him, as in the past, have the control of appointments, that so far as the "officialty," as Mr. Hodges called it, was concerned, it would be composed exclusively of Democrats. There is no hope of a change for the better in case of the election of Mr. Davidson.

Mr. Shaw is the Republican candidate, but he is also the candidate of a body of independent Democrats who have declared in their platform for an *unpartisan* administration of the city's affairs. He has boldly and frankly placed himself upon that platform. He is a man whose character is such that he can be relied upon to the extent of his ability to fulfil his promises. In his speech of acceptance he said, "I believe the success of a good municipal government is more important than the success of party, and if I am elected Mayor I will endeavor to give the people an *unpartisan administration*." In his speech at the New Assembly Rooms he said, "the coming election will determine whether our city can be ruled by the people in the interest of a *good, economical and unpartisan government*." In the same speech he said that he believed that a municipal government should be made "to subserve the interests of the whole people, and not be merely a part of a faction machine to control this or that party."

If these words mean anything, they mean that Mr. Shaw, if elected, will not make the city government a part of the political machine of the Republican party, as it is now a part of the political machine of the Democratic party. An "unpartisan city government" means one administered truly on business principles, whose officers are chosen for their capacity and fitness, and who will be required to do their work faithfully and efficiently and not give their time to politics. This kind of administration is what the people of this city, groaning under their heavy burden of taxation, sorely need, and in the present contest their only hope is from Mr. Shaw and the municipal ticket of which he is the head.

AN OPEN LETTER TO SENATOR GORMAN.

HON. ARTHUR P. GORMAN.

Sir:—I have read with care the reports of the two speeches recently made by you—one at Ellicott City, and the other at Bohemia Hall, in the Seventh Ward, in this city. You are pretty well known to be, in politics, what is commonly called a "cool hand," but I think that in the speeches referred to you have exceeded yourself.

In the first place, it requires some cheek for you to set yourself up as a Democrat, entitled to instruct Democrats as to their duties in the present campaign. You know that the leading and, to-day, the only practical distinction in principle between the two parties is to be found in their views on the tariff question. You know, too, that upon that vital question you are a Republican, and not a Democrat. You know that you are a tariff man, and not the less discreditably so because your votes are on the side of your personal interest. You know, also, that you are in favor of granting subsidies, against which most vicious form of corrupt protection the Democratic party has set its face. How can you venture, then, to call yourself a Democrat, or ask people to put any confidence in you as such?

But even if you were entitled to speak as a real member of the Democratic party and faithful to its principles, what right would you have in the present campaign in Maryland to bespeak for yourself the confidence of the Democracy? You are perfectly aware that the difficulties under which the Democratic party is now laboring—the reduction of its votes, the diminution of its majorities, the discord which is rending it—have all been brought upon it by the selfishness, mismanagement and corruption of the ring of which you are the leader.

You do not require to be told that there is a revolt in the party, not only among those calling themselves Independents, but among the most stalwart of the Regulars themselves, against you and your fellow-bosses. But for the evils and dangers into which you and they have plunged the party, the Business Men's movement would not only have been unnecessary, but unjustifiable. Your object and interest are, of course, to keep yourself and your comrades in power and place. You want a Legislature which you can manipulate; you want a Senator and Delegates sent from Baltimore whose votes Mr. Rasin and yourself can command. Everything that you have at stake, politically, is involved in this canvass, and you are, therefore, fighting your own battle, not that of the party. Your advice is, and of necessity must be, in your own personal interest. You are, therefore, unfit to counsel the party in the interest of its integrity or its welfare. The only question with you is as to how you can best perpetuate your domination. Having deserted the Democratic party upon the principles on which its life depends, your only remaining solicitude is as to the spoils you can get out of it.

This being undeniably your position, and yet being one from which you are bound to do all you can to divert public attention, it is altogether natural that you should endeavor to do so by raising false issues. Hence, I am not surprised at your dishonest attempt to create the impression that the present Fusion movement is a corrupt scheme of Mr. Cowen's to get possession of the Legislature in the interest of the B. & O. R. R. Company, and to prevent its tax exemptions from being interfered with. If there is a man in Maryland who knows that this is not true, you are that man. I shall not undertake to fight Mr. Cowen's battles, for you have had abundant experience of his ability to take care of himself, and of you, too. Your present speeches are but a rehash of the old falsehoods on the same subject, with which the people have become familiar from your lips and pen for several years past.

You know that until very lately the B. & O. R. R. was one of your strongest allies, and best contributors in votes and money. You know that you never found fault with it or quarreled with its administration until you ceased to be able to control and pluck it for campaign purposes. We know, upon the authority of Mr. Bernard Carter, that when the B. & O. R. R. obtained from the Legislature its last great privilege to build an elevated road through the city, you were the "Generalissimo of the lobby" which carried that measure through. You know that you had yourself made a State director, in order to get control of the road, if you could, and make a political machine out of it, and that you have not hesitated, as a director, to take any step toward that end, even though it might involve the shipwreck of the road and its passage into the hands of a receiver. There are many well-informed persons who believe that you would reduce it to those straits to-day if you could. For you, therefore, at this hour to set yourself up as the champion of the people against the road, and pretend to believe that the question of its exemption is the leading issue in this canvass, is to count more boldly and insolently upon public ignorance than I had supposed even you would venture to do. I had hardly supposed that a man accustomed, as you are, to vote with the Republicans in the Senate against the principles of the Democratic party would pretend to be so shocked by a fusion of Democrats and Republicans, in the interest of decent government, as deliberately to concoct the cock-and-bull story as to the issues of the campaign which is the burden of the two speeches I have alluded to.

Do you suppose that you have fooled anybody by your complimentary allusions at Ellicott City to your colleague, Senator Wilson, and your appeals to the Democracy to send Democratic Delegates and a Senator to Annapolis to re-elect him to the Senate? Everybody knows that the last thing in the world that you desire is the re-election of Senator Wilson. Everybody knows that Governor Jackson is your candidate for that place, and that you want such representatives to be sent to the Legislature as will elect him and unseat Judge Wilson. Have you so far deceived yourself as to believe that people are blind to your purposes or

can be blinded by your hypocritical tribute to Senator Wilson as a "Lawyer and Statesman, Democrat and Patriot"? I wonder that you are not ashamed of yourself.

No, Mr. Gorman, Mr. Wilson is not the issue in this campaign, nor is Mr. Cowen, nor the B. & O. R. R., nor the negro, nor Mr. Davidson; no, not even taxation, serious as that question is. You and yours—your misdoings, your corruptions, your prostitutions of power, your humiliation of the Democratic party, and your conspiracies against its honor—these are the issues which the people have before them, and they understand them perfectly. You cannot toll them away from these issues, or from yourself, or humbug them by setting up any other. I see by the morning papers that Mr. Rasin has ordained, in advance, that your ticket here shall be successful. Perhaps you agree with him, but I doubt whether you can calculate with quite as much certainty between you as you used to do, when the count of votes was furnished to order by your clerks and judges.

But I must leave what further I have to say to you for another communication.

AN INDEPENDENT DEMOCRAT.

THE INDEPENDENT PLATFORM.

OUR platform is simple. We demand: "1. The Pearce registration and election law, with that part of the Australian ballot act which provides for secret voting in a room in order to prevent the bribery of voters.

"2. A civil service reform statute for the city of Baltimore like that of New York, with the provision of the Boston act authorizing laborers, without distinction of party, to register as applicants for city work, thereby protecting the city workmen in the exercise of their right of voting, free from the dictation of city officials, and changing city employment from the gift of a "boss" to the right of the working classes.

"3. A high-license act for the sale of liquors in the city of Baltimore, with the tax so graduated as to produce a revenue of from \$750,000 to \$1,000,000 for the city, and the license obtainable by any responsible applicant, with proper safeguards against arbitrary proscriptions and personal or party favoritism. Every civilized state, and especially those in which the consumption of wine and malt liquors is great and intemperance is comparatively rare, as in France and Germany, imposes such a tax, and in a city like Baltimore we know of no reason why a measure contributing so largely to the increase of the municipal revenue should be opposed by any class of people interested in the reduction of taxes. Any large reduction in the present oppressive tax rate must have as its basis some such revenue measure.

"The regular Democratic city platform maintains a characteristic silence on this pressing and engrossing subject. The Democratic State platform, however, has dealt with it, but with a looseness and emptiness of phrase equally characteristic. While pretending to indicate a policy, it really commits itself to none, leaving ample room on the one hand for non-action, if it should appear 'judicious' to the party or its management, and on the other for placing the issuing of licenses under the arbitrary 'restrictive' control of boards or officials, with all those contingencies of partisanship, proscription and blackmail which the working of the Democratic machine has unhappily made us so familiar with in Maryland.

"4. We demand minority representation on all boards concerned in municipal administration, whether chosen by State or city authorities.

"5. A new assessment law.

"6. We demand of the Mayor of this city not a platform embodied in this statement: 'I am a Democrat, and I believe that the greatest good to a majority of our people can be attained by the application of "Democratic principles" of government in municipal as well as national affairs,' nor a platform such as this: 'I am a Republican, and believe that the city government should be administered on Republican principles.' We do not recognize that the differences between the two parties—Democratic and Republican—relate to any questions of municipal administration. The chief, if not the only, question in dispute between the two parties

relates to the tariff, and we deny that there are any 'Democratic principles' or any 'Republican principles,' as such, applicable to the collection of the city's revenue, the paving and the lighting of its streets, the opening of highways, the construction of bridges or sewers, the cleaning of streets, the policing of the city, and the care of its health and sanitary condition, or any other part of the necessary work of the municipal administration. The management of a city's business is like that of a private corporation, to be conducted not on Democratic or Republican, but on business principles. The attempt to run the city government on 'Democratic principles,' so called, or on the basis of a sonorous but empty phrase, 'I am a Democrat,' has led to a high assessment and a one dollar and ninety cent tax rate. The city tax rate, notwithstanding the ever-growing assessment, has increased and is increasing, and ought to be diminished.

"We cannot accept as a candidate for Mayor any man, however respectable, selected by the men who have brought the city's tax rate to its present height. Still less can we accept a candidate approved by the ring and brought forward by one of those 'business men's associations' that have, during all the years of misrule, extravagance and wastefulness, now culminating in a tax rate of \$1.90, loaned themselves out to the ring as its sponsors, advocates and defenders.

"We must have in the Mayor's office a man who owes nothing to the support of those who are now wasting the city's substance. His fitness for the office must not depend on his loyalty to any political party, but on his recognized ability to carry out the work. In selecting a man coming up to the standard we have set, we cannot be complicated with any requirement as to his political creed. In the belief that the Republican Convention will select from among its prominent men some one filling all these high requirements, we shall make no nomination for Mayor until the Republican Convention has acted.

"For the office of judge we believe that fitness alone should be the test; that party creed should never control; that the only standard should be a knowledge of the law, a good standing as an attorney, and a high character for impartiality and fairness. And, inasmuch as a majority of our present judges are Democrats, we shall refrain from making any nomination for this office also.

"We recognize that the Third Legislative District of Baltimore City is Republican in a fair vote, and that it would be a waste of effort to nominate candidates for the Legislature in that district. We shall, therefore, make no nominations for the Legislature in that district, but give a hearty support to proper candidates nominated in that district by the Republican party."

A NON-PARTISAN JUDICIARY.

BOTH the candidates presented for the suffrages of the people for the position of Chief Justice of the Supreme Bench are gentlemen of excellent abilities, of sound legal learning, and of irreproachable private character, although it cannot be denied that, in point of practical experience at the bar, Mr. Robert H. Smith has greatly the advantage of his opponent, who is not only a much younger man, but one whose practice in the courts, prior to his appointment by Governor Jackson, had been very limited. If this was the only reason, however, that we could urge for the election of Mr. Smith rather than Mr. Harlan, we would refrain from alluding to the subject.

Indeed, under ordinary circumstances, if a judge who had discharged his duties faithfully and well were a candidate for re-election, we would feel bound to advocate it without regard to his party affiliations before he went upon the Bench. We do not conceive, however, that such is the case at present. Judge Harlan was appointed by the Governor to fill a vacancy, and the Governor made it known unmistakably that he would appoint no one who was not a regular Democrat. A partisan Governor, in reference to a place that should by all parties be considered above party politics, announced that he would appoint to it no one whom he did not recognize as a partisan. After having served for a year

under this appointment, Judge Harlan is now a candidate for election, and the case, it seems to us, should be treated as if he were not upon the Bench and the simple question was, ought he or Mr. Smith to be elected. If we are to vote for Mr. Harlan merely because he has been appointed by the Governor, we give up the theory of an *elective* judiciary.

The people of this city in 1882 declared by an overwhelming majority in favor of an unpartisan judiciary. If they desire to maintain their record thus made, they should see to it that the Supreme Bench should, as far as possible, be evenly divided as to the political affiliations of the judges before their elevation. Of the ninety thousand voters of the city, nearly one-half are Republicans, while, leaving out Judge Harlan, of the remaining five judges, three were decided Democrats, one an Independent with Democratic proclivities, and one a Republican. If Mr. Smith, who is a Republican, although never a politician in any sense of the word, should be elected, the six judges who would then compose the Supreme Bench would be divided, according to their prior political affiliations, as follows: three Democrats, two Republicans, and one Independent. In such a division as this lies the surest guaranty of an unpartisan judiciary. Granting, therefore, that both the candidates are, as we have said, lawyers of character, learning and purity of life, the preference should be given to Mr. Smith, because his election would more surely maintain the unpartisan character of our courts, in favor of which the people spoke so emphatically in 1882.

DEFECTS IN OUR CITY GOVERNMENT.

THE need for free, intelligent, and unbiassed discussion of the problems of municipal government, long deeply felt in Baltimore, has been lately met by the Landlords' Association. This useful body has recently furnished opportunities for a number of the most intelligent observers of our affairs to point out the evils we suffer under and to suggest remedies. The last adviser to whom the Landlords gave ear was Mr. M. A. Mullin, whose accurate and interesting review of the finances of Baltimore we would gladly print had we space. Mr. Mullin had conclusively demonstrated on a previous occasion that Baltimore was the most highly taxed city on the Atlantic coast; and in his recent address he pointed out some of the causes for the high cost of our municipal government.

The mere handling of the city's cash Mr. Mullin shows to be a source of great and uncalled-for outlay. Thus, while Baltimore has on average in bank on the last of each month nearly \$400,000, these deposits draw no interest; although from this source the city of Boston received last year \$71,152.90 in interest. At two per cent the interest on the city's cash balances would pay the whole cost of cleaning the City Hall. Moreover, the usual course of city business here seems to be to borrow money at five or six per cent, deposit this in bank where it draws no interest; to borrow it back on notes for current expenses at five per cent, and to leave it on deposit in the bank for use among customers till the cash is actually required by the city. This most vicious custom grows out of the authority given the Mayor, by an ordinance of doubtful constitutionality, to borrow money on city notes to meet any maturing obligation. In the exercise of this extraordinary power, there has been borrowed by various Mayors in the past twelve years the stupendous sum of \$19,256,853.69, the notes being given almost as a matter of daily routine for sums even smaller than \$5,000, and being constantly renewed. In the last ten years the loss to the city from its failure to demand interest for its heavy deposits in the banks, and from the practice of granting discounts for payment of taxes, has amounted to more than \$1,600,000. From this and other pieces of bad management Mr. Mullin makes the calculation that in the past ten years Baltimore's political financiers have lost the city more than \$5,000,000. The fault, he thinks, is not so much with the men who direct the city government as with the system. The patronage of the offices is fought for as spoils:

"Candidates for the higher offices are selected not because of their qualifications for the offices, but because of their popularity, availa-

bility or the 'contributions' to the expenses of the campaign. They are all more or less according to their ability, strength or pliability, influenced by their surroundings. The minor offices are in like manner given to those whose services are of use at the 'primaries' or who have friends whose 'influence' is to be propitiated. A man may be fit or unfit by character, ability or education for the particular office, but the only test for his appointment or nomination is his influence or availability, and no ability or qualification will retain him in office if he loses his 'grip' on the machine.

"Under these circumstances, there are many things beside the wishes or interests of taxpayers which influence legislation and administration. Although taxpayers have common interests to maintain, they divide themselves among the parties according to their sympathies or prejudices, and thus dissipate their influence. But wisdom should indicate their true position. They should form the body of the independent voters, and holding the balance of power keep the 'parties' to their good behavior."

Mr. John K. Cowen, who also spoke before the Association, insisted that the introduction of the merit system is imperatively demanded by the necessity of the situation. Our offices must no longer be scrambled for at every election, nor handed about as bribes. We must hedge the Mayor about by law, in order to give him the opportunity to attend to the business of his office. He cannot, under the spoils system, resist the pressure for place, nor give proper attention to his duties.

To aid in lightening the burden of taxation, Mr. Cowen advocated a system of restriction and high license for the liquor traffic. The 3000 saloons now in Baltimore could be reduced, he thought, in numbers to 1500 by a tax of \$1000 each. This would yield an annual revenue of \$1,500,000, and prodigiously lessen the cost of the jails and the courts.

But to obtain these or any other reforms, we must first recover the right of self-government. To this end, we should direct our efforts primarily to the enactment of the Pearce election law, "written by a Democrat appointed by the regular Democratic State Convention," but contemptuously rejected by the last ring-ridden legislature.

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THE MONTH.

MR. HERBERT WELSH has earned the congratulations of reformers. The appeal made to the clergy of the United States on behalf of the cause of civil service reform, made at his suggestion and circulated by him, proves to have been eminently successful. Clergymen of almost every denomination and in all parts of the country called the attention of the people on Thanksgiving Day to the great sin of our politics—bribery by means of the offices. So widespread a discussion of so patent an evil must do great good.

SOON after the present Postmaster-General was rewarded for his campaign services by the gift of a high office, he was somewhat rudely described by a Western orator as "a pious cuss." We hesitate to adopt this expression, but Mr. Wanamaker's conduct is difficult to describe in the usual language of polite society. Our readers will remember his tergiversations in certain letters relating to removals in the railway mail service, which we published some months ago. His conduct to Senator Hampton, leading that bluff old soldier to suggest that the Postmaster-General should ponder over the story of Ananias, is fresh in the public mind. Want of candor seems to be a constitutional defect with him.

Possibly the most characteristic exhibition of Mr. Wanamaker's petty double-dealing and ignorant malevolence against the merit system has not become generally known. Some weeks ago various gentlemen interested in the cause of reform received letters asking how certain objections to the merit system could be answered. The letters purported to have been written at the request of a member of the Cabinet, and they seemed to conceal a clumsy attempt to entrap their readers into admissions damaging to the reform. Their character will sufficiently appear from the replies of Messrs. Swift and Bonaparte which we quote elsewhere. Their author turns out to be Mr. Wanamaker's private secretary.

IN the President's message we are glad to note a recommendation that Congress provide for the additional clerks asked by the now greatly overworked Civil Service Commission. The President's renewed promise that the civil service law shall be enforced with firmness and impartiality will be more regarded because of the constitution of the Commission than because of the President's record as a keeper of his promises. His suggestion that a record be kept of the efficiency of government employees as a method of testing their fitness for promotion, should be carried into effect.

It is pleasant to be able to commend some parts of Mr. Wanamaker's report. Nothing can be more true than his statement that "the only method by which all of the wants of the people in the mail service can be filled is to apply business principles to the department." His experience of applying spoils principles to the department has, we suppose, convinced him of that; and to that experience also, doubtless, we owe his suggestion that there should be a

permanent official near the head of the department, like the English permanent under-secretaries. Mr. Wanamaker's idea of dividing the country into organized postal districts is a necessary step toward the introduction of the merit system among the smaller postoffices.

Mr. Windom, in his report, gives the following hearty commendation of the reform:

It is my belief that the personnel and efficiency of the service have been in no way lowered by the present method of appointments to clerical positions in the department. The beneficial influences of the civil service law in its practical workings are clearly apparent. Having been at the head of the department both before and after its adoption, I am able to judge by comparison of the two systems, and have no hesitation in pronouncing the present condition of affairs as preferable in all respects.

FOREIGN travellers in the United States sometimes wonder why it is an expression of almost contempt among our people to call a man a politician. They begin to understand it when they see accounts of such every-day episodes in our politics as that in Mr. Wanamaker's office when the Republican politicians of Baltimore descended upon that pious man like the obscene birds we read of in our school-days. Hungry as crows in winter, they flocked to Washington, cawing in chorus that the Postoffice of Baltimore has been earned by Mr. This; croaking dismally at the thought that it might be given to Mr. That. No matter what a postmaster's experience, the American politician can't bear to see a Democrat distribute letters under a Republican administration. Therefore Mr. Wanamaker must choose a successor to Mr. Brown. And he must select him not from among Mr. Brown's experienced subordinates, who have perhaps learned how to run the office; nor from among the postmasters at smaller places who have proved faithful in a few things and have earned promotion; not at all. Mr. Wanamaker must receive "delegations," and listen to Major Smith "norate" upon "the political condition of the Fourth District," and the "admirable work" and "skilful political management" of somebody or other from the Fourth District, to which, "in the division of the spoils of victory, it was generally conceded that the honor of naming the postmaster at Baltimore" belonged. Could anything be more absurd? Suppose the head of the Western Union Telegraph Company, Dr. Norvin Green, had to listen day after day to such stuff, what would become of the business of that great corporation? And suppose, if it be thinkable, that Dr. Green had to appoint his subordinates as such "pressure" as this might impel him, and as poor Wanamaker must, in fact, make his appointments! How long will our people tolerate a system of managing their public affairs which, if any one introduced into his private business, would be good cause for sending him to a mad-house?

ONE of the great reforms advocated by the Independents in the late election was a high license law. In spite of the defeat of the candidates for the Legislature pledged to advocate such a measure, the agitation of the subject has done good and will probably result in some enactments making

the cost of a license to sell liquor much higher than it now is. Before the opening of the campaign a mass-meeting was held to urge this reform alone; and since the election the great meeting of Catholics has been held. This gathering was notable for enthusiasm, and contained many persons of high character and deserved influence in the community. Its efforts are therefore particularly hopeful; but we regret to see a phrase in the resolutions adopted which looks towards a very dangerous experiment. The words referred to are the following: "The license to sell at all should be issued to none but persons of tried character, who can be depended upon to use their privilege in the interests of sobriety and public order." These words seem to hint at the formation of a board to whom the question of fitness to receive a license is to be submitted. Such a power has been found open to gross abuse wherever tried in this country, and if introduced in Baltimore would be made by the politicians an instrument of gross corruption and oppression. In Mr. Sonny Mahon's ward, for example, which contains an immense number of saloons, nobody would be allowed to sell liquor until his character had been tried by the size of his contribution to Sonny's campaign fund. Even in Boston, where a much higher standard of political morality obtains than here, such powers have been found to cause too great a strain upon the integrity of public officials. No such feature should be put into the proposed law. Let the character of the applicant be determined by his record. Convictions for crime should be sufficient cause to prevent the granting of a license, and revocation of the license granted should be the penalty for violating the law. But no arbitrary discretion can be safely entrusted to any board likely to be created in the present condition of our politics.

No matter how carefully an election law may be drawn, a fair expression of the people's will cannot be had in Baltimore without annual registration. Now that various organizations are engaged in preparing drafts of election laws to present to the Legislature, it is worth while to briefly repeat the reasons for this statement.

The number of names stricken off or transferred this year was about 22,500. But in many precincts this work was done very imperfectly, and it is safe to say that the number of persons who should have been transferred or stricken off was 30,000. The total number of voters is about 90,000. Therefore, if we are not to have annual registration, we must devise machinery so perfect as to remove from the books 30,000 disqualified persons without removing any of the 60,000 qualified voters.

Can any one suggest any machinery by which this is possible, or by which even an approximation to such a result can be accomplished? It cannot be done unless so large a proportion of the voters are summoned before the registrars to testify to their own whereabouts or those of their neighbors that the process will become an enormously costly and cumbersome method of *annual* registration. Moreover, if the registration lists are to be revised, both political parties will be compelled to keep up an elaborate organization for investigating the changes of residence made by the voters of the other side, for getting evidence against them, and for hunting up their own voters who have removed, and seeing that they get their transfers. Work of this sort requires more time, more labor, more intelligence, and consequently entails more expense than going about the precincts on registration days urging voters to come out and register. It

therefore increases the very evil the proposed Australian ballot act is intended to prevent—the use of money about elections.

Revision such as the present law supposes is in the nature of things impossible. The revision which is made always results in striking off a great many voters of the party not in control of the election machinery, and very few of the controlling party. Revision is in no respect more advantageous than annual registration. On the contrary, it is more costly and more troublesome; and as was shown at the registration of 1888, when the vote was thirteen thousand larger than ever before, a new registration is not unfavorable to bringing out the full strength of both parties.

MR. GORMAN AS A FIDUCIARY.

WHILE it is neither good sense nor good feeling, to keep alive the criminations and recriminations—much less the animosities—of a political canvass that is over, there are, now and then, some things too serious and too bad, to be permitted to die out of memory with the transient excitements of such a contest. There are ways of conducting a campaign which involve a breach of public morals and a violation of political integrity and decency, that can never be condoned without inflicting a blow upon society itself. A better illustration of what we mean could not easily be found, than was furnished by the recent canvass in this city.

We have heretofore made our comments, more than once, upon the deliberate fraud involved in the false pretence of the Ring, its aiders and abettors, that the real and great issue of the contest was the "equalization" (as Mr. Gorman called it) of corporations with other taxpayers, by repealing the exemptions which some of them enjoyed, under statutory contracts. Preposterous and shameless as this pretence was, in itself, it was reduced to an absurdity from which there was no escape, by the discovery which was made, in the later stages of the canvass (as it might just as easily have been made before), and mainly through the inquiries of the *Sun*, that all the fusionist candidates for the Legislature were openly in favor of the very repeal which they were charged with conspiring to prevent, and that Mr. Cowen, himself, the much maligned counsel of the B. & O. R. R. Company whose exemptions were the chief point of assault, was quite ready to advise that corporation freely to surrender them. It was unfortunate enough for the body of reputable gentlemen known as "The Business Men's Democratic Association," to be tricked by the Ring into apparently endorsing such a falsification of the real issues of the canvass, and into allowing a campaign, on such a plane, to be conducted under their "auspices." But that they should have permitted Mr. Gorman—of all men—openly to conduct and lead that campaign, on the hustings, in their name and under the circumstances known to surround him, and with his relations to the B. & O. Company, is something of which we have heard no one venture to suggest even a plausible explanatory justification.

Let us see who Mr. Gorman was, and what campaign work he was engaged in. He was a Director, on the part of the State, in the B. & O. R. R. He virtually appointed himself, for it goes without saying that the Governor and the rest of the Board of Public Works, who gave him the nomination, were simply the creatures of his hand. In the very act of becoming a Director, he became a fiduciary—a trustee, not only for the State of Maryland, which he spe-

cially represented, but for the city and the individual stockholders as well. His obligations as such were sacred in law and morals, as those of all fiduciaries are. The Company, when he went into its direction, was under great pressure and in great straits. It was painfully doing its utmost to relieve itself. Enormous interests, public and private, were trembling in the balance of its success or failure. If ever the duty of honest and loyal sympathy and vigorous and unfaltering devotion devolved upon any corporate servant, it devolved on Mr. Gorman, in that hour of peril and struggle. It was his business to strengthen the hands of the Company, to uphold and fortify its credit, and give generous support to those who were wrestling with its embarrassments, and were already borne down by them, almost to the ground. No matter from whom or what those embarrassments had sprung, the paramount duty of the hour was to secure the Company from their consequences, by every manly and becoming sacrifice and effort. It was Mr. Gorman's bounden obligation to help and not to hinder; to concentrate and bind all interests together, and not to distract or divide, or sow the seeds of discord, distrust, or dissension. He was an unjust steward and criminally recreant to his trust, if he did otherwise. Such being his plain duty, how did he perform it?

We speak within the bounds of rigorous exactness, when we say, that from the moment when Mr. Gorman had himself appointed a State Director in the B. & O. R. R. down to the present hour, he has never publicly spoken a word or done an act in relation to it, except to disparage it and drag it down, and endeavor to impair its credit by statement or insinuation. Having gone into its direction at his own call only, and entirely to serve his own ends, political and personal, he has availed himself of every opportunity to promote them, at the risk and cost of the great interests, public and private, entrusted to his official protection. He endeavored to excite popular prejudice and clamor against the road, under color of a purely hypocritical and demagogical sympathy with "labor," in connection with the changes which his colleagues deemed essential at Mount Clare. He sought to visit upon the company all the discredit that he could, by reason of its alleged previous mismanagement and mistakes, the consequences of which it was his obvious duty to strive, with all his might, to avert, and every friend of the road and every director, faithful to his trust, was straining every nerve to minimize. So conspicuously hostile to the road were all his actings and doings in regard to it, that public opinion was divided as to whether he was engaged in a "bear" speculation in the stock, or in an effort to destroy the credit and resources of the corporation and throw it into the hands of a receiver. Foiled in his purposes and finding it hopeless for him to secure the presidency of the road or get control of it as a political machine, or for any other mere end of his own, he sought to make it the scapegoat of the recent canvass, by what we feel justified in characterizing as the most unworthy violation of a public trust by which the history of recent politics has been dishonored. Himself, as we have said, a trustee, and bound as such, by every fiduciary and honorary obligation, to protect and defend the interests confided to him, and, above all things, neither to assail, impair, nor destroy them, he acted in a spirit of the bitterest antagonism to those interests, and made a gross and gratuitous assault upon the company of which he was a trusted official, the very scheme and centre of his whole personal campaign. Although, besides being of late a director,

he had previously been the agent and a leading lobbyist of the road (if Mr. Bernard Carter speaks truly, as we are very sure he does); although he was, himself, a party to and the main agent of the company in procuring the very legislation, upon which the present contractual relations between the State and the company are based; although, too, for many years, the road, in one way or another, had been a large factor in his political management and success; neither his fiduciary obligations, nor his past and close relation to the road and the legislation which applies to it, prevented him from taking the audacious stand before the people, that the tax exemptions of corporations, and especially those of the B. & O. R. R., were the chief issue in the canvass, and that the participation of Mr. Cowen in it was exclusively as a "corporation attorney" and for the purpose of preventing his company from being deprived of its "odious privileges" and "monopoly," and forced to contribute its honest share of the public burdens! We have already stated how ignominiously this wretched fabrication fell, at last, to the ground, of its own weight. If it could be conceived that Mr. Gorman did not know it to be false, it might be possible to treat it as merely one of the ordinary campaign "planks" which demagogues of his class regard as justifiable, without reference to their truth or falsehood. But, as an individual thoroughly acquainted with the facts, and emphatically so, from his position as a director of the B. & O. R. R. Company, Mr. Gorman well knew, and could not help knowing that his whole contention, issue and all, was absolutely false. That very position gave a countenance to his statements which they otherwise would not have had, with many well-meaning and upright citizens, who could not realize that a director of a corporation would systematically and publicly slander and stab it. He plainly, therefore, was not merely faithless to his trust, but he deliberately and wilfully abused the opportunities for imposition on the public which his fiduciary position afforded him. This is his record.

We think we shall have the assent of all right-minded men to the proposition, that this breach of his trust is one of the things which public and private morals forbid, sternly, to be laid aside or forgotten with the common rubbish of the campaign.

We cannot but regret that history must associate with it "the auspices of the Business Men's Democratic Association."

THE PROSPECT AHEAD.

WHATEVER else may have been learned from the recent canvass and election, there is one thing, at all events, made certain, and that is the waning influence and power of the Bosses. It has been demonstrated, we think, to the satisfaction of the most skeptical, that but for the interposition of the Business Men's movement, no ticket with the nomination of which the Ring had anything, directly or indirectly, to do, to the public knowledge, could by possibility have stood up before the people. This fact has been stated by the *Sun*, in one of its recent leaders, in language so broad and yet so true as to justify us in adopting it as our own. "If," says the *Sun* of November 20, "*the Democratic candidates had been put forth as the representatives of the Bosses, they would have been beaten as no candidates in this city had ever been beaten before . . . Had any of these candidates even hinted at any such connection, they*

would have been swept to political destruction by a whirlwind of popular indignation." As we have heretofore shown, on more than one occasion, this state of public feeling and opinion had been so manifest and so decided, ever since the Presidential election and the collapse of Mr. Morris Thomas, that no intelligent person, at all familiar with political affairs, could fail to understand it, and least of all the astute and deeply interested "professionals" who play the game of the Machine. When, therefore, in April last, Mr. Stevenson Archer, Mr. Gorman's chairman of the Democratic Central Committee, announced, prophetically, to the reporters, that the approaching campaign would be signalized by a more than usual "coming of the business men to the front," he not only betrayed his knowledge of the public indignation against the Ring, but disclosed his sense of the necessity of averting it, by interposing some respectable blind between the Bosses and the people. He was like a professional policy dealer, in advance of a meeting of the Grand Jury, announcing, on behalf of himself and his friends in the trade, that their season's business would take the shape of a raffle at a church fair. He demonstrated, at the same time, that he and his colleagues had already made up their minds as to the precise style of campaign which would best serve them, in impressing the idea on the innocent public, that they had retired altogether from the fight, when they were only hiding in the bushes. How they managed to carry out their programme we do not care to consider anew. It is sufficient to say that they did carry it out and with great cleverness and considerable success. The little "negotiations" between Mr. Rasin and Mr. Turner, which Mr. Warfield accidentally discovered and made public in their early stage, became as fruitful, before the canvass was over, as the mustard seed of the Scriptures. The Bosses who only got, by stealth and through the back door, into the "conferences" at the beginning, found themselves conspicuously leading the campaign towards its close, on the public hustings, in the person of the boss of bosses, Mr. Gorman, "under the auspices of the Business Men's Democratic Association." How many of the business men appreciated and assented to all this—how many of them were duped and how many helped to mislead the rest—how many allowed their names to be taken in vain, as the best citizens too constantly do, without proper reflection and without ever thinking of the matter afterwards—all these are questions which we are not disposed to moot at this time. It cannot be denied, however, that too many upright men, honestly desiring a reform of abuses, were connected, actively or passively, with the Business Men's movement, to leave room for doubt, that the purposes of a large number of its members were sincerely in the right direction, and deserved a better illustration and fulfilment than the canvass which was conducted professedly on their behalf.

It must be said, also, in candor, of the Business Men's Association, that while it fell painfully short of fulfilling some of its engagements, and demonstrated, by its vacillation, that it sadly lacked the courage of its convictions, it certainly made one step forward towards better things, when it secured the nomination of Mr. Davidson for the Mayoralty. Whether that nomination, at its best, was worth purchasing, as it notoriously was purchased, by surrendering the Legislative and City Council nominations—especially the former—to the Ring, is quite another question. Whether in complicating Mr. Davidson's nomination, indeed, in any way, with the nominations of the Bosses, and allowing the latter to join them in being his sponsors—as they themselves, at the same

time, became the sponsors of the Boss ticket—the Association did not, in the very act and in advance, handicap and hamper Mr. Davidson, and render tenfold more difficult, if not to a great extent impossible, the execution of his plans and the fulfilment of his pledges, is another and at this moment a crucial question, which the City Council has already begun to solve in the usual disgusting way. But still, let the result be as it may, the substitution of Mr. Davidson for Mr. Latrobe was unequivocally a movement on behalf of clean and decent administration, and, as the new Mayor is a man of integrity and has renewed, with solemnity, in entering on his office, the pledges which he made to secure it, he is entitled to the hearty support and confidence of all good citizens in every honest effort to fulfil his engagements. If the "Democratic principles," or the "business principles" of the City Councilmen nominated and elected with him, on the same ticket, should turn out to be different from his, and hostile to his, as it is already plain that they will actively be, if tolerated, Mr. Davidson has the right to expect that public opinion will back him, with all its most aggressive strength, in any contest which the Bosses, through their reckless tools, may force upon him. That they will ever willingly loosen their grip upon municipal plunder, or consent, without a death-struggle, to the disbanding of the grand army of worthless and corrupt stipendiaries, who so long have made their headquarters at the City Hall, is absolutely out of the question. The "officiary"—as Mr. Hodges would style it—already appointed by the majority of the City Council, in the very act of the organization of both Branches, is a sample of what these bodies themselves are, and of what is to be expected from them hereafter. It is much more, indeed, than that, for it is an insolent and ostentatious demonstration, by the Bosses, that they are, thus far, as defiant as ever of decent public opinion, and have no hesitation in treating with open contempt the campaign pledges of their nominees. The farce of an "investigation" by the two Branches into the character of two out of their conspicuously bad lot of appointees—men whose record was as absolutely well known to them, at the time of their appointment, as proof from Holy Writ could make it now—has already had its natural result in the case of Mr. Flannery. That well-known and, as it appears, much misrepresented gentleman turns out to be so exemplary a person, that evil-doers, under arrest at the station-houses, have, for years, been in the habit of assuming his name to impose on the police, just as Tom Sheridan is recorded as having said that he was Mr. Wilberforce, when picked up, drunk, in the gutter. Singularly, too, as in almost every case of the sort, where the police have been witnesses, their evidence has been the chief vindication of the "perfect gentleman."

The audacity with which the Bosses have taken possession of Mr. Davidson's pledged and elected co-laborers in the reform of our municipal administration, demonstrates that neither plighted faith nor fear of public opinion will prevent them from taking that gentleman by the throat, if they dare, or, at all events, from being a snare unto his feet, in every step of his efforts to clean out the municipal stable. His personal integrity may be accepted as a guaranty that they cannot corrupt him. The force of will which is ascribed to him, and which we hope he possesses, may prevent them from venturing too aggressively and openly to thwart him. But that they will let him have his way, if it be the right way, and they can prevent it by any form or device of cheating or obstruction, it would be childish to expect.

They cannot afford it. They cannot abandon their livelihood and that of their retainers and go out of business. If they cannot get places for their henchmen and bummers, by begging or intriguing in the usual way, they will try the plan of the mendicant in *Gil Blas*, and beg with a blunderbuss. Resist as Mr. Davidson may, he is absolutely certain to be confronted or entangled by force or fraud, and to be beaten by them unless he can beat them. That he cannot rely upon the Business Men's Association, alone, to back him effectively, is already demonstrated. When that organization, after deliberately adopting and publishing a resolution for the appointment of a committee "to inquire into the justice of the complaint," or report, that "one or more of the appointments recently made by the City Council were open to serious objection," straightway proceeded distinctly to ignore that resolution, abandon their proposed enquiry and delegate it to the very councilmen whose misconduct (if there was any) had alone rendered an investigation necessary—the performance painfully impaired, to say the least of it, the confidence of the public in both the constancy of the Association and its willingness to quarrel with the Bosses under any circumstances. Nor can any one, after such an exhibition, entertain any well-founded hope that the campaign pledges of the members elect of the Legislature, made by them and by the Association for them, will be redeemed, if it is to depend upon the steadfastness and courage with which the last-named organization shall insist on their redemption. The members elect are all Boss men, every one of them—all nominated by the Bosses, without any real participation of the Business Men's Association in their selection, and "cordially endorsed," by the latter, like a quack medicine, in exchange for the Ring's pretended adhesion to Mr. Davidson. How far, therefore, they would respect the urgency and the appeals of a committee of the Business Men, against the pressure of the Ring, even if that committee were resolute and unyielding in such urgency, is matter of most serious uncertainty. But that they will yield to any good influence, merely because it is good and because respectable gentlemen urge and persuade them to be governed by it, and tell them that they pledged themselves to do so by the very act of accepting their nominations, is a suggestion which would streak the countenance of Mr. Colton with its tenderest traits of pity, and kindle the brightest of Mr. Poe's sincere and sympathetic smiles. The only guaranty that the promised legislation will be given us, so far as our senator and delegates are concerned, will be found in the unequivocal determination of our people to have it and not be fooled. That determination, manifested through the press and through every other channel of public opinion and feeling, and manifested, too, so vigorously as to render it unsafe, politically, for any man to refuse obedience, will alone secure us against the control of the Ring over our representatives. Happily, there is every assurance, from the composition of the Democratic majority in both Houses, that even the defection of the Baltimore contingent would not put in serious peril the enactment of the all-important laws, without the promise of which it is conceded, upon all hands, that the Democratic ticket here would have met overwhelming defeat.

We have alluded to the appointment of a committee of twenty-five, by the Business Men's Association, to look after the Legislature and the City Council, or, as officially and politely announced, "for the purpose of assisting in formu-

lating and procuring the passage of such legislation as may be necessary and proper to carry into effect the several reform measures laid down in the platforms of the State and City Democratic Conventions in reference to election, tax and revenue measures." That such a committee can be of large and valuable service in the premises, if its members can and will afford the time, labor and absence from home and business which a thorough performance of its duties will involve, there can be no manner of doubt. Under the circumstances, indeed, and especially after what has occurred in the City Council, we think its creation was not only called for by the vital public interests involved, but was due to the Association itself, in view of its grave responsibility, as sponsor for the people whom it aided in sending to Annapolis. We sincerely wish it success. The necessity for its appointment, however, is a sorry comment upon the plan of nomination and campaign which the Association—starting from false premises—found itself forced to adopt. While it is true that the resolutions creating the committee in question are accompanied by the amiable declaration that "the Association has full confidence that the pledges of the gentlemen elected to the Mayoralty and to the General Assembly, involved in their acceptance of their nominations, will be honorably kept, etc.," nobody requires to be told that the committee would have been altogether uncalled for, if the confidence professed had been well founded or shared, at all, by the public. If, instead of endeavoring, for the sake of a false and delusive "harmony," to make friends of the Mammon of Unrighteousness, the Business Men's Association had realized, at the start, that to cut their party loose from the Ring was the only true method of restoring its vitality and re-establishing its cohesiveness, they would have been masters of the situation from the beginning, and would have no need, now, of going to work to keep their own keepers. Nominating such a ticket as they might have nominated and elected, for the Legislature, on the firm and fixed basis of war against the Bosses and all their works, they might safely have left to the senator and delegates from Baltimore the keeping of their own consciences and their plighted faith. All the difficulties and dangers which now beset them, and which, for their own sakes, they must meet and overcome as best they may, are simply the result of their own self-delusion, in compromising with the enemies of honest government and not realizing that such a compromise was a surrender of their own prestige and their control over the situation. Since the days before *Æsop*, when the wolves persuaded the sheep to dismiss their watch-dogs and accept a wolf body-guard in its stead, there has been nothing like the bringing of the Bosses into consultation as to the candidates who could best be selected to get rid of them.

But—salutary as the intervention of Judge Fisher and his committee ought to be, and we sincerely trust will be, in securing the legislation to which both sides were pledged—it cannot be denied that it is but a merely temporary expedient, entirely justifiable under existing circumstances, but wholly inadmissible as part of a permanent scheme or system. If legislators are to be chosen who cannot be trusted, and we are to rely on committees of citizens to make them walk straight, it is plain that the next step must be to have the committees, as well as the legislators, nominated at the primaries. If we are to depend hereafter on outside pressure—no matter how disinterested, honest and able—instead of the personal intelligence and trustworthiness of the candidates chosen in the constitutional way, it is clear

that the latter is a failure. Moreover, the thing would be as impracticable as it would be anomalous, for, with all due respect to the patriotism and public spirit of the business community, a man must have but little experience of public affairs, who supposes that any system of party or political management can be long effective, which requires that any class of citizens whatever shall habitually forsake their business and sacrifice their personal interests, for weeks at a time, in carrying on or directing every political campaign, and then go to Annapolis, at their own cost and charges, to see that the legislative obligations assumed are duly and honestly complied with. It is the conspicuous and indisputable vice and failure of the whole Business Men's movement, that it neither made, nor even attempted, any radical or permanent change in our political management and methods, but left the whole work of rehabilitating the party to be begun anew, under the painful disadvantage of a glorious opportunity thrown away.

We have left ourselves only space to advert to another measure, which meets every one's approval, but to which the Business Men's Association appears to attach a somewhat exaggerated importance. We refer to the creation of a commission to investigate the affairs and departments of our municipal government. A commission of the sort has been already constituted by the Councils, and Mr. Davidson has named as its members five gentlemen of undoubted fitness and unexceptionable character, who may be relied on, we think, to do their duty, in good faith, to the best of their ability. Unless we are greatly mistaken, however, the amount of work to be done, if done thoroughly, will turn out to be far in excess of what can reasonably be required from a single committee, unless they have *carte blanche* as to the time of their report. They will find themselves entangled in a network of complications and contrivances, which have been growing more and more intricate during many years of Boss misrule and maladministration. They will find that their inquiries will have to extend to the minutest and most varied details, in order to amount to anything. Our treasury is not large or full enough to permit blood to be freely drawn from the heart or the main arteries, and they will probably find these reasonably sound. The depletion is mainly from the smaller blood-vessels, the multitude of which makes up for their want of magnitude, while it renders the incisions too minute to be easily detected. The things most to be looked after will be those of which there is no formal record and which gentlemen, unaccustomed to the ways of the "business men" who are students or graduates of Mr. Buckheimer's University, will require a suitable pathfinder to discover, though an expert in that line would scent them underground, in a moment, as a hog does a truffle. We shall be agreeably surprised, therefore, if a single committee, with its best energies and efforts, does not find itself unequal to an exhaustive performance of the duties assigned to it. But any honest examination, though it be but partial, *provided it be thorough as far as it goes*, will be a great gain to the community and gratefully welcomed.

Our own difficulty and chief concern arise, not so much from the possible incompleteness of the report which may be made, as from the probability that the best and most complete that can be furnished will be turned to no good account. It is one thing to order an investigation and make it, and another to utilize its results. It costs nothing for the gentlemen investigated to invite inquiry, provided that the discoveries made are not to interfere with the *status*

quo. In 1879, a commission consisting of Judge Geo. Wm. Brown, Major R. M. Venable, and Messrs. Frederick Raine, E. G. Hipsley and John T. Morris was created by the City Council to investigate and report upon our city school system. Those gentlemen—and few more competent could have been selected—presented a report, prepared with the most enlightened intelligence and care—recommending the reorganization of the school board, with a reduction of the number of commissioners to nine, which involved the abolition of the system of ward representation. This, of course, interfered with the privileges and patronage of city councilmen, and accordingly the old system still flourishes like a green bay tree and the report of the commissioners has never been heard of since. In 1886, the Legislature created a Tax Commission to "inquire into and ascertain facts concerning the subject of taxation, and to make a report to the next General Assembly." The commissioners named were Professor Richard T. Ely and Messrs. John P. Poe and James Alfred Pearce, with the present Judge Jas. McSherry. They examined the entire subject, with uncommon ability and research, as might have been expected, and reported in January, 1888, at much length, with ample suggestion and preparation of wise and suitable remedial and original legislation. Their report fell stillborn; and there it is, neglected and forgotten. After this, we cannot conscientiously say that we look for much practical reform from the work of Mr. Davidson's commission, when it reaches the hands of the Briscoe-Flannery statesmen, who will ultimately have to utilize it, if it is to be useful at all.

We began by saying that one great and most satisfactory lesson of our recent political struggle has been the demonstration that the power of the Ring has waned and is waning, though it has still the recklessness of desperation. But for the Business Men, it would be dead to-day. Living, as it does, only through that connection, one of two things is clear. If the senator and delegates from Baltimore shall be forced to keep the pledges made for them, a reformed system of registration with honest and thorough election laws, will enable the people to dispose of the Ring and its crew, once and forever, in the regular way. If these pledges are broken, the Bosses will be swept away, by a torrent of public indignation and resentment which will override all barriers and drown out all resistance.

THE REPUBLICANS ON TRIAL.

POWER was entrusted to the Republican party last March on the faith of specific and unequivocal pledges regarding its exercise. Mr. Harrison was placed in a position to remove Federal officers after saying, in his letter of acceptance, "Only the interest of the public service should suggest removals from office"; Republicans gained control of the National Administration after they had proclaimed that "the spirit and purpose of the reform" (*i. e.* civil service reform) "should be observed in all executive appointments." The party has now exercised the power it thus acquired for nine months, and the time has come when the question "How has it kept these promises?" may be reasonably asked and intelligibly answered. It simply has not kept them at all. Many removals from office have been made which "the interest of the public service" not only did not "suggest," but, if in any way consulted, would have emphatically forbidden; not "the spirit and purpose of the reform," but the "spirit and purpose" of Platt, Mahone, Quay, and their congeners have been "observed" in a large number of "executive appointments." Some good, a few very good, appointments have no doubt been made; a great many

Democratic officeholders, good, bad, and indifferent alike, have been left undisturbed for the time being; but a successful party has probably never before ignored so completely such distinct and authoritative professions made before the election.

In saying this, we fully recognize that a large element in, indeed the great bulk of, the Republican party, as contradistinguished from the Republican politicians in the Northern States, at least, are unquestionably, and, we believe, for the most part heartily in favor of honest government and pure politics and of civil service reform as a means, indeed as the only means, to attain these ends. So far as we are able to judge, the statement of the Philadelphia *Bulletin*: "Four-fifths of the Republican journals of character and influence in the United States are honestly in favor of a reform of the civil service on the general line of principle advocated by Mr. Curtis and his associates," is substantially true. To take the "Federation of Republican Clubs" in our Third District as an exponent of Republican sentiment or sporadic utterances of obscure country newspapers as the voice of the party is even less fair to the latter than it would be to gauge Democratic opinion by views of the Calumet Club or the Towson *Journal*. As the Democratic party is not, even here, altogether made up of street-sweepers and garbage-cart drivers, the Republican party means something more than a handful of would-be letter-carriers and night watchmen at the Custom House, or a few needy place-hunters, editing in out-of-the-way places little papers of which no one ever heard before their foolish talk was so widely quoted.

But while all this is true, it is equally true that political parties, like all other corporations, can act and speak only through the agents to whom they commit authority, and that, for all purposes of judgment or criticism, the words and acts of these agents are the words and acts of their party.

We believe that Republicans generally disapprove of President Harrison's quartering his relatives on the public service, just as they disapproved when President Grant did the same thing on a larger scale, but in each case it was and is the act of the Republican party notwithstanding. We believe that Republicans generally are ashamed to see the National Administration in alliance with such a political adventurer as Mahone and the Federal patronage in Virginia placed openly at his disposal, but they cannot help sharing the disgrace, however keenly they may feel it. We believe that all sensible and well-thinking Republicans were disgusted by the antics of Tanner and the rabid vaporings of Foraker, but for Tanner and Foraker the party must stand sponsor all the same. Every patriotic and self-respecting Republican must have blushed when the man he had helped to make President sacrificed such men as Pearson and Burt to such a man as Platt, but he and those who voted as he voted had seated that man in the chair of Washington and his doings were their doings, whatever they thought of them or of him. The action of this Administration is the action of the Republican party; in so far as that action has been wise, honorable and just the Republican party is entitled to receive and does receive the credit; in so far as that action has been blind, cowardly and oppressive the Republican party ought not to escape and the recent elections show that it has not escaped the blame.

Nor is this all that these elections show. They prove clearly to any one willing to see their meaning that the people want real administrative reform, not a show of it, or talk about it, but the thing itself, and that nothing will do in its place. It seems strange that politicians are so blind to this patent fact; they perpetually try to get up some sort of side-show to draw off attention from their abuse of patronage; failure after failure does not convince them that this trifling with the people is futile. And, as to this, they are all alike. Mr. Cleveland undoubtedly thought those who had voted for him once because they believed he would appoint only good men to office would vote for him again because he advocated some approach to Free Trade: Mr. Harrison seems to have thought that if he revived carpet-baggism in Virginia and war prejudices in Ohio, abandoned the surplus to Tanner for the Grand Army, and the post-

masters to Clarkson for the Congressmen, and abdicated his constitutional powers in favor of Quay and Platt, the people would take this in lieu of his honestly keeping his word. It was said lately, but apparently without justice, that he intended to champion unlimited coinage of silver to vamp anew his battered popularity: the experience of his immediate predecessor is so encouraging for a President who meddles with the business of Congress as an excuse for neglecting his own! He was not guilty of this folly, but when we reflect on the fruits of Gen. Harrison's political strategy we are forcibly reminded of Hume's comments on the turbulent nobility of Mediæval Europe, who would do no useful work and gave up all their time to soldiering and yet made a paltry figure as soldiers after all; he has not been content to faithfully discharge the duties of his great office, but would play the politician and "break the Solid South" and "conciliate the Soldier Vote" and "promote harmony among party leaders" by "a judicious distribution" of offices, and, as a result of all this, he has "harmonized" and "conciliated" nobody, made the South more "solid" than ever, and "broken" nothing but the hold he had on the people's respect and confidence.

Will the Republican majority in Congress be wiser than he has been? This is a serious question, and we cannot profess entire confidence regarding the answer that time will give, although the prospect is certainly more encouraging now than it was before the elections. These have acted as a douche on disorderly cerebral action among the less responsible Congressmen, and we have not heard nearly so much talk about repealing the Civil Service Law or cutting off appropriations from the Commission as we did in the early autumn. Those who were bawling lustily "Go it, Clarkson!" a few weeks ago have, perhaps, begun to ask themselves just whither Clarkson and his company are "going it"; and, if he has managed to lose his own State in nine months, what will be the result attained after three years more of the same brilliant progress? These are wholesome reflections, and their salutary effect is already perceptible; nevertheless, it is the part of prudence for friends of good government to neglect no reasonable safeguards against hostile legislation. When politicians are herded together at Washington, they sometimes mistake the universal sympathy with crookedness among themselves for public opinion, and they may yet half persuade themselves that "the people are tired of the reform" because *they* are so heartily tired of it. The remedy for this is a clear and outspoken expression of reform sentiment in all parts of the country. That equally acute and profound observer, Mr. Bryce, was greatly and very justly impressed by the extreme timidity of the average American politician: in fact, a field-mouse is a lion in comparison when he thinks his career of political preferment endangered. This valuable trait of his character (which, indeed, goes far to neutralize his capacity for mischief) is abnormally developed by a drubbing of exceptional thoroughness, and we may reasonably expect to find it prominently exhibited by the Republicans this winter. The Civil Service Law was passed in breathless haste by Congressmen who less than a year before could find no words to express their contempt for the reform and those who advocated it: Jay Hubbell's colleagues had a conversion as sudden as St. Paul's when they were once satisfied that the people were in earnest in asking for civil service reform. To protect and extend the measure of good government which was then wrung from the fears of our ruling "kakocracy," we need only satisfy their successors in misrule that these fears were not ill-founded, and, to quote an authority they ought to respect, the *Civil Service Reformer* "will not be a dead-head in this enterprise."

THE ELECTIONS OF 1889.

THE result of the elections of 1889 has been a rude shock to the confidence of those Republicans who, after their victory of 1888, felt that they were sure of another long period of national supremacy. That result makes it clear that the political pendulum, which for the last sixteen years has vibrated between the two great parties, is now rapidly

swinging backward from the Republican to the Democratic side of its arc. It is no less a vivid illustration of the fundamental difference between our political system and that of Great Britain than a striking demonstration of the almost perfect equality in strength which has been maintained by the two leading parties during the last sixteen years, that during that period there have been but four years during which the President and both Houses of Congress were in political accord. From 1875 to 1879, and again from 1883 to 1885, we had a Republican President and Senate and a Democratic House. From 1879 to 1881 both House and Senate were Democratic while the President was a Republican, while from 1885 to 1889 there was a Republican Senate and a Democratic President and House of Representatives. It was only from 1881 to 1883 and from 1889 to 1891, when both Houses of Congress and the President were Republican, that Legislature and Executive were at one. It has often seemed that one or the other of the parties was on the verge of a definite and final triumph over its old adversary; but at the next biennial conflict that adversary regained most or all of the ground it had lost. Thus in 1872 the Republicans carried 31 out of the then 37 States, had a plurality of three-quarters of a million in the popular vote, and elected a House of Representatives in which they had a majority of over 100. Two years afterwards they lost all but eight States, there was a popular plurality of half a million against them, and in the House of Representatives they were in a minority of 75 votes. Again, in 1880 they elected their President and regained, for the first time for six years, the control of the House of Representatives. But 1882 was 1874 over again. They carried their entire State ticket though in but nine States, and the House of Representatives then elected had a Democratic majority of 77. Yet with all these great and sudden fluctuations in public opinion, Harrison in 1888 carried every State except Connecticut won by Lincoln in 1860, and no State that in 1860 voted against Lincoln.

With a history such as this fresh in mind, it is impossible to foretell from the result of this year's elections the probable outcome of those of two or three years hence. Indisputable as all this undoubtedly is, the election returns of this year are just as certainly a vote of censure upon the administration. It is true that in almost every State in which there have been severe Republican losses the result was largely brought about by the operation of local causes, and perhaps few persons who last year voted for Harrison and who this year declined to vote for Foraker, Mahone, Hutchinson, or Brackett, consciously did so because they wished to show their displeasure with the course of the President they had helped to elect. Indeed, it may be admitted that it is probable that many or most of these persons would, had they been called on to vote again for President this year, have voted as they did last. Still, when a President is following a course which commends itself to public opinion and which gives his party an issue that they feel is worth fighting for, little is heard of damage done by local causes. In such times most of the weak or unpopular candidates are compelled to withdraw, because then the party as a whole feels that its chance of success in the cause in which it is enlisted must not be jeopardized for the gratification of the weakness or the ambition of any office-seeking aspirant. When, however, a party is not engaged in fighting a battle in which the great body of the intelligent supporters can take any interest, it is bound to suffer from weak candidates, from differences as to questions of local policy, from defective organization and indifference of the voters. These things are the immediate causes of the defeat at the polls, but they are themselves merely symptoms of the general lack of approval of the conduct of the party as a national organization.

The Administration has had as yet no opportunities to give any practical expression to its views on any question except that of civil service reform. On that issue the position of the President has been, as evidenced by his acts, substantially that, although he would in good faith enforce the law upon the statute book, he would, whenever the law did not control his action or that of his subordinates, make appointments and removals in accordance with the princi-

ples not of the merit, but of the spoils system. This policy the country has condemned. By this we do not mean that had the President lived up to the full measure of the platform pledges of his party the Republicans would necessarily have done better at the elections this year. They might or they might not. It is indeed very probable that had the Administration conducted itself as its party's platform said it would, the machine members would have managed to defeat it. Such is now the choice presented to every national administration at its entrance upon power. Either it must keep its promises and cool the ardor of its army of professional politicians, and possibly drive some of them over to the enemy, or it must break its pledges, dishonor thereby its fair name, and compel the decent sentiment of the country to take sides against it. Defeat is possible, perhaps is probable, whatever course is taken; but in one case defeat is honorable, and it will therefore be but temporary; in the other it is dishonorable, and therefore tends to lower the reputation and the strength of the party. This much progress the reform cause has at least made; the most inveterate patronage-mongers have learned by experience that they cannot make a party any stronger by following the spoils system. But political parties are like opium-eaters. To continue to take the drug will ultimately destroy them; yet to stop taking it will cause great present suffering and debility. Politicians do not want to risk the present to secure the future.

CORRESPONDENCE.

THE NET IN SIGHT OF THE BIRD.

BALTIMORE, October 29, 1889.

My Dear Sir:—I cannot avoid thinking it very strange that a Cabinet officer should be troubled by the questions you ask, but if I can set his mind at rest I shall be most happy to do so.

I. Civil service reform has no more to do with a system of superannuation pensions than it has with a system of compulsory vaccination. All the important industrial or mercantile establishments of this or any other country select subordinate employes on civil service reform principles—that is to say, choose these because they are thought to be fit to do their work; retain them while they show themselves to be fit to do their work; discharge them when they are proven to be no longer fit to do their work. There is just as much and just as little reason for one of these establishments to a pension list as there is for the Government—for Mr. Wanamaker, as an example, to pension worn-out salesmen or shop-walkers in his store, as for the Government to pension worn-out letter-carriers or route agents.

II. I suppose that in your statement that enough are already certified by the commissioners here to supply the departments for ten years, there is a slip of the pen, and that the italicized words should be "on the lists of." I see nothing very surprising in this. The Enoch Pratt Free Library, of which I am a trustee, has only between forty and fifty employes, and vacancies are extremely rare, yet we have several thousand applications for positions there on file, and more come in every day. The Cabinet officer for whom you are acting must have little experience of public life if he fails to appreciate the tremendous pressure to get places under Government, or the relief which civil service rules must always afford appointing officers. All those whose names are on the lists, and all those others who were scared off by the examinations they knew they couldn't pass, would, were it not for this barrier, be now making his life a burden by their solicitations and those of their friends.

III. The fear "that in ten or fifteen years some of the departments will be seriously crippled by the inefficiency of old clerks who cannot be discharged," if sincere, is chimerical. Why cannot such clerks be discharged? There is nothing in the Civil Service Law or the civil service rules, or the opinion of civil service reformers, to interfere with their discharge. If the difficulty is that heads of bureaus will not like to discharge them, these must steel their minds

by practice for the disagreeable duty. Such officers, however, seem to be quite willing to discharge their subordinates to the injury of the public service; why should they be less willing to do it in the interest of the service? Is it harder for Mr. Clarkson, for instance, to replace a postmaster who doesn't attend to his business than to replace one that does? I should think that a man who was appointed only because he was efficient was much less likely to retain his place when he became inefficient than one who was originally appointed to please Boss P or Boss Q.

I appreciate your very proper offer to regard this letter as confidential, but although it has been too hastily written for publication, you are otherwise at liberty to "put it where it will do most good," in your judgment.

Your letter reached me at the moment of my leaving the city, and since my return I have been extremely busy, hence the delay in its acknowledgment. I remain, my dear sir,

Yours very respectfully, CHAS. J. BONAPARTE.

INDIANAPOLIS, IND., November 4, 1889.

My Dear Sir:—In reply to your letter of October 23, asking certain questions in relation to the reform of the civil service, I shall be glad to give you such ideas as I have.

The law and the Commission are now subject to certain criticism because they stand in the way of certain persons who want office either for themselves or with which to pay personal debts or party debts. Compared with the whole people or even with the entire Republican party, the number of critics, though somewhat noisy, is small. They are almost universally in some way attached to the Republican party machine—that is, they are Congressmen or partisan leaders, or men who claim office as a reward for party work, though it must be said a large proportion were paid for their services out of the campaign fund. For instance, I met a man the other day who had brought five Democrats to vote for General Harrison, and he felt much hurt because his son could not get an office in payment. Those holding the mistaken view that the public offices ought to be used to pay for such services are angry at seeing some 27,000 places beyond their reach. The vigor of their criticism shows that the law is being enforced, and that we have a Commission that is not afraid to resist the demand of Congressmen for these places. Undoubtedly the fact that President Harrison has allowed the unclassified service to be used for a carnival of spoils has added keenness to the appetite of those who want places.

The objection that a civil pension list is the logical result of the present system is a queer objection. Taxes are levied, money is appropriated, and names are placed on a pension list by law. If in the future it should seem best to have a civil pension list, they would doubtless legislate to provide for it, otherwise they will not. To say that a civil pension list will have to be set up some time in the future, because the clerical offices are thrown open to be competed for and that they are given to those who best stand the tests of fair competition open to all, is going a good way to hunt an objection. I do not, however, shrink from the question of a civil pension list. We are now running under a modernized feudal system in which Platt, Mahone and Quay are specimen chiefs. They terrorize the government employes and get money out of them to maintain themselves in authority. For the same purpose they take much time of government officers. The possibility of a short term also keeps the rate of pay up. Frequent changes fill the service with inexperienced men, and a large percentage more have to be hired. For all this the people now pay heavily. If an employe understood that his tenure depended solely upon his competency and efficiency, and that otherwise he was a free citizen to vote as he pleased, and that at the end of a long term of faithful service he would receive a pension, he would consent to a reduction in his pay which, added to what would be saved by cutting off what now goes to inefficiency and to the Platts, Mahones and Quays, would leave the government a large gainer; and, in addition, the people would rule themselves, instead of being ruled by organized bands of officeholders, as they are now.

The objection that the Commission having examined enough clerks to last ten years, are open to the charge of now providing themselves with employment by holding further examinations, seems too silly for argument. The rule, I believe, was made by President Cleveland, and it causes the slate of eligibles to be wiped off once a year. The reason given was that new persons constantly appeared who wanted a chance to compete, and this seemed and still seems fair, and the public business also thus constantly has the advantage of the services of men who have stood the competition best.

To the objection that clerks will grow old and cannot be removed, the answer is that they can be removed. The merit system puts no limit upon the power of removal for cause. It is cause for removal that a clerk has got too old to perform his duties. He takes his chances when he enters the service. It is a strange objection to urge that a man ought to be removed at the end of four years for no cause, and not at the end of twenty for cause.

I suppose the question "why both parties should not discard their insincere professions and have the patriotism to go back to the old system, when it was inquired simply if a man was honest, capable, and faithful to the Constitution," is asked soberly. It is not clear what is meant by the "old system." During the first forty years under the Constitution scarcely any removals were made—something less than a hundred. Few personal or party debts could thus have been paid, and the presidents of that time were above the business of thus using a public trust. The criticism to be made upon their method of appointment is that, aside from being impracticable as a business matter, owing to the great increase in the number of offices, it was undemocratic and did not allow an open competition. If the period since Andrew Jackson is meant, no such question as you speak of has been asked. The sole discriminating test of appointment has been whether the appointee has been or will be a powerful supporter of some partisan leader—usually a Congressman. Except where a civil service law has afforded relief, that system rests upon the American people to-day like an incubus, and it is that which civil service reformers are going to break up. They are going to break it up not only on the ground that it is undemocratic and unbusiness-like, but because, to quote the words of Mr. Bonaparte, the use of a public office to pay a personal or party debt is always and everywhere immoral; it is a breach of trust and a form of bribery. I do not admit that both parties are insincere in this matter. The party machines which control the getting up of the platforms undoubtedly are. From a wide inquiry among the people, I believe that a great majority are opposed to the use of a public office to pay personal or party debts. The party machines fear this, and neither party machine is going to lead its party to certain destruction, even to save itself from the charge of insincerity, about which it is not worrying.

With regard to the administration of President Harrison and its merits compared with that of President Cleveland in the West, I only wish to speak for myself. President Cleveland disgracefully broke his promises, disgracefully allowed the civil service law to be violated, and disgracefully turned the unclassified service over to be divided as spoil. President Harrison with the unclassified service has been a quicker violator of his promise than was President Cleveland, and he has been more brazen about it. In the classified service the law is undoubtedly being enforced as it never was before. The good effect is very noticeable. If this is kept up it will give the merit system a chance to justify itself, and President Harrison will have rendered a valuable service to civil service reform.

There is nothing confidential about this communication.

Very truly yours, LUCIUS B. SWIFT.

SPEECH OF JAMES RUSSELL LOWELL

AT THE DINNER OF THE BOSTON REFORMERS.

I DID not come here to-night to make a speech. Indeed, I came here with the express understanding that I should not make a speech. Even if I had intended to make one,

the pale-faced monitor whom I see opposite me would warn me to desist. I am here to express by my presence the deep interest I have felt in the objects of this Association and to listen to reports of its progress from those who had been more active in furthering it than I had been able to be. I think these reports are highly encouraging. I do not wonder that the head of our civil service department should have found them so, and should have felt encouraged to think that by and by we may be able to say—

No pent-up Utica confines our powers—
The whole, the boundless continent is ours.

I have been encouraged also by the feeling inspired by the speech of Mr. Roosevelt that he was hopeful, and at the same time for us, that we had at the head of the Civil Service Commission one so energetic, so full of zeal, and still more, so full of fight. Two speakers have alluded to some of you as being apostles, and also as administrators. But there was another incident in the life of the Apostles to which neither alluded. I speak thinking of the eminent clergyman whom I see on my right. I believe with but a single exception the Apostles were martyrs. Of course, one can always find ground for pessimistic views, largely, I think, in the organs of digestion. But, fortunately, there is also ground for holding optimistic views. The world moves slowly, painfully slowly it seems to us, in the direction we are trying to make it go, but, as Galileo said, "For all that it moves."

At my time of life a man is apt to fancy that the world is not making the progress it did in his youth. But when I commence to examine myself I am forced to admit that the world, after all, is a better world. It has bettered, I think, in the larger distribution of those civilizing elements which compose it. It is clearly better in the increased and increasing demands upon the world from those who once were small, and in their increased and increasing power to enforce those demands.

I have seen a great many forward movements in my day. They seem to me, I confess, to move slowly, but many of them have attained the end at which they aimed, and they have always been pooh-poohed by the more respectable and perhaps wiser part of the community. We must expect to be pooh-poohed for awhile yet. But they were led invariably by enthusiasts like ourselves. Now, I have long been an advocate of civil service reform. I confess I learned to take an interest in it from a very old friend of mine, Mr. Hosea Biglow. Sometimes he took views of passing events of which I could not wholly approve.

My own experience since has taught me that that system of appointment to which Mr. Russell has alluded has been injurious, not only to our good report, but to our business interests. I mean appointments made upon the theory, which certainly formerly existed, that a man good for nothing else was just the man for one of the smaller consular appointments. I have suffered a great deal myself from that, and I fear you will suffer a great deal more. The decay of Spain, as I cannot help thinking, with every element of greatness in it, is due no doubt to a great many other causes, but was due chiefly to a civil service policy like our own, but has gone further in the inevitable road in which ours is going. I think we shall have to wait a good while yet. We shall be obliged to wait for vested interests and few abuses among those who are active in giving the best places to monopolies, and less scrupulous in their choice of those who should defend them.

We cannot expect much help, it seems to me, from either of the great political parties; but we can and do expect help from the intelligent and thoughtful in both these parties. It seems to me that there are signs from all over the country that we are not to expect that help in vain. These thoughtful and intelligent persons should be known, and that they will guide the action of the future I feel perfectly sure, though not perhaps as I might if I were younger. I have noticed that if there is one operation more than another in which men are slow, it is in getting wise. But I believe that, whether near or far, reform will come in the future. If I did not believe that, I should despair of the republic.

THEODORE ROOSEVELT

AT THE DINNER OF THE BOSTON REFORMERS.

Mr. President and Gentlemen:—It gives me very great pleasure to see you to-night and to talk to you, and still more to listen to what has been said, not only on my own account, but for the good of the reform, for the good of the cause. I do not think you here can realize what an immense amount of good this meeting is going to do to us in Washington. I want to do two things to-night. As Mr. Russell said, we have to be first apostles and then administrators. Here in Massachusetts the civil service commissioners are sufficiently fortunate to need to be only administrators. I regret to state that down in Washington we have the duties of apostles still. I want to report to you what we have done; that we have made positive advance in the national classified service, that the merit system has gone forward in the national government. I want also to warn you that the victory is not anything like near won. I want to call you to arms, as well as to tell you what we have already accomplished. Here in this great historic Commonwealth, which it is no flattery to say has led the Union in every great moral movement for reform, you have added to your laurels of late years in two particulars. You have introduced and applied throughout your State civil service reform, and you have taught the nation also a capital object-lesson on the good workings of the Australian ballot system. I believe that your example will bear good fruit in both respects. I believe that we, throughout this Union, will keep making advances in both ways, that State after State will adopt the Australian ballot system, and that the progress of the merit system will be steady, and, even if interrupted, will be certain in the end to go on.

But we work in the national commission under disadvantages under which you do not labor here. You now have not only the people with you, but the mass of the men in politics have come around and staunchly support your law, staunchly support the system. At Washington we still have to face the active and envenomed hostility of an immense mass of politicians. We have to not only make every advance in the teeth of the fiercest opposition, but we have to fight every hour to keep the ground that we have gained.

Now, gentlemen, I look at the reform from the two sides that have so well been pointed out by Mr. Clifford. In the first place, I think we get a better class of government officials through it, and more important even than that, we take the public service out of politics. More than that, not only do I think this a question of good administration, but I think it a moral question. To me the spoils system is in its essence brutal and degrading, and I do not see how any man can see its workings and not feel as I do. In Washington any man who keeps his eyes open must see around him, continually going on, things that make his heart bleed. There are wrongs that have gone on for years, that are still going on, that should arouse every manly instinct in a man to make him protest against them.

Now, I must ask your permission to give you just one little instance that came to me the other day, and I give it not as an exception, but as a type of a hundred instances that have been brought to my attention within the past few months. The other day a woman came in to see if it was not possible for her to be certified for reinstatement. She had been out a couple of years, and I told her it was not possible; there was nothing we could do to reinstate her. She was very decent-looking, evidently a lady who had seen better times and been reduced in circumstances. She was naturally very much disappointed. I told her how sorry I was, and said: "Madam, you can see that it is the law; I can only enforce it within the limits allotted to me." She said: "Yes, I know; it is the law; but it is very hard when you have only one meal a day." I then made a little inquiry into her case. She told me she had no particular complaint to make; she had not been in a classified place; she had been kept in by the head of the division in which she was for quite a time when her party had gone out of power. One day he came to her and said he was very sorry, but she would have to go.

She told him she was a widow with two children; that it meant almost literal starvation to her and them to go. He kept her in some time. About three months afterward he came again and said he was extremely sorry, but he had no alternative. As he expressed it, "The boys have mounted me; you have got to go. There is a certain Senator who has demanded your place, and it is no use, madam; I am very sorry, but you will have to go," and go she did. Now, I am not blaming the superintendent of the division. He simply yielded, as also all other men under the patronage system have to yield, to the pressure brought to bear. I am not blaming the particular Senator, for he did not know the injustice of the particular case and was simply acting as he and his kind had acted from time immemorial, but I do blame the brutal iniquity of the system under which it was done.

Now, in the first place it will be my pleasure to report the measure of progress we have made, and it has been a considerable one. When the civil service was classified in 1883, about 13,000 employes were taken in by it. Now some 28,000 come under it. Those 28,000 include the bulk of the highest paid offices among minor employes of the government; so that between one-fourth and one-fifth in number, and nearly a half in point of salary, of the minor governmental employes of the national government are now taken out from under the operations of the demoralizing system of patronage politics. We have advanced steadily. Now, gentlemen, you would err if you thought that we were yet safe. We are not. There is always danger that the law will be, not repealed, but in some way nullified; and unless people make themselves felt, that danger will be very likely to crystallize into some hostile act. Let me give you an instance to show how easy it would be to undo much of the work that has been done. We are enforcing the law at Washington with a very insufficient appropriation. During the hot weather of last summer, when all the other clerks in the government buildings had an hour taken off their time, all of our clerks had to work an hour over; and, work as we will, we are now over 2000 papers behind in marking, and about three months behind in the work of the Commission. If, in appropriating the money for the Commission, \$5000 less should be appropriated than was appropriated last year, if they should make an appropriation of \$30,000 instead of \$35,000, it would very nearly bring the work of the Commission to a standstill.

There is no danger of the mere brute force of a repeal. There is danger of the law being killed in some way by indirection, and probably very few people understand that the vote on the appropriation is one of the test votes that shows how the Congressmen stand toward the reform. We cannot do the work unless we are given the means wherewith to do it. We have got to have some straw, even an insufficient quantity, if we are to make bricks. Now, an almost comic, were it not a tragic, feature of this is that the appropriation is opposed at times apparently with the idea of spiting the Commissioners. Of course, it does not affect us. It does not affect myself or my colleagues. It does affect our clerks a good deal. It affects the unfortunate applicants who have to wait three months to learn how they have succeeded. It will affect most of all the public service, for we shall very soon be unable to supply the demands made upon us by the different departments. I cannot exaggerate to you the need we have of being given adequate means wherewith to do the work we are appointed to oversee.

Another thing. We have to struggle against the fact that by a persistent course of misrepresentation our opponents have managed to confuse the issue in the minds of many good people. There is a certain class of opposition that we count on. We know that we merit and expect the hostility of every place-managing large politician and every place-hunting small politician. We count on that in advance. But those men and their allies, including that portion of the body politic which naturally has base and low ideas, succeed in puzzling decent people, they clamor so against us. They denounce the purely imaginary wrongdoings and shortcomings of the Commission so persistently that they have succeeded in getting their ideas rooted in the minds of

many people; first, that the law is not enforced, and, in the next place, that we are impracticable, that we are seeking to establish some kind of a system that would be very pretty, but that only theorists really seriously approve of it. Now, to all of us here who know what is really done, these accusations seem foolish, hardly worth answering. Yet it is necessary to answer them again and again and again, because the accusations are made again and again and again.

Our opponents very rarely announce frankly that they believe in the brutal doctrine that offices should be treated as spoils to be handed out to the smirched victors of every political contest. They generally say, "Yes," they believe in civil service reform, but not this kind of civil service reform. Lately a number of men, high in official position, have advocated what I cannot dignify by saying is more than a *bouffe* system. They wish to have the appointments made by the Congressmen. That proposition has been seriously made. Among its merits is that it is unconstitutional, but they do not take that into account. Among its other merits is the fact that it would be merely a reproduction of the old spoils system with an added touch of chaotic silliness. And it is put forward in the naive belief that what we are after is not to take the offices out of politics, but to divide them equally among the politicians of the two parties. On the contrary, we believe that the offices should be given neither to the politicians of one party nor the other; neither to the politicians of the parties alternately, nor to the politicians of the two parties at the same time; but that they should be taken out of politics altogether. The other objections that they make, as I say, are more than worn threadbare, and yet it is necessary to answer them because they are continually being made. I listened with great interest when Mr. Lord spoke of the objection that was made that Rufus Choate could not be appointed as a copyist. I will give you an illustration to the same effect in which I was personally concerned this summer. There is in Washington a noisy but unimportant spoils newspaper that has been vigorously attacking the reform, and of course the Commission incidentally; and it did one thing which had so comic a side as to make me forgive it much else it had done. It got hold of a letter I had written, and if I resemble Rufus Choate in nothing else I resemble him in my handwriting, and published a lithographed copy, saying underneath, "There, see this system. Commissioner Roosevelt himself, under this system, could not be appointed copyist." Now, of course that is so. That is the strength of our system. I would be entirely incompetent to fill the position of copyist, and under this system I could not get appointed. Under the old system, if I demanded the position of copyist, there would merely be one moment's pause of amazement at how little I had asked, and it would be granted without one word.

Another objection that is made, and that I cannot consider as being made in good faith, is that we take away from the various appointing officers the liberty of choosing their subordinates. They do not exercise that liberty under the spoils system. The politicians, big and small, choose their subordinates for them, and they ratify the choice that their masters have made. Now, I am going to give you another instance that happened to me within six months, to illustrate that point. A certain head of a sub-division of the government came to me and asked that one of our rules be suspended for a day or two. He evidently thought we had power to suspend it in certain cases for a day or two before we made it go into effect, because—and then he produced a little strip of paper—because he had been handed by a certain Congressman a list of five names to appoint, and he put it in his vest pocket and forgot it, and the Congressman would be greatly disappointed if it wasn't done. And that request was made perfectly seriously, and yet they complain that we give them their subordinates, and they are not allowed to choose them. They are given liberty of choice with us, and they are not given liberty of choice under the old system. Another objection that is made very frequently and persistently is to the character of our questions. In the first place, they say we ask irrelevant questions, questions irrelevant to a man's duties, and that we ought not to ask them. We agree with the last proposition

entirely. I think it an utter wrong to ask a man irrelevant questions to the duties that he has got to perform, and I know no questions more utterly irrelevant to a man's duties as a letter-carrier or clerk than questions as to how he voted at the last election or what his political backing is. Then, again, they say that our questions are impracticable. They quote imaginary examination papers, imaginary questions that we have asked, and rail against them. Now, gentlemen, there are a large number of newspapers, a large number of politicians in the country, who are on the watch all the time to see the weak joints in our harness. They would snap up at once any questions that we asked or any series of questions that we asked that were impracticable. Six months ago the National Civil Service Commission published a complete set of examination papers, a complete set of all the questions we ask in examinations. They have been before the public six months. Not one of our opponents has pointed out, or can point out, a question in those papers that have been before them six months that is irrelevant or impracticable; and they continue to invent questions, and then with much satisfaction to demolish the man of straw they have themselves built up.

Another point. Our system allows any head of an office to dismiss any man who fails to do his duty. All he has got to do is to find out that the man is inefficient, is in any way unfitted for his position, and dismiss him. Under the old system he had to take into account two things: The man's inefficiency and the strength of his political backing. Only the other day one of the assistant superintendents of the railway mail service was in our office, and I asked him how the new law was working. He said it was doing well. He said: "I don't know that we get a so much better class of men on the average, but all your men realize that their tenure depends upon how they behave, and the old men feel they have a double responsibility, a responsibility to us and a responsibility to the local politician, at whose behest they were appointed; they feel they have two classes of work to do—work for the government and for the men of whom they got their place." And he went on to say that, in consequence, after six months our men showed a decided superiority to the old men. In speaking of the accusations brought against us as to the impracticable character of our examinations, people often say, "I believe in the system, but when you ask a man how many rings Saturn has, or how far it is from the earth to the moon, it seems very impracticable," and I have taken revenge in a very simple form of argument. It is sometimes necessary to answer a fool according to his folly. And I now simply offer to bet with the man. Last year a politician said, "Yes; think of asking a letter-carrier how far it is from the earth to Mars." I said, "Now, I am not going to deny that, but I will tell you what I will do. I will bet you \$100 to \$10 that you cannot show me any examination where that has been asked of any letter-carrier or any man asking a similar position." First he said he didn't want to bet. Then he said a friend had told him; and then he had to admit that perhaps the friend had not said it was a letter-carrier that had been asked; and going a little further the examination proved to have been that of an assistant astronomer.

Finally, gentlemen, we have got that best test of all tests to appeal to—that of experience. It has been our invariable experience that wherever a public officer has gone into office under this law, or if he has gone into office not believing in it, but is a conscientious and law-abiding citizen, determined to execute it and give it a fair trial, I say in all such cases it has been our experience not only that the law worked well, but that the office was a model one. I wish to call attention to the fact that at the very offices where the law has been most rigidly observed are those where the best public service has been obtained, and that the offices where the service has been most notoriously inefficient have been those where the heads have spent their time in trying to evade and get around the law. Contrast the administration of Postmaster Veazey, of Baltimore, Aquila Jones, of Indianapolis, with the administration of Postmaster Pearson, of New York, Hendricks, of Brooklyn, and Ross, of Washington. In the first two cases spoils politics prevailed and the service was bad all through.

In the next three, where the Civil Service Commission had only to look on and approve, the offices were model offices and were noted for their efficiency. Take two other cases. Last June we went up to investigate Postmaster Paul, of Milwaukee. We found that he had been flagrantly disregarding the civil service laws, and we recommended his removal. Almost at the same time the Post-office Inspector sent up there—simply sent to look into the postal duties of the office—found them so badly performed that he likewise recommended Mr. Paul's removal. Contrast that with the excellent administration of that staunch civil service reformer and most capable public official, General Corse, of Boston.

Now, gentlemen, in closing, but one word. It is necessary to take account of certain purely demagogic arguments. And first a demagogic argument of a purely comic kind. A certain number of opponents of the system find an immense amount of satisfaction in denouncing the system as a Chinese system. They reason apparently after this manner. The Chinese have competitive examinations. This provides for competitive examinations. Therefore we will abandon this system; it is un-American. The Chinese used gunpowder before we did. I don't know that we intend to go back to bows and arrows on that account. In the next place, a certain number of honest but prejudiced men are appealed to because they say this system is English. Those gentlemen are apparently unaware of the fact that England has been changing with great rapidity from an oligarchy to a democracy. As long as it remained an oligarchy the spoils system flourished, but since it has changed to a democracy the merit system has taken its place. I feel that we have a right to appeal in behalf of the merit system because it is essentially democratic and essentially American. It is distinctly anti-oligarchy. We say that to no class of professional politicians shall the offices be given. On the contrary, all American citizens who are capable of showing that they are best fitted to hold public office shall be allowed to do so. It is the American system. It is a democratic system. It is a system of honesty, decency and fair play. [Great applause.]

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INDEX TO VOLUME VI.

JANUARY-DECEMBER, 1890.

- Airey, W. F., 85.
 Archer, Stevenson, 39, 49, 50, 52, 61, 63, 76, 129.
 Assessments on republican office-holders, 107.
 Australian ballot, 2, 3, 14, 16, 27, 28, 29, 48, 119, 128.
 Bailiffs in tax department, 14.
 Ballot laws, The, 29.
 Ballot reform, 2, 3, 14, 16, 27, 28, 29, 48, 119.
 Baughman, Victor, bond of, 61; report, 74.
 Blaine, Jas. G., 15, 50.
 Bonaparte, C. J., 10, 18, 47, 66, 91, 92, 116, 126, 134.
 Boston police, 58; clerks, 31.
 Boston laborers, 95.
 Briscoe, Alex., 13.
 Brown, J. B., 37.
 Broom, Wm. J., saloon keeper and door-keeper, 13.
 Burchinal, W. D., 25.
 Busey, Jim, 105.
 Business Men, Democratic, 17, 86.
 Carpenter, J. C., 18.
 Carter, Chas., 26.
 Caulk, Jas., 39.
 Census, U. S., 73, 106, 119.
 Church in Politics, The, 18.
 Churches and the reform, 6.
Civil Service Chronicle, 128.
 Civil Service Commission, U. S., 1, 15, 25, 49, 69, 77, 119.
 Clarkson, J. S., 50, 65.
 Cleveland, Grover, 37, 57, 85, 122.
 Coffin, C. C., 107.
 Colton, Geo., 13, 16, 37.
 Competitive tests, illustrated, 31, 58.
 Compton, Barnes, 37, 61, 75.
 Congress and Civil Service Reform, 17.
 Congress and patronage, 44.
 Cowen, J. K., 92.
 Crime and Impunity, 62.
 Curtis, Geo. Wm., 62, 110.
 Dana, R. H., 47, 91, 126, 134.
 Davidson, Mayor, 13, 43, 119, 127.
 Debate on appropriation for commission, 49.
 Democratic platform, Md., 3.
 Dinner of the Maryland Association, 30.
 Eaton, D. B., 48, 74.
 Economic aspect of spoils, 92.
 Election law of 1890, 3, 70.
 Electric lighting, 73, 85.
 Elliott, Rev. J. H., 6.
 Ensor, John T., 49.
 Evils of the Spoils system, 11.
 Examinations, 8, 103.
 Farwell, Senator, 10.
 Fisher, Wm. A., 3.
 Fitzgerald, Ed., 37.
 Fledderman, H. G., 119.
 Foulke, W. D., 1, 38, 47, 91, 119, 126, 131, 134.
 Garbage, farming out the, 43.
 Gerrymander in Balto., 26.
 Gorman, A. P., 1, 37, 40, 51, 72, 75, 100, 119, 121, 128, 129.
 Grammer, Rev. J. E., 11.
 Gundry, Dr., 37.
 Hagerstown, Ballot reform in, 14.
 Harrison, Pres., 9, 33, 37, 49, 54, 57, 85, 95, 106, 119, 121.
 Henderson, Wm., 127.
 Hendrix, postmaster, 85.
 High license, 5, 37.
 Hill, R. S., 62.
 Hodges, Jas., 75.
 Hoffman, J. J., 105.
 Home committee and the charges, The, 77, 81.
 Indians and the spoils system, The, 35.
 Indian agents, removals of, 13.
 Investigating commission, 14.
 Jackson, Gov., 51, 63.
 Johnson, J. Hemsley, 66.
 Johnson, W. W., 15, 39, 62, 73, 85.
 Jones, J. Henning, 27.
 Laird, P. H., 27, 37.
 Lane, J. C., 14.
 Late business men's democratic association, The, 86.
 Lea, H. C., 54.
 Lingenfelder, H., 39.
 Lodge bill, The, 47.
 Lodge, H. C., 37, 47, 49, 56, 65, 86.
 Luxurious Legislature, A, 21.
 MacVeagh, W., 126, 134.
 Marine, W. M., 39, 62.
 Maryland Association dinner, 30; meeting of, 65; officers, 66.
 Massachusetts, legislature of, asks extension of merit system, 13; petition from, 57; merit system in, 95.
 McComas, L. E., 49, 55.
 McFarland, C. Dodd, 49.
 National league meeting, 108.
 Old English system, The, 60.
 O'Mahony, Ed., 13.
 On the make, 129.
 Oyster navy, 51.
 Packard, J., Jr., 65.
 Patent office, 89.
 Paul, Postmaster, 38.
 Pearson, postmaster, 85.
 Persecution for opinion, 60.
 Piedmont and Cumberland bonds, 129.
 Plunkett, F. C., 26.
 Poe, John P., 4, 16, 27, 28, 49.
 Police, examinations of, 58, 68.
 Political independence and party fealty, 86.
 Porter, R. P., 106, 107, 119, 127, 131.
 Potter, Bishop, 93.
 Prerogative of criticism, The, 10.
 Presidential postmasters, 122.
 Prettyman, E. B., 62.
 Quay, M. S., 86, 105.
 Real Estate and Pure Politics, 20.
 Reform league, the, 28, 29, 97, 108.
 Registration bills, the, 2, 28, 105.
 Removals on secret charges, 131.
 Republican Archer, a 53.
 Republican platform, 9.
 Rich, Ed., 27, 37.
 Richardson, Delegate, 13.
 Richmond, H. A., 127, 130.
 Ring defalcation, the, 50.
 Right man in the right place, the, 121.
 Rogers, Sherman S., 47, 91, 126, 134.
 Roosevelt, T., 1, 24, 34, 73, 98, 102.
 Rose, J. C., 70, 73.
 Saloons and Maryland legislature, 13.
 Salter, W. M., 21.
 Saltonstall, Collector, 34.
 Sams, C. W., 127.
 Saulcy, E., 93.
 Secret charges, 131.
 Shame in our Politics, A., 21.
 Sinking fund, State, 129.
 Slap in the Face, A., 3.
 Smash the bosses, 75.
 Smith, Bart., 43.
 Spoilers and the Navajo indians, 84.
 Stabler, E., jr., 13.
 Stand by the Pledges, 16.
 Schley, Buchanan, 14.
 Sermon Plan, the, 19.
 Sherman, Senator, 128.
 Shidy, Paul, 38.
 Special Committee of League, 89, 119, 131.
 Stationery contract, 127.
Sun, the, 37, 105.
 Swift, L. B., 115, 128.
 Tammany, 97, 105.
 Tariff reform meeting, 85.
 Taxpayers' association, 119.
 Treasurer's bond, the, 52.
 Treasury defalcation, the, 39.
 Under the hammer, 99.
 Vandiver, Murray, and Archer defalcation, 61.
 Virginia, Progress in, 24.
 Wanamaker, J., 1, 38, 120, 126.
 Welsh, Herbert, 13, 19, 35, 84, 127, 130.
 Wentz, Senator, 10.
 Westminster postoffice, 25.
 Weyler, J. F., 105.
 Windom, Wm., 5.
 Where is the man for the hour, 27.
 Wirt, J. S., 37, 68, 73, 77, 79.
 Working of the Merit system, 95.
 Wolcott, Roger, 110.
 Worth of democracy, the, 92.
 Year's work for reformers, 100.

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The Civil-Service Reformer.

VOL. VI.—No. I.

BALTIMORE, JANUARY, 1890.

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THE MONTH.

THE scramble among the Republican politicians for the Baltimore Postmastership is still going on. Drove of them have surrounded Mr. Wanamaker and squealed and grunted at that pious man till he has apparently given up the hope of pleasing them all, and in despair lets Mr. Brown continue to distribute letters on Democratic principles.

WE have nothing but praise for the public spirit of the gentlemen who prepared the high license laws for submission to the General Assembly. But we are convinced their judgment is at fault in leaving the discretion with a board as to who shall have licenses. Such a board may be composed of the tools of boodlers like Rasin, Quinn and Mahon. If it is, then people who pay them or their patrons will get licenses, and people who refuse to pay won't get licenses. No such engine of extortion has ever been seen among us as such a board may be made.

THE eighth annual report of the Missouri Association shows that body to be active in good works. In addition to keeping up the agitation for reform in the civil service, the Association turned its attention to the crying need for ballot reform. Under a resolution of the Association, its executive committee took the matter up and prepared a bill copied after the Saxton Bill, and adapting the Australian system to the institutions of Missouri. This bill was introduced at the last session of the legislature, was supported by the press, and was enacted. It applies to cities of more than 5000 inhabitants, but the report indicates that the system will soon spread over the rural districts.

Passing from this subject to administration reform, the report censures President Harrison for the success of the fourth-class postmasters, and quotes these well-known words from his letter of acceptance, which Mr. Harrison must now wonder how he ever wrote: "Only the interests of the public service should suggest removals from office."

THE sixth report of the United States Civil Service Commission is a brief, vigorous and convincing argument for sustaining the merit system. It shows that 28,000 employees of the government, being nearly one-fourth of the whole force of persons so employed, are appointed not because they are adherents of this or that political leader, but because they are deemed likely to be honest and capable servants of the people at large. One power needed by the Commission in enforcing the principles of the system is that of administering oaths in investigations, the breach of which shall be the crime of perjury. For lack of this power the investigations are often fruitless. Power should also be given the Commission to appoint examiners who are independent of the influence of the appointing officers. The funds now given the Commission are grossly insufficient, in spite of the exercise of rigid economy. It needs at least eight more employees to do even its present work, and to increase the work in any direction, as by an extension of the rules to the smaller offices, a proportionate increase of force is required.

Moreover, about \$6500 is needed for travelling expenses, in order that investigations and examinations in all parts of the country may go on. To pay the secretaries of the local boards of examiners the trifling compensation of \$100 each the further sum of \$6000 is required. Reformers everywhere should see to it that these appropriations are made by Congress.

THE unfortunate Mr. Wanamaker has fallen under the displeasure of Mr. W. D. Foulke in consequence of the silly circular sent out by his private secretary, to which we referred last month. Mr. Foulke in a recent speech quoted this sentence from the circular: "Why should not both parties discard all their insincere professions for the law and have the patriotism to go back to the old system under which it was inquired simply whether a man was honest, capable, and faithful to the Constitution?" To this shameless inquiry Mr. Foulke makes the following crushing reply:

"I believe this is the first time in our history where an investigation made on behalf of a Cabinet officer is based upon the assumption that the professions of his own party contained in the very platform upon which he came into power were insincere and unpatriotic. If Mr. Wanamaker is willing to declare this to the world, one of two things is true—either the party which he represents is in fact insincere, or he has no right to represent it and remain one of the instruments of carrying out its policy in regard to the matters in which he assumes that it did not mean what it said. So long as such a man remains at the head of the Postoffice Department the administration of President Harrison is not a civil service reform administration, and he has not kept and cannot keep the promise that "the spirit and purpose of reform shall be observed for all executive departments"; for he has put at the head of the greatest of departments of the government, to carry out this spirit and purpose, a man who assumes that the declaration of his party and his own chief were insincere and unpatriotic professions."

Having thus fitly expressed his opinion of our ingenuous Postmaster-General, Mr. Foulke added these words of solemn warning to his party:—

"There is one thing of which the politicians of the country may be well assured, that, whether or not the people favor civil service reform, they will not continue to have confidence in the party which knowingly, with its eyes open, fails to perform its solemn promises to the country. There is something more immoral in this than even in the spoils system. The Republican party has been successful in the past because it has been true to its great promises and plans—emancipation, the preservation of the Union, enfranchisement, payment of the national debt. These became embodied as fixed facts in the history of our country. The party was as good as its word. But if at the last convention it has in most solemn manner made a distinct pledge to the people, and if it fails to keep that promise now, the people will know just the value of every pledge hereafter made."

A GOOD many people have exposed Mr. Gorman's relations with the truth, and therefore it causes us no surprise to learn that Mr. Roosevelt has caught the Senator indulging in not a mere innocent fiction, but "a regular terrible story." Mr. Gorman's invention was as follows: "I never pay any attention to the small appointments, but there was one case in Baltimore some time ago that attracted my attention. A very bright young man of splendid physique, and perfectly familiar with every street and number in the city, submitted himself for examination as letter-carrier. He could read

and write and had been attending night school, and was in every way fitted for a letter-carrier, but he failed when asked the most direct route from Baltimore to China. He said he had never been to China, nor did he expect to go there, and he only wanted to be a letter-carrier." After expressing some doubt whether Mr. Gorman really said anything so silly as this (for he has not known Mr. Gorman long), Mr. Roosevelt said:

"No letter-carrier is ever asked, in any of our examinations, What is the direct route from Baltimore to China? I defy any one to specify any such examination where this, or any similar question, has been asked during my term of service as a commissioner, and my colleague, Mr. Lyman, authorizes me to state in the broadest and most emphatic terms that none of our examinations of this character ever have contained any such question. The silliness of the assertion can best be appreciated when it is remembered that in examinations for clerks, letter-carriers and the like, we never ask any questions about geography outside of the United States. In fact, all the assertions that we ask questions about 'how far the earth is from Mars,' and 'the climatic conditions of Africa,' or 'the route from Baltimore to China,' are simply ridiculous untruths, chiefly serviceable as calling attention to the intellectual capacity of those who utter them. . . .

"Any man, in or out of Congress, who talks about our examinations as 'impractical,' or as containing 'impractical and irrelevant questions,' should give specifically the facts on which he bases his belief. In reality, he never does give these facts, for the very good reason that he can't.

"I freely admit that, as is inevitable in the introduction of a new system, there are defects in the working of the law—defects which we are continually, and as a rule successfully, trying to remedy; and I welcome all honest criticism; but the men who make such preposterous assertions as those quoted above, either deliberately state what they know to be false, from a natural dislike of decent and honest methods of government, or else err through an ignorance which can hardly be called honest, since they ought not to speak on the subject at all until they have found out the truth."

When this damaging exposé was brought to Mr. Gorman's attention he had nothing apposite to say, of course, and contented himself with this: "I did make the statement Mr. Roosevelt refers to. I believe it is perfectly true. I can only say that I am content to let Mr. Roosevelt undertake the task of convincing the people that the examinations are practical examinations, but I fear if he undertakes it, he will be kept busy the rest of his life." The first time Mr. Gorman got this off, Japan was the end of the mythical journey.

THE War Veterans' Association of Kings County have sent President Harrison a letter highly characteristic of the spoilsmongers' confusion of ideas. They say: "No war veteran of Brooklyn has been appointed to any position of prominence in New York. Democrats are kept in the best places in the navy yard while more skilled Republicans walk the streets idle. So it is in the custom house and appraiser's department. There are four Democratic assistant appraisers, inexperienced men appointed by Cleveland from Brooklyn, still kept in office, while expert war veterans, men who did noble service for your election, are yet unrecognized."

The President might well reply that his duty to his country involves no obligation to appoint "war veterans" to positions of prominence; and that his solemn declaration that "fitness and not party service should be the essential and discriminating test, and fidelity and efficiency the only sure tenure of office" is inconsistent with his using the public funds to pay for noble service for his election. But such considerations would doubtless have little weight with those

sturdy beggars. They mean to have plunder, and if prayers will not bring it, they try menaces. Here is a specimen: "If the Administration keeps on in the same direction for another year we will not have a Republican in Congress next year, nor any other legislative office elected from Kings County. The general indignation is rising to a fearful height. Is it not time for a new deal and for some respect to be shown to the rank and file, the workers, who carry the elections, and the war veterans, who need help and are willing to work?"

In some senile freak of memory the War Veterans must have got General Harrison confused with the ancient candidate who wrote to Mr. Biglow:

"Ez we're a sort o' privateerin'
O' course, you know, it's sheer an' sheer,
And there is suthin' wuth your hearin',
I'll mention in your private ear.
Ef you git *me* inside the White House,
Your head with ile I'll kin' o' 'nint,
By gittin' *you* inside the Light-house,
Down to the eend o' Jaalam Pint."

NO MORE important duty will devolve upon the Democratic majority in the Legislature than the redemption of the pawned reputation of the party by passing an adequate registration and election law. The admirable measure prepared by the Reform League's committee and contemptuously ignored by the Legislature of 1888, has been still further simplified and improved, to be presented to the lawmakers of this year. One of the important features of the old bill which is still retained in the new is provision for annual registration. The absolute necessity for annual registration in a population as large as that of Baltimore is very clearly set forth in the recent report of the counsel of the Reform League, which we would gladly print in full if we had space for it.

The fundamental cause of the necessity for annual registration is the migratory character of our people. Thus, although in forty or more precincts of the city there was no attempt made by the registers to purge the lists of people who had removed, no less than 22,500 names were stricken off and transferred, and the probability is that a thorough revision would have required more than 30,000 such changes. In addition, several thousand people made changes in their residences which involved no change in their place of registration. It is obvious that the registers cannot without immense cost and labor separate the one-third of the voters who have died or removed from the remaining two-thirds. In attempting to do this with the machinery at their command, the registers ordinarily summon before them in the course of their sittings thousands of men, women and children, and cause immense discomfort and annoyance to a large part of the population. The result of such inquiries depends largely, too, upon the zeal of the individual registers and varies within wide limits; so that in two contiguous and perfectly similar precincts the number stricken off was respectively four per cent and fifteen per cent of the whole number on the books.

Moreover, revision of the books is a far more complicated process than original registration. In the latter the registers have but to receive the names of such persons as appear before them and show the requisite qualifications; but in revision they are compelled to perform a number of judicial duties of much complexity. Thus in purging the lists they must first gather information as to who is dead and who has

removed. The latter branch of the inquiry often involves summoning the neighbors as witnesses. Questions of evidence must be decided for which the registers, being untrained men, are entirely unfit. Complicated questions arise also as to the meaning of involved and technical language in the law, matters entirely beyond the capacity of the registers to master—their struggles in the effort to do so are often ludicrous. In one of the precincts, a city employee living in another ward appeared with a list of men whom he wished to "swear off." The registers not knowing him, told him to bring two "compurgators" to swear they would believe him on oath. This done, the names were removed from the books without any inquiry as to the sources or extent of this man's knowledge of the whereabouts of his fellow-citizens whom he had disfranchised.

The Democratic party here should cheerfully redeem its pledges and give us a fair election system. But if the spirit of fairness is not strong enough to insure this, Democrats should remember that, as their power here is waning slowly and surely, it cannot be many years before the control of the election machinery of the State will pass to other hands, which may plague them with the evils they now refuse to remedy. Already in the southern part of the State we hear Democrats complaining of the partisanship of the Republicans on the bench who hear the appeals from the registers of voters. But what will be their condition if the whole election machinery with all its opportunities for fraud passes into the hands of unscrupulous opponents?

A SLAP IN THE FACE.

SENATOR GORMAN seems to think that the country journalists whom he recently assembled at Rennett's to receive his orders for the conduct of their newspapers are imbued with the same ideas as the "pious editor" of the *Jaalam Blunderbuss*. It will be remembered by antiquarians that that leader of public sentiment summed up his convictions by declaring—

In short I firmly du believe
In Humbug generally;
Fer it's a thing thet I perceive
To hev a solid vally;
This heth my faithful shepherd been,
In pasturs sweet heth led me,
And this 'll keep the people green,
To feed ez they hev fed me.

The astute Senator, as he apparently chooses, and perhaps directs, that he shall be called, has long practised these principles himself; but when he tried to impose them upon the rural press of this State we are convinced that, in the slang phrase, "he bit off more than he could chew." It would require a long course of training in the Hodges-Buchheimer University to fit an editor to support the thesis that the Australian ballot system "removes the voter from the influence of men of intelligence to a box," and "leaves him to the danger of the money power"; but, as far as we are aware, that institution has as yet set up no "chair of practical journalism." And though unfortunately Mr. Gorman has only too much reason to believe that some of our esteemed contemporaries are willing to risk the woes predicted for them that justify the wicked for reward, still we hesitate to believe that the conductors of the press of this State will follow him in his attack upon an improvement in the machinery of government which has been successfully tried for thirty years by the most intelligent portions of the English

race, and is now being rapidly adopted by the most progressive of our sister States.

But whatever may be the effect of Mr. Gorman's declaration of hostility to a great reform, we are not at all surprised that it was made. In our view it does not differ in character from many of his recent utterances. The statement we have quoted is no more glaring an untruth than dozens he has used in the past—for example, that so well exposed by Mr. Roosevelt elsewhere in this paper. And any one who has followed Mr. Gorman's course with care could readily find parallels in his speeches for the cynical assurance: "Two years ago, in an endeavor to keep faith, election laws were passed to meet the ideas of sentimentalists. The so-called reformers have been given too much. . . . We must have thorough co-operation to meet new-fangled ideas from a Democratic standpoint, and defeat them. As for the Australian system, you had better label it a bill to throw the Democratic party in the rear."

The speech is plainly intended to head off Judge Fisher and his friends in their effort for ballot reform. Mr. Gorman knows that a fair election law will destroy, not the Democratic party, but the plunderers of the party, of whom he is chief: that when the mind of the people of Maryland can once be expressed, the "generalissimo of the lobby" and the captains of his robber bands will be doomed to retirement and disgrace. He has learned that Judge Fisher is still mindful of the pledge of the Democratic Convention which nominated the candidates elected to the Legislature from two districts of this city, to wit:

"Resolved, That it [the Democratic party] favors the election law known as the Tilden law, or the Australian ballot system, or such combination of the two laws as will most certainly secure the freedom and purity of elections."

Remembering, doubtless, the ease with which the equally solemn pledges of the party to annual registration were evaded in the Legislature of 1888, he learns with cynical surprise that "William A. Fisher, President of the Business Men's Democratic Association; John E. Hurst, Chairman of the Executive Committee, and Lloyd L. Jackson, Chairman of its Campaign Committee," consider something more than mere words the solemn statements of their address issued on the eve of the last election: "The recent Democratic City Convention recommended . . . that the best features of the Australian system of secret voting . . . should be introduced. . . . The persons nominated for the Legislature stand pledged to advocate these measures. They could not violate their pledges without a breach of faith so clear and open as to expose them to just and general contempt."

The language of this address was no stronger than Judge Fisher's fervid words, spoken on the night of November 1, with which Mr. Gorman's ears must still tingle:—

"The ballot is the last right of a freeman—the safeguard of the State. Therefore I would improve, and improve, and still continue to improve. Give us, as the Democratic Legislature of 1888 did, the glass ballot-box; render impossible the villanous work of the ballot-box stuffer; make perfect the registration and weed out the colonist and the repeater—open the gates of the penitentiary to them and thrust them in, brand them as felons so deeply that time may not efface the stain of it. Give us, as the Democratic Convention has suggested, the Australian ballot law, or the principle of it, with any improvements that can be added from the Tilden, or its equivalent the Pearce, law."

Remembering the ease with which Governor Jackson was induced to apply the healing touch of the Great Seal to the sores of the branded felons who were last convicted of stuffing the ballot-box, and the complaisance with which the Legislature of 1888 interposed to protect those not yet punished, Mr. Gorman is astonished and irritated to learn that Judge Fisher is actually endeavoring to draw a law in the spirit of his campaign speeches, and that his colleagues of the Business Men's Association back him up in the undertaking. Mr. Gorman's idea of Business Men, derived from some experience of them in the past, is that they are useful before election and contemptible afterwards. His declaration against the Australian law is no more than the frank expression of this belief. Now that the Business Men seem likely to get in his way, he metaphorically adopts a mode of treatment in much vogue among his chosen associates, and "slaps them in the mouth." The rebuke might have been more courteously administered, doubtless, but

Let them prate about decorum
Who have characters to lose.

The affront, however, is not confined to Judge Fisher and his colleagues. That amiable Draco, Mr. Poe, is also bidden to go back on his word. The same night that the President of the Business Men declared himself for the Australian law, Mr. Poe also said:

"Bribery and repeating should be surrounded with such difficulties and dangers as to be made next to impossible. *The Australian law* has been found to work well in some of its provisions, and the people may be sure that so far as I can influence or control the matter, *the wishes and views of the Business Men's Democratic Association in this particular shall be faithfully and fearlessly carried out.*"

Mr. Poe now has an admirable opportunity to show the courage never to submit or yield; and we trust that we shall be edified in the early days of the session by seeing him and his quondam yoke-fellow in good works, Mr. Bernard Carter, lustily tugging through the Legislature a bill to redeem the promise of the latter made at Broadway Institute:—"We will have the *Australian system*. You shall have that to try. In other words, there is nothing we will leave undone to fairly register the votes of the people of this city."

But the really serious aspect of Mr. Gorman's invitation to a breach of faith seems to us not the gross insult it inflicts upon his coadjutors of the campaign, but the fact that it places his position as the head of the party once more in peril. The Business Men have now another great opportunity. Last summer they frittered away the chance of a lifetime when they timidly went into counsel with the bosses as to how to reform the bosses out of existence. But by an un hoped for blunder Mr. Gorman has now presented them with another opportunity to rid the party of himself. He has now openly antagonized a measure upon which the intelligence of the party and of all parties is determined. The rank and file of the party too are ripe for revolt against him, and he no longer has the Federal patronage to buy support with. Moreover, Mr. Gorman's long-avowed hostility to tariff reform has alienated many who were unconvinced of his moral turpitude. His intrigue against the re-election of Senator Wilson has disgusted many influential party-men on the Eastern Shore. His opposition to the most popular leader of the party, Mr. Cleveland, long dissembled, is now openly avowed. It is accentuated by his recent utterance, the very antithesis and illus-

tration of Mr. Cleveland's assertion that the "demand for ballot reform" "rises far above partisanship, and only the heedless, the sordid and the depraved refuse to join in the crusade." For the first time, too, the *Sun*, the only powerful newspaper in the State, seems ready to lend its essential aid in the good work of aiding the party to overthrow his boss-ship. Departing from its timid habit of mentioning no names in its criticism of local politicians, the *Sun* says:

"In the present state of public opinion, not only in Maryland, but throughout the country, no graver mistake could be committed by a leader of the Democratic party than was committed by the senior Senator from Maryland, if he was correctly reported in his remarks. . . . Mr. Gorman avowed his uncompromising opposition to what is known as the Australian election law, and went so far as to say that a bill introducing the essential features of that law in Maryland would be appropriately entitled 'a bill to send the Democratic party to the rear.' Even from the standpoint of Maryland politics solely, and Democratic party politics alone, this position was an unfortunate one to take. Mr. Gorman personally may not have committed himself in any way in favor of the passage of such a law, but he cannot be ignorant of the fact that during the recent elections the party faith was pledged over and again in the most public and solemn manner by some of its most responsible and best accredited representatives to the cause of ballot reform, and to the furtherance of that reform by legislation which should embody and preserve the best features of the Australian system. Mr. Gorman is reported to have referred to the diminishing majorities of the Democratic party in this State. Does it not occur to him that the cause of that decrease in the Democratic vote may be found in the dissatisfaction and disappointment felt at the failure of the party, after election, to redeem the pledges which had been made in its name before the election? If Mr. Gorman really advised the editors of the rural press of Maryland to unite their efforts to defeat the passage by the Legislature of any law embodying the essentials of the Australian system of voting, he cannot complain if his words are quoted by the enemies of that party as the strongest justification for the reproach of 'broken pledges' so often urged against it. In view of Mr. Gorman's prominence in national politics, the position which he has seen fit to take upon the subject of ballot reform is no less to be deplored than for the baleful effect it may have upon the prospects of the Democratic party in this city and State. . . . It is unfortunate that Mr. Gorman does not appear to have based his objections to the specific measure of ballot reform which he was opposing upon any broad grounds of statesmanship or principle, but solely upon the supposed unfavorable effect which its passage might have upon the prospects of the Democratic party in this State. Surely he could not have intended to imply that the Democratic party has more need of bribery and intimidation than its opponents in order to obtain success at the polls, and will, therefore, be more injured by the passage of a law which is calculated to prevent both. We hardly think that the Democratic editors or the Democratic voters of Maryland will thank him for the inevitable suggestion."

We are glad to see indications that the Business Men are awakening to the possibilities of their position. At all events there can be no doubt as to Judge Fisher's position. He expresses what he courteously calls "disappointment" at Mr. Gorman's disapproval of a law which "is being rapidly adopted by nearly every community of intelligent people." He thinks Mr. Gorman's remarks a reflection upon the intelligence of the Democrats, and renews his pre-election pledges thus: "You ask whether I think that the Democratic Business Men's Association will be disposed to recede from its position in favor of the Australian ballot system. I can say, I think, with confidence that there is no danger whatever of their doing so. They believe the system to be what we need in this city, and that the voters supported the party, and especially the members of the House of Delegates, under the belief that the legislation would be accorded; therefore they will, I think, recognize

it to be their duty to make use of every effort to procure it. I feel confidence that the people of this city may confide in the full performance by the gentlemen elected of every promise which they have made in no grudging or half-hearted manner."

Something more, however, is required than these words. The Democratic party is now going through a crisis of the disease from which it has long suffered. Heroic treatment will remove once for all the poison from its vitals. Let the Democrats in the Legislature unite with the Republicans to pass a good election law, a measure to which both are pledged, and let the Business Men begin a crusade in this good cause, a crusade in which all but "the sordid and the depraved" will give them hearty encouragement. The public conscience, the opinion of honorable and enlightened men in the city and State will certainly accept no less than this in fulfilment of their pledges and in vindication of their self-respect and their claims to the confidence of their fellow-citizens.

HOW THE LAW WORKS.

SECRETARY Windom, in his annual report, went out of his way to commend the merit system. He has also encouraged other persons to inquire into its workings, and recently designated to the correspondent of the *Evening Post*, as one qualified to make an authoritative utterance on the subject, Mr. Deland, the Chief Examiner for the Department service, who has been eighteen years in Government employ.

"I am a thorough believer in the idea represented by the Civil Service Commission," said Mr. Deland. "The Commission sets up, at the outer door of the Government service, as it were, a screen which sifts out the illiterate and the incompetent applicants. We thus receive only the best of the great mass who are seeking employment. . . . There is no place in the classified service where ignorant persons can be made useful. When they slipped in under the spoils system, they either drew salaries for work they did not perform, or they had to be dismissed after the Government had made a hopeless effort to educate them. The enemies of the merit system call it the basis of an office-holding aristocracy; but, pray, which is the more aristocratic—a system which lets in everybody who can prove his special fitness to do the work required of him, regardless of his politics, his religion, his ancestry, or his social position and surroundings, or a system which confines the honors of office to the few who have powerful friends and relatives?"

"It is charged that a clerk who has got into the service through a competitive examination is apt to feel so secure as to despise department discipline. What is your experience?"

"The charge is an absurdity. Every clerk knows that the Secretary holds the absolute power of dismissal, and need only raise his finger to turn a subordinate out of office, without a word of explanation or excuse either. The young man who has worked his own way into office knows that he can stay only as long as he conducts himself properly. It is the spoilsman's favorite who does the swaggering, for he relies upon his 'influence' to smooth matters over for him if he gets into trouble. The only security felt by the clerks under the present system rests on their knowledge that an appointing officer has no incentive to turn them adrift for the sake of putting his own favorites into their places, because he has no power over the choice of their successors."

"And do the clerks admitted under the present system prove generally satisfactory?"

"In the highest degree. The Commission sends us, as a rule, a splendid class of clerks. I have to examine hundreds of applicants for promotion every year, and I have never yet known a failure on the part of a clerk who has come to us through the Commission—not a single one."

"Still, the present system has its faults?"

"It has; although it is the best the Government has ever enjoyed. For one thing, there are too many back doors to the service still standing ajar. Take as an example the laborer's door. A person who can command enough influence gets into a place beneath the classified service. After two years the rules permit him, with the consent of the Secretary, to pass a non-competitive examination and become a classified clerk. That is not fair, of course, to the outsiders who cannot get into the classified service except by a competition to prove that they are not only fit, but the fittest of all.

"Then there is the private secretary's door. Every bureau chief has the right to name his own private secretary, who, after serving a year, may get into the classified service through a non-competitive examination; and a bureau chief who is willing to stoop to such a trick can pass a lot of men through the mill in the course of a long tenure of office.

"I regret that there is no provision for a uniform system of voluntary competitive examinations for promotion within the departments themselves. We have in this Department, as you know, an examination for promotion, but it is not competitive. When a fourth-class clerk dies, there is a rush among the third-class clerks for his place, and the Secretary designates any one he pleases to succeed to the vacancy. The person designated has to submit to an examination, but what does that signify? It does not insure to the fourth class the advent of the best clerk from the third class, because the very poorest of the third-class clerks may be able to skim through the examination after a fashion, if he can induce the Secretary to designate him."

THE SPOILS OF HIGH LICENSE.

IN an editorial note in the December number of the CIVIL-SERVICE REFORMER referring to the movement for a high license law, we earnestly deprecated the formation of a board to whom the question of the fitness of the applicant to receive a license should be submitted, upon the ground that "such a power has been found open to gross abuse wherever tried in this country, and if introduced in Baltimore would be made by the politician an instrument of gross corruption and oppression." Greatly to our surprise and regret, we find in the draft of one of the high license bills prepared for the Committee of One Hundred, as reported in the *Baltimore Sun* of December 28th, a provision that the board of license to be created by the proposed law can refuse a license "*whenever, in the opinion of the board, such license is not necessary for the accommodation of the public, or the petitioner is not a fit person to whom such license should be granted.*"

Knowing as we do, from the character of the gentlemen upon the legislative committee which prepared this bill, that they would not knowingly lend themselves to promote corrupt methods in politics, we trust that upon further reflection they will see how, by the retention of the feature in any bill to be presented to the Legislature, they are like those navigators who, in seeking to avoid the rocks of Scylla, become engulfed in the whirlpool of Charybdis.

The practical effect of this provision is to make the retail sale of spirituous and malt liquors a monopoly under the absolute control of the board of license. If a majority of the board decide that *in their opinion* any applicant is not "a fit person to whom such license should be granted," or that "such license is not necessary for the accommodation of the public," the grounds upon which this opinion may have been formed cannot be inquired into, and the license must be refused, without any possibility of redress or appeal.

Now, if the political machine can once get control of the board of license it will have precisely the same power over all the liquor sellers in the city of Baltimore which it now has over all the office-holders under the spoils system, and can any sane man doubt but that it will execute this power as relentlessly in the one case as in the other? Liquor sellers will all be regularly assessed for the political campaign corruption fund, and those who refuse to pay their assessments will not be deemed "fit persons" to have their

licenses renewed at the end of this year. They will also be instructed as to what ticket they are to support at the primary elections, and as liquor licenses will then have become as much spoils as the driving of a garbage cart or the position of a lamplighter or street cleaner is now recognized to be, they will be given to understand that those "whose hands are too clean to do the dirty work of the party" are not "fit persons" to supply their fellow-citizens with liquid refreshments.

But it may be said that if the bill becomes a law at the next session of the Legislature, Mayor Davidson can be relied upon to appoint a board composed of gentlemen who will not permit themselves to be made the tool of the bosses. Doubtless the present Mayor will honestly endeavor to appoint upon the board of license the best men that he can find willing to accept the position; but it must be remembered, in the first place, that the Mayor's term of office only lasts two years, and that there is no certainty of his being re-nominated; and, secondly, that, in order to enable the machine to work the board of license effectively, it need not be composed of such Democrats as Messrs. Rasin and Mahon and a Republican like Mr. Caulk. One practical politician of the dominant party upon the board, aided by the vote of one gentleman who conscientiously thinks that no man is a "fit person" to sell liquor, and that no saloons are "necessary for the accommodation of the public," can refuse a license to any saloonkeeper who fails to make himself solid with the party, and can consequently do the business just as well as any three henchmen that could be selected.

Can any one doubt that more than two or three years will elapse before the bosses will have their representative upon the board of license? Indeed, he need not even be a practical politician, for any respectable business man who is ready to believe the representation of the managers as to the unfitness of a saloonkeeper, and can be relied upon to vote accordingly, will answer the purpose equally well. Unfortunately for the weakness of human nature, many a good man who wants something from the politicians can be but too easily persuaded to place implicit confidence in those who he knows can give it to him, and the tendency of self-interest to blind a man to that which he does not wish to see is too well known to all for illustration.

To the suggestion that whenever these anticipated evils shall actually be found to prevail it will then be easy to remedy them by amending the law, no other reply is needed than the well-known quotation from Bramston's Art of Politics, written a century and a half ago:—

"But Titus said, with his uncommon sense,
When the Exclusion Bill was in suspense:
'I bear a lion in the lobby roar;
Say, Mr. Speaker, shall we shut the door
And keep him there, or shall we let him in
To try if we can turn him out again?'"

If we wait until after the bosses have once entrenched themselves behind the powers of the board of license, it will be very hard work to dislodge them. Moreover, the abuse is one of that kind which can easily be concealed from the public for a long time after it has been in actual operation, for it will require a very few refusals to renew licenses to convince the saloonkeepers of the tenure by which they are to be retained, and, of course, in the case of every man who is refused, there will probably be provided plenty of "remonstrances" from respectable citizens to justify the action of the board. And as the members of the board will not have anything to do personally with the levy and collection of the political assessments upon the saloonkeepers, it will be almost impossible to prove them to be in anywise connected with them. We may rest assured, however, that they will be regularly assessed and collected notwithstanding. Should the high license law reduce the 3000 saloons in Baltimore to 1000, and should the assessment be started at the comparatively moderate of an average of \$50 per annum for each of them, the aggregate would yield a yearly revenue of \$50,000 to increase the political corruption fund. To suppose for one moment that our local statesmen would let such an opportunity pass unimproved is to greatly underestimate their ability and shrewdness.

To sum up the whole matter in a nutshell, the proposition to confer upon any man or any board a discretionary power to determine the fitness of other people to earn their living by a certain business is to place all who carry on this business absolutely at the mercy of such man or board. This is contrary to every principle of modern free government, which has substituted a government by fixed laws for the arbitrary will of a despot, experience having abundantly shown that however benevolent the despot may be, his powers are constantly abused.

Let us therefore have no board clothed with arbitrary powers to pass upon the qualifications necessary for saloon-keepers, but let the licenses be issued to every applicant who complies with the requirements definitely fixed by law, and let there be no disqualifications save for failure to comply with these requirements, or for violations of law which have been followed by conviction in a regular court of justice.

THE CHURCHES AND THE REFORM.*

THIS season of Advent, looking forward, as it does, to the great and final day of account, is a summons to us to judge ourselves before the Lord comes. It is a summons to search out and to face our personal sins, sins of society and government for which we may be in any degree responsible, moral evils in society and government which spread by contagion and imperil character and the moral life of the nation. And if we find that there is strong allegation of the existence of some such moral evil, and at the same time a movement on foot for its reform, it becomes then a matter of conscience to face the alleged evil and the proposed reform and to determine on which side we will stand.

Such an alleged evil and proposed reformation we find presented in the term "civil service reform." I propose to speak on this subject to-day. I can do this without departing from the inflexible rule of this pulpit—to ignore partisan political discussion. Civil service reform is strictly non-partisan in its principles; it is at least intended to be non-partisan in its application. Indeed, non-partisanship is an essential feature of the system. The state regards it as an economic question, but not without some reference to its moral aspects. The church regards it in its moral aspects, and her attention is aroused by the testimony of statesmen, who are alarmed at the evils which are at work and invoke all moral forces to aid in reformation. The pulpit should look fearlessly into the question. The bishops in their late pastoral said on this subject: "The Incarnation would be emptied of a large part of its significance if it were supposed to leave untouched and uninfluenced the life of men under the ordered polity of the commonwealth. To render unto Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's includes the righteous and godly exercise of all the functions of the state."

The essential difference between the civil service under the old or patronage system, and under the reform system, is well stated in the text: "Who, without respect of persons, judgeth according to every man's work." Appointments under the first system are made with "respect of persons"; under the second, "according to every man's work." The first asks what "persons" patronize and urge him; what official or party or dominant clique in the party? Civil service reform asks, and asks by examination, how can he work? The old system asked, as between rival candidates for place, "Which has the stronger personal backing?" the reform system asks, "Which can better discharge the duties of the office?" When it is remembered that these offices number about 100,000, domiciled in every part of the republic, here clustered in cities—in some great seaports, there grouped together in towns, scattered through village and country; and that the annual pay-roll counts up sixty millions of dollars, it is easy to see that if there be any pernicious principle at work in either system, great and widespread evil may result.

Now, experience has shown that the old system was fruitful of evil. Starting with the bestowal of offices by "respect of persons," it was soon claimed that the persons who had the right to wield the patronage were the victors, and among the victors the leaders. It followed very soon that the meritorious man who was without a patron, without "influence," might offer in vain his merits as a plea for employment in the service of the republic. The republic had its oligarchy or aristocracy, and this privileged class had its privileged clients, and favors were dispensed in a manner not more at variance with justice and republicanism than with the gospel principle stated in the text, "according to every man's work." It easily followed that as continuance in office depended on persons sometimes arrogant, sometimes fickle—themselves subject to change—demoralization of character through subservience, apprehension of removal, and sometimes terror, was likely to befall the officeholder. Next, patrons found that the importunities of suitors for offices, which the Constitution never intended that they should bestow, exhausted the time and faculties which they were bound by oath to devote to the

*Who, without respect of persons, judgeth according to every man's work.—I Peter i. 17. A sermon preached in the Church of the Ascension, Washington, D. C., Sunday, December 8, 1889, by Rev. John H. Elliott, D. D., Rector.

discharge of the duties of their respective stations. It followed also that if offices were to be used largely as a reward for political or personal service, then, whether the volume of work to be done require it or not, let offices be multiplied, that rewards be multiplied. The revenue which the people had paid for the honest and business-like administration of their affairs was handled as the personal property of party or leaders for the reward or the bribe of partisan or personal service. And so by indirection, by perversion of trust, by appeals to selfish greed instead of patriotic principle, the government, or the party administering the government, became an omnipresent and gigantic and persuasive example of evil to the people at large.

This "spoils system" is an excrescence on our body politic. The Constitution was so framed as to exclude the theory; for forty years the government was so administered as to exclude, in great degree, the practice. Mr. Hamilton, in the *Federalist*, No. 76, antagonized the theory when he says of the President: "He will on this account feel himself under strongest obligation, and more interested to investigate with care the qualities requisite to the stations to be filled, and to prefer with impartiality the persons who may have the fairest pretensions to them." "To investigate with care the qualities requisite to the stations to be filled, and to prefer with impartiality the persons who may have the fairest pretensions to them"—those are the principles of civil service reform! To-day, when offices are so numerous, a commission must apply them; a century ago, when offices were few, the President could apply them. The early President *did* apply them, and the historians tell us that for about forty years there was no grave departure from these principles. Then the spoils system sprang up, and it grew and multiplied. Already, forty years ago, the spoils system had reached such development that an American statesman, pronounced by John Stuart Mill to "have displayed powers as a speculative political thinker superior to any who had appeared in American politics since the authors of the *Federalist*,"* wrote of it these words: "It is the most corrupting, loathsome, and dangerous disease that can infect a popular government, . . . hard to prevent and most difficult to cure when contracted. . . . This decision which left the President free to exercise the power of removal according to his will and pleasure, uncontrolled and unregulated by Congress, scattered broadcast the seeds of this dangerous disease through the whole system. It might be long before they would germinate, but that they would spring up in time, and, if not eradicated, that they would spread over the whole body politic a corrupting and loathsome distemper, was just as certain as anything in the future."[†]

And still the evil grew and multiplied, as offices and revenue grew and multiplied, until it was checked by the transient civil service reform introduced in 1873, and checked and baffled by the more thorough and, I trust, enduring reform begun in 1883.

Now what, in brief outline, has civil service reform undertaken to do? First, what are its processes? and, second, what its results?

First as to processes. The Congress and the President, placing before themselves the 100,000 civil offices, classified according to rank and importance, have taken from the central zone 28,000 offices with a pay-roll of about \$30,000,000, and transferred them from the system of patronage to the system of merit. Above these are the greater offices, for the most part administrative in their character, and requiring, for efficient discharge, honest sympathy with the political views of the administration. Below these are offices, vast in number, most of them minor offices, which, for a variety of reasons, have not been brought under the classified civil service. With regard to these 28,000 offices, the "simple single fundamental idea of civil service reform is that whenever hereafter a new appointment or promotion shall be made, such appointment or promotion shall be given to the man who is best fitted to discharge the duties of the position, and that fitness shall be ascertained by open, fair, honest and impartial competitive examination. The impartiality of these examinations is to be secured by every possible safeguard. They are to be open to all who choose to present themselves.† They will be tests of the fitness of the applicant for the particular place to which he aspires." They also test his general intelligence, because general intelligence tends to promote skill in specialties; and so civil service reform promotes the great cause of popular education, but yet the special skill of the applicant secures success in the examination, though he be lacking in general knowledge. From 1883 to June 30, 1889, using round numbers, 63,000 applicants were examined. Of these, 40,500 passed the examination, and of these, 15,000 have received appointments.

So much for the *processes* of civil service reform. I turn now to the *results*. He would be an unwise advocate who would claim that in every department of its enterprise it has developed perfect machinery or achieved perfect success. Like all moral reforms, it has had to contend with the blind hate which expresses itself in loud and coarse abuse; the wily antagonist who, too astute to reveal his own selfish grievance, would rally opposition under some popular outcry; the conservatism which resists all change; the indiscreet measures and boasts of friends; the serried array of vested rights, or vested wrongs, insurgent from the beginning against reform, and then, when it has smarted under losses, resurgent. But civil service reform has achieved, if not perfect, yet gratifying and growing success in the following most important particulars:

I. Selections are made of men and women for the work of the government and people, on the ground of merit, not patronage; not "with respect of persons, but according to every man's fitness to work." The equal rights of men according to merit, without reference to birth or wealth or the accident of patronage or influence; those rights, that individual worth, which the Incarnation and the Gospel have done so much to affirm and to enforce, are affirmed and enforced by the civil service legislation of the republic. It has been strangely alleged indeed by wily antagonists that the reform creates a privileged class. How? The office is awarded for personal merit, tested by examination, to which all are alike admitted. It cannot be transmitted by inheritance nor transferred by sale. The power of removal remains as before, checked only in two ways, first, that removals shall not be made for refusing to pay political assessments or to perform partisan service, and second, that the corrupt motive for removal is gone, for the reason that the power that removes is impotent to refill. It was the old or patronage system that created a privileged class. It was the successor of the corrupt patronage system of England in the last century, where the aristocracy for the most part rewarded their dependents with the offices, whose salaries the people paid. What had been done there by the aristocracy of birth was done here by the aristocracy of office. Listen to testimony given in 1882 to a committee of the Senate: "I might say as a conclusion from my experience of many years in the Treasury Department, that I have very rarely known a person to be selected under the system of patronage because he was the fittest person for the place. It is a consideration which is almost disregarded in the selection of clerks. The only question is, what is the pressure behind him, and the chief of a bureau who desires to secure the services of competent clerks is almost unable to do so."[‡]

There was the favored class system. Now, under the reform system the vacancy comes; the examination papers of passed applicants, certified for appointment in order determined by law, are submitted to an impartial board and the award is made according to merit, except—and it is a justified exception—that other things being equal, the scars of the veteran shall claim the place.

In the second place, personal character is shielded from the injurious influences of dependence on the favor of a patron or a party, or the contingencies of election or the exigencies of party vacating offices to get rewards for personal followers. The witness already quoted said: "The Treasury Department to-day is almost demoralized by the fear of arbitrary changes in the clerical force." "They are scared. It is a continual system of terrorism and demoralization."[†] Doubtless there were exceptions, but it was hard for the stoutest manhood to breathe the pure air of liberty and independence, even in this republic, when the tolerated system of the republic treated him as the dependent of a patron or party, and denied him personal rights. One of the ripe fruits of this evil was the assessment system, when the polite and bland notice was endorsed by such a rugged statement as this: "Well, Mr. Curtis," said the collector, bringing his fist down on his table with great emphasis, "for every one of the gentlemen in this office who are unwilling to pay this assessment, I know of at least fifty whose names are duly registered, who would very willingly take the place with all the incumbrances."[‡]

In the third place, high officers of the government, Senators and Representatives, have now time and strength left them to keep the oath, "I will well and faithfully discharge the duties of the office on which I am about to enter. So help me God." With respect to one of the secretarieships, the witness already quoted said: "The importunities of applicants and the distribution of the patronage leave them little time or energy for other than the barest routine." "Every Chief Magistrate," says the report of a committee of the Senate, "has cried out for deliverance." And of Congressmen the same committee said: "The malign influence of political domination in appointments to office is widespread. . . . It poisons the very air we breathe. No Congressman in accord with the dispenser of power can wholly escape it. It is ever present. When he awakes in the morning it is at his door, and when he retires at night it haunts his chamber. It goes before him, it follows after him, and it meets him on the way. It levies contributions on all the relationships of a Congressman's life, summons kinship and friendship and interest to its aid, and imposes upon him a work which is never finished and from which there is no release. Time is consumed, strength is exhausted, the mind is absorbed, and the vital forces of the legislator, mental as well as physical, are spent in the never-ending struggle for offices."[§]

Apart from injury to the civil interests of the country, of which I am not speaking, it is a grave injury to its moral interests that the country should behold its men of mark giving to one thing almost all the time and strength which they have sworn to give to another. By a law of their own enactment they are struggling to free themselves of the abuse. With their own hands they have put aside the power which patronage gave them, that they may discharge the august duties of their honorable office as statesmen of this imperial commonwealth. It is an example of moral self-reform against temptation, which is wholesome for the country just as the evil unreformed was pernicious.

In the fourth place, civil service reform has greatly checked the corrupt practice of multiplying officials not needed for the work of the country, of creating offices illegally, of shifts and evasions to please patrons by the "employment of favorites." "In the

* "Considerations on Representative Government." Harpers, 1862, p. 329.

† Calhoun's Works, I, 347.

‡ Report of Senate Committee, May 15, 1882, p. ix.

* Report of Senate Committee, May 15, 1882, p. 127.

† Ibid. p. 152.

‡ Ibid. pp. 131, 132.

§ Ibid. p. 111.

Department of the Treasury 3400 persons were at one time employed, less than 1600 of them under authority of law. Of these 3400 employees 1700 were put on and off the rolls at the pleasure of the Secretary, who paid them out of funds that had not by law been appropriated for the payment of such employees."* "In one division of the Bureau of Engraving and Printing 20 messengers were employed to do the work of one."† A committee of investigation in the conduct of this bureau "discovered that 539 persons, two-thirds of all the employees, with salaries amounting to \$390,000, were superfluous."‡ They "reported that the *system of patronage* was chiefly responsible for the extravagances and irregularities which had marked the administration of the bureau, and declared that it had cost the people millions of dollars in that branch of the service alone."§ In consequence of this report the "annual appropriation for the bureau was reduced from \$800,000 to \$200,000, and out of the first year's savings was built the fine building now occupied by that bureau."||

In the next place it has abolished within its limits the procuring of votes or of party services by promise of office. "The promise of an office," it has been said, "whether express or implied, as an inducement to a man to vote or to work in an election, is as real a bribe as so many dollars in hand paid, with this distinction, however, that it is a much worse form of bribery. It is so for two reasons, it is a promise to pay what does not belong to the briber, and its effect when fulfilled is to put a corrupt man into the service of the state or country. The public service has been made a huge corruption fund."

Brethren, for such a reformation as this all of us who are interested in the moral welfare of our countrymen, in our own moral and spiritual welfare, should be profoundly grateful. The old and widespread evil which it is supplanting was a menace to all of us. It had its centres of baneful influence all over our country, and you and I were always in danger in some degree at least of countenancing its corrupt practices, and accepting as a matter of course its corrupt principles. Let us be thankful for the removal of the temptation.

"Ah!" it is said, "civil service reform does not please the country; it is not everywhere popular. Do you not even now hear an outcry against it?" And who that has read history will expect any great moral reform to be universally popular? Has it not always been the lot of reforms to encounter opposition, of reformers to encounter misrepresentation, persecution? What means yonder Cross? It means that the great Reformer, who came down in love to redeem and reform mankind, was opposed, persecuted, crucified. Ah, they knew not what they did! They helped on the reformation. To reform the world He must first give pardon by his death, and rise again with quickening life to regenerate and renew mankind. That Cross, shining out from the past, tells the reformer of every age what *he* must expect to encounter when he would help an evil world to better life and light. Oftentimes, perhaps, the first touch of sympathy between him and the Crucified One is when he hears some angry cry, "Away with him!" "Away with him!" and there come to the reformer of to-day the words of the Reformer of all the ages, spoken with the pathos of rejected love, "Me the world hateth, because I testify of it that the works thereof are evil." The words revive his courage, lift him into a holy fellowship; and henceforth, holding that Cross before him with "By this conquer" for his watchword, he may march on to painful and yet noble victory.

Already the civil service reformer has won such victories that he may be hopeful of complete conquest. In the inspiration of a sturdy faith and in the ardor of his patriotism he may repeat the words of Milton, "Methinks I see a noble and puissant nation rousing herself like a strong man after sleep and shaking her invincible locks. Methinks I see her as an eagle mewing her mighty youth and kindling her undazzled eyes at the full midday beam, purging and scaling her long abused sight at the fountain itself of heavenly radiance."

ARE THE EXAMINATIONS PRACTICAL?*

ARE these examinations practical in their character, and with paramount regard to matters which will fairly test the relative capacity and fitness of the persons examined for the service which they seek to enter? I recognize the fact that much of the criticism, most of the arguments against the civil service system which have come from persons who have not fully nor fairly investigated the operation and effect of the law, has been based upon the claim that these examinations have been entirely impracticable in their character, that all sorts of absurd questions in history and geography have been propounded to applicants which had no sort of connection with the duties of the service which the applicant sought to enter. Every few months there appear in the columns of the daily papers lists of questions purporting to have been taken from some civil service examination, amusing, perhaps, and witty, but mightily misleading. Without

considering now whether some questions in the geography or history, political or constitutional, of his country might not be fairly put to the applicant who desires to enter certain departments of the public service, without deciding now whether some knowledge of the past might not be of assistance to certain officials in the discharge of the duties of the present, it is in Massachusetts at least an ample, sufficient and conclusive answer to that class of critics that not for years in any examination, either for the official service of the Commonwealth or for any city therein, has any question been put to any applicant in any subject of history or geography. I do not think that those chestnuts can long remain formidable weapons of attack upon the system here. Now, to go a step further. I shall seek to show and hope to prove that the requirements of law just cited have been fully and substantially complied with, that the examinations have been practical in their character, and with paramount regard to matters which will fairly test the relative capacity and fitness of the persons examined for the service which they seek to enter. Take first the lower class in the clerical service, those persons whose compensation is less than \$800 a year. The duties of that class are in the main those of copyists merely, the special requirements of whose work is mainly that their handwriting should be neat and legible and their copies accurate and clear. Here there are three subjects in which the applicant is examined:—

First Subject: Writing from dictation—about eighteen words a minute.

Copying rough draft of a letter containing interlineations, abbreviations, etc.

Spelling.

Handwriting.

Second Subject: Simple questions, mainly in writing in figures certain numbers, and in words certain figures, and in multiplication, addition, subtraction and division, which any scholar in the lower grade schools could successfully answer.

Third Subject: Write in the space below a letter, covering not less than fifteen lines, addressed to the Mayor of the city, giving some account of the schools you have attended, the studies you have pursued, and your occupation or business since leaving school.

[This exercise is designed chiefly to test your skill in simple English composition and your knowledge of the rules of punctuation. Sign the letter with your number, not your name.]

Take the second class in the clerical service, those persons whose compensation exceeds \$800 per annum, in which class are found the accountants, bookkeepers, and the like; here the examinations do not differ materially in kind from those of the former class, except that certain questions in interest and discount are added.

Is there any requirement there which is unreasonable to ask of persons in the clerical service of Massachusetts or the several cities? Special stress is put on the special subjects in which the clerk should be equipped and skilled. One critic said to the secretary, as if it forever disposed of the system, "Why, Rufus Choate could not pass the examination." My answer is that if Mr. Choate could have passed it would afford some sufficient ground of complaint against the system, for, if the traditions of Mr. Choate's penmanship which have been handed down are true, he would not have made a useful clerk in any department where a legible record of its doings are important. Take another class of public officers, the district police, whose duties require special knowledge in certain subjects, and where ignorance of the special requirements may be attended by consequences disastrous and far-reaching. The proper discharge of the duties of the members of the force detailed for inspection requires, as is well known, some knowledge of such subjects, for example, as ventilation, sanitary plumbing, guarding machinery, safety devices on elevators, modes of egress in case of fire, devices and appliances for extinguishing fires, employment of women and children. In addition to the general qualifications, these officers must be not less than twenty-two nor over fifty-five years of age at the time of filing the application; provided, however, that this limitation as to age shall not apply to persons who served in the army and navy of the United States in time of war, and have been honorably discharged therefrom. In all cases in this class applicants must be not less than five feet eight inches in

* Fourth Report of Civil Service Commission, p. 121.

† Ibid. p. 121.

‡ Report of Senate Committee, p. 121.

§ From the speech of Arthur Lord at the dinner of the Boston Reformers.

† Ibid. p. 122.

‡ Ibid.

height and weigh not less than 140 pounds. They are examined as to their practical experience in the duties of the office for which they apply, in the construction of buildings, sanitary plumbing, or in the use or care of machinery, and their ability to prepare a good report is tested. And in that class of subjects named above, I take from a recent examination paper which I have here the following questions, which are a fair sample of the examination in that subject:

Name some common ways of securing good ventilation.

What mechanical means would you adopt to carry off gases, vapors and other impurities which are generated in factories or workshops in the course of manufacturing processes carried on therein?

What do you consider the three most important points to be looked after in plumbing a building?

Describe the best water-closet system you know for the use of operatives in a factory.

What parts of machinery are generally most dangerous to operatives?

Name some precautions which should be taken by females who work near rapidly revolving machinery.

What is the best method of guarding elevator openings through floors? Why?

In what way do many safety devices on elevators fail to comply with the law, even when they are in perfect order?

What devices are commonly used to prevent the fall of elevator cars in case of breaking of the hoisting rope or machinery?

What should be the width of the ways of egress from a public hall for each 100 persons accommodated therein?

What is the best simple means to provide for extinguishing fires in a factory or workshop?

Name some of the means for giving fire alarm in a factory.

What are the provisions of law relating to the employment of children under thirteen years of age?

What are the provisions of law in relation to the hours of labor of minors under eighteen years of age, and of women?

What are the provisions of law relating to the employment of children under fourteen years of age? Of children under sixteen years of age?

These questions are not those which the schoolboy alone could answer; they are practical questions, which only a practical man of experience could meet. They are questions which he might have to consider on his first tour of inspection of public buildings, factories, etc. They are questions which his ability to answer correctly would give some evidence that his tour of inspection would contribute to the health and safety of the operatives, women and children employed in the manufacturing establishments of the Commonwealth, or of the audiences which may be assembled in the great public halls.

The examinations which, perhaps, are the most thorough and satisfactory, are those of the police and fire force of Boston. In the police force applicants must be not less than twenty-two years, nor more than thirty years of age; not less than 5 feet 8 inches in height, and weight not less than 140 pounds. In the fire force the age limit is the same, the height not less than 5 feet 6 inches, the weight not less than 130 pounds. As the examinations are quite similar, take the police force for illustration. When the applicant for position in that force files his paper, he receives a little manual of selections from the regulations governing the police department of Boston. In that manual he passes an examination in addition to a simple examination in writing, ability to prepare a report, etc. He is inquired of as to his duties as an officer by night and by day, in case of obstruction of the streets, of disturbance, and of felony. When he may enter a dwelling house; when he may arrest without a warrant; when he may use a weapon, and as to his rights and duties under certain statutes and ordinances, and so through a long list of subjects with which a policeman should be familiar. These are practical questions, some of which he may be called upon to answer within twenty-four hours after he first puts on his uniform, at the risk of life or liberty or property, not only his own, but of any citizen of Boston. If he passes this examination successfully, he is sent to the city physician for a physical examination, which is thorough. Heart, lungs, brain, hearing and sight are tested and examined. If he is found to be sound and healthy, he then goes to the examiner at the gymnasium, where his development and strength are tested in many ways. Perhaps it is enough to say of the thoroughness of the system of examination there adopted that our examina-

tions and system have been adopted for the police examinations in New York. If all these examinations are successfully passed, his name is placed on the eligible list to await a requisition from the police commissioners of the city. The result must be that of the large number of applicants who annually apply for the police force, the men who stand highest upon the list possess some superior qualifications at least for the place. And then the appointment, when received, is in a sense probationary merely. He must serve for six months, and then, if his conduct and capacity are found satisfactory, and not till then, does his employment become permanent.

THE SPOILSMEN AND CIVIL SERVICE REFORM.*

OF the various issues on which the Republican party carried the presidential election of 1888, there was none on which its pledges were more unqualified than on the maintenance and extension of the reform of the civil service.

REPUBLICAN PLATFORM OF 1888.

"The men who abandoned the Republican party in 1884, and continue to adhere to the Democratic party, have deserted not only the cause of honest government, of sound finance, of freedom and purity of the ballot, but especially have deserted the cause of reform in the civil service. We will not fail to keep our pledges because they have broken theirs, or because their candidate has broken his. We therefore repeat our declaration of 1884, to wit: 'The reform of the civil service, auspiciously begun under the Republican administration, should be completed by the further extension of the reform system, already established by law, to all grades of the service to which it is applicable. The spirit and purpose of the reform should be observed in all executive appointments, and all laws at variance with existing reform legislation should be repealed, to the end that the dangers to free institutions which lurk in the power of official patronage may be wisely and effectually avoided.'"

This was emphasized in the declarations of President Harrison's letter of acceptance:—

"The law regulating appointments to the classified civil service received my support in the Senate, in the belief that it opened the way to a much-needed reform. I still think so, and therefore cordially approve the clear and forcible expression of the Convention on this subject. The law should have the aid of a friendly interpretation, and be faithfully and vigorously enforced. . . . I know the practical difficulties attending the attempt to apply the spirit of the Civil Service Rules to all appointments and removals. It will, however, be my sincere purpose, if elected, to advance the reform."

This pledge the President has consistently repeated in his official utterances:—

PRESIDENT HARRISON'S INAUGURAL ADDRESS, MARCH 4, 1889.

"The civil list is so large that a personal knowledge of any large number of applicants is impossible. . . . Heads of departments, bureaus, and all other public officers having any duty connected therewith, will be expected to enforce the Civil Service Law fully and without evasion. Beyond this obvious duty I hope to do something more to advance the reform of the civil service."

PRESIDENT HARRISON'S ANNUAL MESSAGE, DEC. 3, 1889.

"On the 4th of March last the Civil Service Commission had but a single member. The vacancies were filled on the 7th day of May, and since then the Commissioners have been industriously, though with an inadequate force, engaged in executing the law. They were assured by me that a cordial support would be given them in the faithful and impartial enforcement of the statute, and of the rules and regulations adopted in aid of it. . . . It will be my pleasure, as it is my duty, to see that the law is executed with firmness

* Publications of the Civil Service Reform Association of Pennsylvania (No. 9).

and impartiality. . . . We should have but one view of the matter, and hold it with a sincerity that is not affected by the consideration that the party to which we belong is for the time in power."

That the system has been a success, even under the existing limitations on its application, and that its extension would be a benefit to the public service, are shown by the remarks in the recent Report of the Secretary of the Treasury:—

"The beneficial influences of the Civil Service Law are clearly apparent. Having been at the head of the department both before and after its adoption, I am able to judge by comparison of the two systems, and have no hesitation in pronouncing the present condition of affairs as preferable in all respects."

Such being the pledges of the party and of the Administration, and such the experience in the working of the law, no argument is required to prove the duty of Congress to provide all the requisite means for the proper performance of the functions of the Civil Service Commission. What is necessary is stated in the recent Report of the Commission:

"Common honesty demands that, while the law exists, sufficient money should be appropriated to carry it into effect. Considering the vital importance of the work, the amount that is needed is absolutely insignificant—so insignificant that there can be no hesitation in granting it on the score of economy. The Commission now has fourteen employes in all; it needs, to do its present work, at least eight more, their total salaries amounting to about \$10,000; and to increase the work of the Commission in any direction, as will undoubtedly be necessary, it will also be necessary to still further increase its force. Moreover, about \$6500 will be needed for travelling expenses, being an increase of \$1250 over the appropriation for the current year; and to pay the secretaries of the local boards \$100 each, the further sum of about \$6000 would be necessary. Therefore, the requirements to enable the Commission efficiently to discharge merely its present duties will be about \$18,000 over and above the sum appropriated this year, or a total appropriation of \$53,000. To extend the system as it ought to be extended, the appropriations would need to be proportionately larger."

It might be imagined that there can be no question as to ample provision being made from an overflowing treasury for the modest sum requisite for the due and efficient execution of the law. Unfortunately, while the law is popular with the people, it is unpopular with the spoilsmen. They submitted to its enactment because they did not dare withstand the popular demand for it, and they have sought to limit its usefulness by furnishing it with inadequate means. The spoilsman finds it much more economical to pay his henchmen and heelers out of the public treasury, by the abuse of "patronage," than to pay them out of his own pocket. Although more than three-fourths of the public offices are still at his disposal, he grudges the loss of the one-fourth and yearns to recover it. He does not dare to work openly for the repeal of the law, for this he knows the people would not forgive, but he proposes to attain the same end by reducing or refusing the appropriations necessary for its execution. Provided he accomplishes the end of quartering his followers on the public, he cares nothing for the brand of false pretences self-affixed by his disregard of the pledges on which he and his party sought and obtained votes. How openly this scheme is avowed is seen in a recent uncontradicted newspaper interview with Senator Farwell, of Illinois:—

"Senator Farwell, of Illinois, does not mince matters in expressing his opinion of the Civil Service Law. He said to a reporter to-day:

"No, I have not read the report of the Civil Service Commission, but I probably shall have a good time when I do read it. It may be wearisome, though, for this civil service system is a fraud of the worst description—a cheat, a delusion, a humbug; in fact, you cannot say anything too mean for it."

"When will you introduce your bill to wipe it out of existence?" asked the reporter; and the Senator replied:

"I don't know that I shall introduce such a bill. We can do just as well by refusing to appropriate the funds on which it depends. It was beaten that way before, and we are going to do our best to beat it that way once more."

The dishonesty of thus repudiating the pledges of the party platform is part and parcel of the dishonesty of the whole spoils system. Mr. Charles J. Bonaparte, in a paper read before the Civil Service Reform League, last October, characterized it tersely:—

"Whether a 'worker' is paid by a check or a sinecure; whether a man's vote is bought for five dollars, or for the chance of dawdling a fortnight at street-sweeping, can make no difference as to the right or wrong of the matter; or rather, while the man bribed is equally guilty, whatever the form of his reward, it is surely more odious and more noxious to bribe with what is the people's than with what is one's own—to purchase suffrages or influence at the taxpayers' cost, than to pay for these out of the corrupter's pocket."

The case is simply one between the people and the politicians. The Civil Service Law, so far as it extends, merely throws open the public service to the whole public, in place of keeping it as a corruption fund for bosses. As the Commissioners say in their recent report:—"The object of the law is to give to the average American citizen what it takes away from the professional politician," with the added inestimable advantage of securing the best service by a process of rational selection instead of making the selection depend upon the proficiency of the aspirant in the arts of managing primary elections and setting up nominating conventions. It is the people's cause: if they will speak their minds to their representatives, the schemes of the spoilsmen will be promptly brought to naught, and, in the words of the Republican platform, "the dangers to free institutions which lurk in the power of official patronage may be wisely and effectually avoided."

THE PREROGATIVE OF CRITICISM.

BALTIMORE, December 6, 1889.

JOHN W. CARTER, *Secretary Massachusetts Reform Club*,
162 Columbus Ave., Boston.

My Dear Sir:—I regret extremely my inability to be with you to-morrow evening. Encouraged by your flattering invitation, I write a part of what I hoped to say.

The first duty of reformers is to tell the truth. If they see a public officer, whatever his position or dignity, behaving like a rascal, they must let him and everybody else know that they think him a rascal and are ready to say what they think. This will be perfectly consistent with voting for his re-election and persuading others to do the same, if thus only can a greater rascal be kept out of the place. And in dealing with such an officer they should regard it as altogether beside the question whether they were or were not responsible for his getting the position he misuses. There ought to be no coyness in criticism because the critics voted against the man they censure.

No doubt their criticism will be called partisan, but it will be called partisan anyhow. When the Maryland reformers complained of Mr. Cleveland's appointments, Democratic newspapers called them "Assistant Republicans," yet the great majority had voted for him in 1884 and voted for him again in 1888. What extreme partisans think or say of us is, after all, a very small matter; the important question is what we *are*. The people understand perfectly the difference between the criticism which is really partisan and the criticism which is really fair.

Nor ought we to be afraid of "getting snubbed." Macaulay said there was little danger of Scotland's being misgoverned because the Scotch knew so well how to make themselves decidedly unpleasant to those who misgoverned them. So the danger of snubbing depends very much on the "snubbee." If he sulks and pouts and goes off into a corner to whimper he will be held fair game; but if he reaches for the snubber's hair and inserts a bit of the latter's cheek between his own teeth, the chances are that another

time he will be accorded a more respectful hearing. The Republican Convention of 1884 administered an artistically complete snub to the reform element by nominating Blaine; I doubt whether their future convention is likely to do the same. The late administration seemed to take a pleasure in snubbing reformers in Maryland and Indiana, but it proved an expensive pleasure. I say this not, of course, because it applies to me personally. I grumbled at Cleveland after I had voted for him, and now grumble at Harrison under the same circumstances; and I may add that I have never regretted, and do not now regret, either of my votes, or the results of either of the elections at which they were cast, but because I have noted some disposition on the part of rather oversensitive reformers to handle the present administration very gingerly because so many of the prominent friends of good government were identified with the candidacy of Mr. Cleveland as to make Harrison's misdeeds none of our funeral. Now I might refute this conclusion (if I were satisfied to do so) by denying its premises. If by the "reform vote" or "independent vote" we mean the vote that was not cast for Blaine though it had been cast for Garfield, it is perfectly true to say that Mr. Harrison owes his election to the fact that this vote (not indeed in its entirety, but in great part) came back to him. Thus the eleventh ward of your own city, which, prior to 1884 had been, I believe, almost two to one Republican, gave in 1884 Cleveland 1416 votes and Blaine 1340, while in 1888 it gave the former 1376 and Harrison 2139. And in the Republican wards of Brooklyn, that is to say those which Garfield carried in 1880 by a plurality of 661, Blaine had in 1884 a plurality of 1203, Harrison in 1888 one of 4656. And, again, in Oneida County, New York, Garfield had a plurality of 1946, Cleveland one of 33 (1979 Democratic gain), Harrison one of 1965 (1998 Republican gain).

No doubt the leaders of the Mugwumps of 1884, as a rule, supported Mr. Cleveland in 1888, but the bulk of their following returned to its party allegiance, and by doing so enabled Mr. Harrison to replace Pearson and Bent and turn Virginia over to Mahone. But were it otherwise, good citizens should never concede their own abdication: the shortcomings of his government can never be matter of indifference to one who loves his country, and he can never justify to an enlightened and conscientious public opinion his failure to protest with all his lung-power against evident perversion of public trusts. In one respect we are all what Mr. Fitzhugh claimed to be, "bigger men than old Grant" or "old Cleveland" or "old Harrison" or anybody else old or young who receives as a public servant the salary which we all help to pay; for we have not given up what every public officer, be he President or Doorkeeper, must give up, the sovereign prerogative of speaking our minds, in season and out of season, on all matters of public concern. And this prerogative we have no right to surrender, as Dom Pedro did his empire, because it may be troublesome or dangerous to assert it; we are strictly bound to make the way of all political transgressors as hard as we can, so that they may be the less tempted to stray from the strait and narrow path. In this work of patriotism good men in all parts of the country should be prepared to help each other, and I regret the more my loss of the pleasure of meeting the Massachusetts Reform Club that with it I lose the privilege of assuring all its members that the Maryland reformers, who may claim to some extent the rank of veterans, have re-enlisted for the war.

With this fraternal assurance, I remain, my dear sir,
Yours most truly, CHARLES J. BONAPARTE.

EVILS OF THE SPOILS SYSTEM.*

IT is a matter of great concern to-day with all good men to save our people from the temptations and corruptions of the "system of spoils." This is confessedly a most prolific source of evil in every respect. It is a moral stigma which blurs the escutcheon of the republic. What hope can there be for peace, purity and permanence when

votes are commodities, when offices are bribes, when elections are dependent upon money considerations? The temple of our liberty is thus defiled by hucksters in patronage and power and place, and changed into a place for atrocious larceny. The whole system of political patronage is a system of bribery, and strikes at the manhood of the people and at the heart of the nation. It makes Dr. Johnson's definition of a patriot too true; it appeals to the most sordid motives of our life. View it in any light it is wrong. Before the enactment of the Civil Service Act, in 1883, the condition of the executive department in the customs or postal service was deplorable. In the Treasury, out of a force of 958 persons in the Bureau of Engraving, 539 persons, with salaries amounting to \$390,000 annually, were found superfluous. In one division 20 messengers were employed to do the work of one. One Collector at the port of New York removed on an average one of his employees every third day to make a vacancy for a friend, and thus rewarded 830 of his 903 subordinates at the average rate of three every four days. Says the first report of the Commission: "It was the expectation of such spoils which gave each candidate for Collector the party strength which secured his confirmation. Thus, during a period of five years in succession, collectors, all belonging to one party, for the purpose of patronage made removals at a single office of members of their own party more frequently than at the rate of one every day. In 1565 secular days 1678 such removals were made."

In the postal service the condition was as deplorable. Said a Senator at an impeachment trial: "I have heard in highest places the shameless doctrine avowed by men grown old in office that the true way by which power should be gained in this republic is to bribe the people with the offices created for their service; and the true end for which it should be used, when gained, is the promotion of selfish ambition and the gratification of personal revenge."

The effect of this dreadful system of official patronage and spoliation of public trusts has been to degrade the office of the President to that of a dispenser for party claims to a vast concourse of applicants for places for which they have no fitness, and to make him an instrument of selfish cliques. The spectacle of office-seekers at the White House is disgraceful and humiliating. The election of a President is a signal for the rush of this vast army of plunderers upon the public funds. The report of the Senate Committee on Civil Service, in May, 1882, says, in speaking of the Presidency, "There has grown up such a perversion of the duties of that high office, such a prostitution of it to ends unworthy the great idea of its creation, imposing burdens so grievous and so degrading of all the faculties and functions becoming the occupant, that a change has already come in the character of the government itself which, if not corrected, will be permanent and disastrous."

"Thus hampered and beset, the Chief Magistrate of this nation wears out his term and his life in the petty services of party and in the bestowal of the favors its ascendancy commands. He gives daily audience to beggars for places, and sits in judgment upon the party claims of constituents."

This is not as it ought to be; and if there is a duty of the hour, it is to hurl this Tarquin of party patronage from its throne and banish it from the republic forever. The testimony from *all sides* is the most convincing as to the abuses and wrongs which arise from this pernicious system. *It is a gross injustice to the President,* as will appear from the embarrassments, distractions, and unworthy motives to which it appeals. *It is a fraud upon the people;* for what difference does it make, as to the faithful discharge of his duty, whether a land surveyor, a collector of the port, a postmaster, a water registrar, a collector of taxes, or a commissioner of pensions, is a Democrat or a Republican? Why should party affiliation be made a test when the duties are entirely independent of such considerations? Mr. Windom is reported to have said, while he was Secretary of the Treasury, that five-sixths of the applicants for office under him "based their demands not on merit, or fitness, or character, but on their poverty and incapacity otherwise to obtain a livelihood." As a rule, says the committee, such appointees are neither

* A sermon preached in St. Peter's Church by the Rev. Julius E. Grammer, D. D.

capable nor willing to render service to the Government. They expect to repay personal influence by active political partisan service." Is it a wonder that there should be "complaining in our streets," when public trusts are thus made a matter of patronage, and not the award of merit, of capacity, of character? Millions of money are squandered in the purchase of such places, and lost too by the incompetency and dishonesty of unworthy place-holders. It ought to be abolished as a *great wrong to the people*.

Again, "the patronage system" works great injustice to the public servitor. It removes good men often for bad. It displaces competency by ignorance and selfishness. It sends misery into families, suddenly deprived of their support by precarious and unwarranted exercise of power. It tends to demoralization and pauperism. It tempts to the abandonment of principle for party, and makes men reckless of trust and duty, from the fact that there is no permanent award to merit.

It is a source of "complaining," inasmuch as it works *great injury to our institutions, and changes our elections, municipal, state, and national, into a barter for booty*. It is a fearful strain upon the peace and virtue of the people, and enhances the *perils of party feeling*, against which Washington warned the country in his last address. Only think of the enormous patronage of millions of dollars and thousands of appointments by which, under the present system, *party is the only authority to confer, and a vote the only title to receive*. The effect of this system is manifest, upon investigation, in opening the door to great abuses. The Auditor of the Custom House (at the time of the notorious Swartout swindles in New York, many years ago) when asked why he did not inform the committee of the Senate that the collector had not paid over to the cashier \$30,000 in his possession, humbly replied, "Because we clerks of the custom house consider ourselves in the service of the collector, and not in the service of the United States." And the evils of this partisan system are manifest in municipal administrations. Ex-Mayor Low of Brooklyn says, "A city is a business corporation rather than an integral part of the state." "The substitution of the system of selecting city employees by personal character, qualification and competency, for the system of appointment by personal and political favoritism, is the first indispensable step in the establishment of municipal administration upon a sound basis." The greatest party leader in England, Mr. Gladstone, declares that patronage is more injurious than helpful to a party, and he adds that in England not more than seventy officers are changed by a party change of administration. Lord Macaulay, in describing the effect of the spoils system under George III, says "that as nothing was too high for the revenge of the court, so also nothing was too low. Great numbers of humble and laborious clerks were deprived of their bread, not because they had taken an active part against the ministry, but merely because they owed their situations to the recommendations of some nobleman, or gentleman, who was against the peace. The prescription extended to tide-waiters, to gaugers, to our keepers." And certainly it is as bad in our time. No wonder the House of Bishops reminds us in their pastoral letter, "Purity and integrity in the administration of public affairs are strenuously demanded by the religion of Christ, as well as by all patriotic aspiration. Official place, in morals and in politics, is not the prize won by a vulgar selfishness, nor the refuge of patronized incompetence, nor yet the barter price promised or paid for political influence, but the place in which a righteous man may serve his fellow-men and advance the reputable interests of his country. The emoluments of office are derived from a fund contributed to the state by the loyal obedience and patient toil of the industrious masses; to say the very least, it should be distributed so as to secure the most efficient and economical conduct of public affairs. The honors of office are the legitimate rewards bestowed by popular confidence upon upright citizenship.

It must be an evil day for our country when both emoluments and honors are made the prey of a partizan activity, which often discards all honesty in its methods and renounces all shame in its corrupt and corrupting success. The religion

of Christ is "for the healing of nations" sick with sin and wrong; and the Church of Christ, while holding itself aloof from the strife of faction and party, is yet called upon in the persons of its members to guard jealously the great heritage which God's providence has bestowed, and to maintain earnestly the beneficent ideals of political life and action. To answer that call with ready mind and will is the becoming office of faithful men who would promote the righteousness which "exalteth a nation," and invite still further blessings from him who "hath brought us forth into a wealthy place" among the peoples of the earth.

Surely to-day we may call to mind the pure motives and principles of the first five Presidents of our country to stir us up to higher aims. Said the Father of his country, "I will go to the chair under no pre-engagement of any kind or nature whatsoever." And he also said, "In every nomination I have endeavored to make fitness of character my primary object." So we might cite, from the literature upon this subject, the testimony of Jefferson, Madison, and the younger Adams. The time has come in the history of this great country, with its untold resources, its composite population, its great problems, of the purest civilization and the largest liberty consistent with safety, *to make merit the only claim to service; to put character before party; to put qualification as first*. There is great "complaining in our streets" on account of the dreadful perversion of the trusts of the people. In the city and the state and the general government the cry is for reform. "Reform" echoes upon the ear as the appeal of the people. It was said of Hugh Miller that as a mason he put his conscience into the work of his chisel; so, to have the temple of our liberty a joy and a praise, let every man put his conscience into the ballot he casts. It was the sentiment of Mr. Madison that the President who should remove a meritorious officer was worthy of impeachment. Surely it will be a glad day when this Trojan horse of official patronage shall be taken away. We may well fear "the Greeks bearing gifts." "He that hateth gifts shall live." And "in the revenues of the wicked there is much trouble."

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BALTIMORE, FEBRUARY, 1890.

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THE MONTH.

WE learn from Mr. Herbert Welsh that Mr. Leavy, the excellent agent at the Yankton Agency, South Dakota, who, according to Bishop Hare's account and that of Rev. Mr. Cook, is the best agent they have had for many years, and whose retention in the interest of the Indians was much to be desired, has been removed, and a Mr. Everett Foster has been appointed in his place.

THE Lower House of the Massachusetts Legislature has passed this resolution in view of the opening of the Charlestown Navy Yard:

Our Senators and Representatives are hereby requested to favor such legislation as will extend the provisions of the United States civil service law to all persons employed in the navy-yards of the United States.

The reform has now become thoroughly well established in that progressive State, and the people are so well satisfied with its operation that they are determined to have all public business within the boundaries of their commonwealth conducted on the principles dictated by common sense.

MR. RICHARDSON, of Harford County, has offered a resolution in the House of Delegates instructing the Maryland Representatives in Congress to vote for the repeal of "that obnoxious, unconstitutional, undemocratic and unrepudican measure, known as the so-called civil service law, which strikes at the fundamental principles of free government, which disfranchises three-fourths of the American people from the right of holding public office." The antiquarians of the next century who find this resolution in the journal will wonder whether Mr. Richardson was a humorist. Their suspicions will perhaps be strengthened if they look over the files of the newspapers of the day and find his performance described as "jumping on the civil service law."

THE saloons seem to have a "pull" in the Legislature. The engrossing clerk of the House is Edward O'Mahoney, saloon-keeper, 13 St. Paul St. One of the three doorkeepers is Wm. J. Broom, saloon-keeper, 507 S. Bond St.

THE choice of George Colton as chairman of the committee on corporations is an act of which we hope Speaker Hubner is ashamed. Mr. Colton is quoted as saying that he favors no particular corporation, and thinks that each should pay an equitable and just tax. He refrained from adding that this tax ought to go into the Grandmother's Fund; but Mr. Colton's position on these matters is so well known that he doubtless considers it unnecessary to define his views very closely.

THE inquiry into the character of the notorious Briscoe, reading clerk to the Business Men's City Council, has resulted in nothing, in spite of the efforts of Mr. Stabler. The report of the committee was deferred until public indignation over Briscoe's appointment had had time to cool down, and

then it was announced that the charges against Briscoe had not been sustained. We wish the Business Men joy of the whole lot of scalawags, Briscoe, Farrell, Flannery, and the rest, chosen as officers by a Council whose members the Business Men shortly before the election "cordially endorsed."

WE congratulate Mayor Davidson on candidly abandoning his predecessor's cherished fiction that the Bolton Depot property, which the city was bamboozled into paying \$415,000 for, is worth more than half that sum. In spite of all Mr. Latrobe's talk in defense of this ugly-looking transaction, Mr. Davidson frankly says in his message that he charged off a sufficient sum on the books to bring it "down to \$200,000, at which price the finance commissioners were directed to lease it." The Mayor shows equal or greater courage in pointing out the immense extravagance of the proposal now pending to open Douglass street. Not only, he says, is the street to be made nearly twice as wide as there is any need for, but it is also to have two bends in it, "apparently made for the very purpose of rendering it necessary to remove" two large buildings, whereas if extended in a straight line neither of these need be damaged. He is not afraid either to point out one of the abuses prevalent under Collector Hopkins and his predecessors, which by the way has recently been condemned by the Real Estate Exchange. We refer to the so-called "distrains for taxes," which have no other excuse for existence than that they provide fees for heelers and other dependents of the politicians. The Mayor says on this subject:

Great complaint has been made by many of our citizens in regard to the "pro forma" notices of distraint which the bailiffs leave upon the premises, and the distraint costs which are thereupon added to the tax bills. I am informed that these costs are entirely illegal; and they certainly are onerous, collected as they are from the class of citizens least able to bear them.

No taxes upon real estate are now enforced or collected by distraint upon personal property, but by sale of the realty itself, so that the only purpose of the distraint proceedings appears to be the multiplication of costs. Now, if these costs inured to the benefit of the city, something might be said in their favor, although even then it would be a great hardship to punish a poor man in this way for his inability to pay his taxes at the proper time. But as they are simply divided among the bailiffs, their only benefit seems to be to enable this corps of employes to be retained.

Some bailiffs are necessary, but it would seem that if these distraint proceedings for taxes upon real estate were dispensed with a much smaller force than the present number (28) would suffice.

I would recommend, therefore, that the collector be instructed not to make any distrains for taxes upon real estate; that the number of bailiffs be reduced to, say, ten, and that they be allowed the sum of twenty-five cents for each tax bill and notice delivered by them, as required by law, preparatory to a sale; said sum of twenty-five cents to be added to the tax bill.

These three portions of the message show so much less fear of politicians and jobbers than anything said by our last two or three Mayors, that we have no hesitation in saying that the interests of the city have very much gained by the substitution of Mayor Davidson for Mayor Latrobe. As this would not have been accomplished but for the fear of the independent voter, we have a new proof that "kicking" makes progress in politics.

THE report of Mayor Davidson's investigation commission, though written in a very temperate and conservative tone, makes it evident, as we have so long maintained, that the business of this city is conducted very loosely, inefficiently, and expensively. It appears that work begins in the City Hall at 9 A. M. and ceases at 3 P. M. The commission recommends that city employees "be required to give their undivided time and attention during working hours to their duties," implying, what everybody conversant with the matter knows, that loafing and politics now get a good share of the time paid for by the taxpayers. There is great inequality and unfairness in the adjustment of salaries, also, and many persons employed by the city are overpaid. Some of the departments "are organized upon the most primitive methods," and are now "by no means adequate to the demands upon them." The politicians will not like the assurance that "in seeking a remedy for this it should be considered that an increase in numbers is not nearly so important as the ability of officials and employees to meet the larger requirements and higher responsibilities which are the natural concomitants of the growth of the corporation."

A gross scandal of long continuance is reprehended in the expression of the opinion of the commission "that no officer of the Law Department should, in any way, be connected with or employed in the interest of any other corporation liable to have business with the city." It will be remembered that for years the chief counsel of the Pennsylvania Railway in Baltimore has also been chief of the city law department. The management of the street-cleaning under Jim Busey and his associates "is confessedly a failure, recognized by every observant citizen as not meeting the requirements of a city whose natural conditions would render it comparatively easy, with a good system, to keep the streets and alleys clean. Money has been spent lavishly, and yet the results, in the way of increased cleanliness, have not been at all commensurate with that expenditure."

In Collector Hopkins' department large and comprehensive changes are recommended, among others that thirteen of his twenty-eight bailiffs be discharged as useless.

In the Appeal Tax Court, of whose arbitrary rulings on the value of property there has been so much criticism, the commission suggests that the court give publicity to their proceedings by monthly publications.

In the recommendations as to this department, as well as others, there is the implication of much lack of trained and competent men. Thus it is said "the assessors of buildings should possess a practical knowledge of values, and be in all respects thoroughly qualified for the work."

Again, "the health officer should be a practical business man of large executive ability. . . . The assistant health officer should be a thoroughly qualified and experienced physician. . . . Sanitary inspectors shall be accredited members of the medical profession."

Of another department against which charges have been freely made it is said: "The commission feels that it would be derelict in its duty if it did not state its belief that the system now in vogue and which has long been in existence in the City Commissioner's department is an inefficient one and certainly not economical. The demands of the city require the very best engineering intelligence and skill in this department, and your special attention is asked to the recommendations bearing upon this subject which appear under the caption of Board of Public Works."

We regret that we have not space or time to go more fully into this able and elaborate report, and we hope to return to it hereafter. It is evident, however, after only a hasty reading, that the commission thinks the various departments have no more organic coherence than bits of gravel in a brook. Many of their recommendations, most of which, at least, are excellent, are intended to accomplish a rational organization of the parts. We trust the business men and the Mayor, who properly take much credit to themselves for the appointment of the commission, may be able to secure the adoption of the reforms suggested.

THE meeting of Democrats at Hagerstown in advocacy of ballot reform was very notable, as showing the independent and progressive spirit of the people of that community. Col. Douglas on taking the chair said:

We have assembled to express the sentiment of the Democrats of this county, for they had no representation in the present Legislature to express them for us. During the last campaign it was believed to be necessary to success, especially in Baltimore City, for all the candidates and speakers to pledge themselves to secure the passage of an election law similar to the Australian ballot system; and that pledge was made and repeated on every occasion in the most unequivocal manner. These pledges were confirmed with unqualified approval by all the press of the State. Now the Legislature is confronted with its promises and its duty. The purpose of this meeting is to assure the Democratic members of the Legislature that we the Democrats of this county, with no factional division will heartily sustain them in the honest fulfilment of the pledges made for them, without guile or evasion.

Mr. J. Clarence Lane said, evidently with no fear of Mr. Gorman before his eyes:

The ballot reform movement, of such absorbing interest all over our county, is due to the conviction of the imperative need of radical changes in the elective system, which experience has demonstrated is so futile to prevent fraud, bribery and corruption. This, like all other reforms, has encountered the opposition of some whose political supremacy is dependent upon the use of false and dishonest means of controlling election results.

Then with a skillful appeal to the party feeling of his audience he added:

Tariff Reform, Civil Service Reform and Ballot Reform are the three great living doctrines of Democratic belief, as ably expounded by the ex-President, whom every true Democrat hopes to see triumphantly returned to the completion of the work so well begun by him.

He closed his speech with a lucid description of the necessary features of a law to protect the ballot.

Col. Schley's eloquent speech contained a warning that those who oppose this reform will be swept aside in its certain progress. Col. Schley, as a party man, naturally hopes the leaders of the Democratic party may see their danger, but with a courage unusual among regulars in this boss-ridden State, he added, amid great applause:

I love my party with her traditions and for the good she has done to the people of our country, but I love my country more, and if such laws should—as I do not believe they would—turn our State over to the Republicans, then I would accept the result as the recorded wish of an honest majority, to be respected and obeyed.

After this speech the following resolutions were adopted:

Whereas, The intimidation and bribery of voters at elections in this State, as well as in the country at large, practiced by both parties is rapidly on the increase, and,

Whereas, The dominant party in a State is justly held responsible for any failure to pass proper laws for the preservation of the rights, and for the happiness and prosperity of the people of the State, and,

Whereas, The highest privilege of the citizen and also one of his

most sacred duties is to cast his vote without fear, and free from the corruption of bribes: be it

Resolved, That it is the sense of this meeting that the Democratic members of the Legislature of the State, now in session, should redeem the pledges of the Democratic party, set out in its platform adopted in Baltimore in August last, by passing such stringent election laws as shall preserve the secrecy of the ballot and the entire freedom of the voter, and to that end an official ballot, printed and distributed at the expense of the State, the seclusion of the voter at the time of voting, due regard being had for properly helping the illiterate voter to cast his ballot as he may desire, and such provisions as to election expenditures, the publicity of the same, and for more stringent legislation for the punishment of bribery in both giver and taker, are in the judgment of this meeting necessary to purify and protect the ballot, and Democrats of our Legislature are hereby urged to pass such laws as will best accomplish these objects.

Gormanism will yet be put down, we have no doubt, and the Democrats of Hagerstown are showing how to do it.

AFTER a most acrimonious fight, Congressman Stockbridge has been beaten in his effort to have his man made Postmaster of Baltimore, and the prize has been carried off by the President of the Young Men's Republican Club, Mr. Johnson. What results may follow the faction fight thus ended doubtless the next election will show. No doubt we shall hear plentiful complaints over the "lack of harmony" which is always produced by a long struggle for a place at the trough, and doubtless one set of disappointed Republican spoilsmen will find it hard to co-operate cheerfully at election time with their successful rivals.

But that is not "our funeral." We have no other interest in the matter than a desire to see an efficient postmaster appointed. We shall be better prepared to give an opinion on that phase of the affair six months hence. We trust, however, that upon Mr. Johnson's induction into the responsible post entrusted to him by the President, he will devote his attention to the business of his office, not with a view to using his clerks and carriers as part of a standing army for carrying elections, but as instruments for honestly serving the half million of his fellow-citizens whose comfort and convenience, if not in some cases their success in business, depend on a prompt and accurate distribution of the mails. Such an administration will give Mr. Johnson a reputation to be proud of, and will besides do much to show that his party in Baltimore is fit to be trusted with large administrative affairs. To treat the office as spoils, however, and to pay political debts with its patronage, will discredit both his party and himself.

THE following charges have been made against the Civil Service Commission:

First. It is charged that one Campbell, a brother-in-law of Commissioner Lyman, copied a set of examination papers prepared for examination and gave them to a friend, Mrs. —, who sold them to one Flynn, the principal of the Ivy Institute, in this city, which institute prepares applicants for examination before the Civil Service Commission.

Second. It is charged that after the facts above detailed became known to Commissioner Lyman he promoted the said Campbell from a \$1000 to a \$1200 position.

Third. That, in violation of the Civil Service Law, when there were hundreds of men and women on the eligible list, clerks were appointed in the Civil Service Bureau without any examination whatever.

Fourth. That, in violation of the civil service, messengers on the civil service force have been promoted to clerkships on said force.

Fifth. That appointments in the said force have often been made in utter disregard of the law, and in several instances when the

appointee, in the capacity in which he was appointed, was entirely worthless.

Sixth. That there are now on the eligible list names of enough persons to supply all the clerks the departments will need for several years to come.

The Commission courts an investigation, and the charges are now under consideration by a committee of the House. About the first, second, and third we know nothing; but whether true or false, they have no bearing upon the efficacy of the law. As to the fourth, whoever prepared it showed gross ignorance in not knowing that the messengers referred to are in the classified service, and may therefore be legally promoted, as stated. The fifth charge is too indefinite, as laid, to mean anything. Of the sixth it may be said, first, that the lists are destroyed each year; and, second, that if so many people are applying, even when the barrier of the examinations keeps at least an equal number away, what must have been the misery of an appointing officer's existence before he had the law to protect him?

It has long been known that many members of Congress regarded office-brokage as their most important public duty; but the Secretary of State is generally regarded as an officer whose dignity, if not the proper discharge of his grave and important duties, would prevent his taking part in the scramble for pelf to divide among his friends. According to the Baltimore *Herald*, however, the present incumbent of that position regards the distribution of patronage as one of his main objects; and finding the President unwilling to permit him to fulfil pledges of places made to his friends, he regards himself, as the head-lines have it, as "held down by Harrison." The case of General King "forcibly illustrates the impotency of Secretary Blaine under this administration," says the *Herald*, and

"Such a position is irksome and irritating to men of Secretary Blaine's abilities and disposition. His public career, extending over many years, has shown that he is quick to accept responsibility and to act upon his judgment. And he is faithful to his friends. This latter characteristic has made him so popular. It is because of his loyalty to his friends that they are ever willing to make every sacrifice for him. Now, though head of the Cabinet and premier of the administration, Mr. Blaine finds himself unable to reward a single friend with even a minor consular appointment. His dissatisfaction has developed within him a desire to retire to the peaceful quietude of private life and to finally abandon politics."

Mr. Blaine might find relief in studying international law or mastering our relations with China.

THE spoils system involves an immense waste of time on the part of executive officers who have appointments to make. President Harrison's grandfather, it is said, was hunted to death by office-seekers, and the present occupant of the White House still finds his mansion infested with bores who plague him with demands or "claims" for places. Every City Hall in the land, too, is overrun with them after every election. Mayor Davidson complains bitterly of being unable to do all the work of his office, because his time is taken up listening to place-beggars. Recently an office-seeker came to tell him he wanted So-and-so's place. The Mayor asked him if So-and-so was not honest and capable. "Perfectly so," was the reply. "Then why do you want him to go?" "Why, he has been there long enough." When has a clerk been in a bank long enough? If such impudence were ventured upon in any private office the visitor would probably be kicked out.

The practice of "giving somebody else a chance at the crib" is always a cause of inefficiency and sometimes of immense loss. This is well illustrated by the statement of the *Civil Service Chronicle* about the Petersburg, Va., fire department. In 1882 the Mahoneites got control of the city and turned out all the Democratic firemen. Soon after a large fire occurred, but the new firemen knew so little of their business that they failed to find any water, though a large reservoir was near at hand. Spoils politics destroyed the property.

STAND BY THE PLEDGES.

A MAN with as many secrets as Mr. Gorman learns to keep his lips under lock. He seldom talks freely, and if he needed to be reminded of the maxim, "Silence is golden," the tempest of indignation raised by his declaration of hostility to the Australian ballot law, which whistled shrilly even through the *Sun's* usually tranquil editorial columns, was enough to make him as silent as a hibernating bear. We are not surprised, therefore, that the utmost efforts of the reporters are unavailing to get from him any amplification or explanation of the confession of the fraudulent character of our recent elections, contained in his statement that a fair election law would be appropriately entitled "a bill to send the Democratic party to the rear." Mr. Gorman knows better than anybody else, doubtless, that his forte is not public discussion, and consequently he wastes no more rhetoric on the matter, but goes to work to defeat the passage of the Business Men's ballot reform bill in ways that are certainly dark but by no means necessarily vain.

How many intrigues he has begun for this purpose, and how many successful or unsuccessful attempts he has made upon the cupidity, the vanity, or the fears of members of the Legislature, to induce them to break the solemn pledges of the party to enact fair registration and election laws, is known only to himself and to those of his henchmen whom the *Sun* euphemistically calls "the managers." It is encouraging to observe, however, that the only one of his plans as yet publicly disclosed has not been entirely, if at all, successful. And indeed it was so clumsy as to raise the hopeful suggestion that at the same time his tongue clove to the roof of his mouth, his hand forgot its cunning.

The "astute Senator" seldom does anything so bungling as the attempt of his lieutenant, Mr. Wentz, to dispose of the proposed election laws by turning them over to the tender mercies of a caucus committee. This object alone could have been aimed at by Mr. Wentz's resolutions, offered in the caucus on January 22:

WHEREAS, the Democratic party in its last State convention pledged to the people of the State the passage of laws to perfect the system of registration, and to enact such amendments to the election laws as would throw such additional safeguards around the ballot-box as experience has demonstrated to be wise and necessary . . . , and

WHEREAS, the pledges can only be redeemed by a full and free conference of the Democratic members of the General Assembly, and after such deliberation, to support such measures as may be agreed upon by the conference; therefore

Resolved, that the chairman of this caucus be and is hereby directed to appoint a committee of 11, to consist of four Senators and seven members of the House of Delegates, of which the chairman shall be one, who shall consider propositions now pending or that may be introduced, or to formulate such measures as our party stands pledged

to, and present the same to this caucus for such consideration, discussion or amendment as this joint caucus may determine.

Resolved, further, that until such action shall be taken by the joint caucus, the Democratic members of both houses shall refrain from voting for the consideration of such measures in either house.

This committee was to consist of Messrs. Hubner, Colton, Laird, Fitzgerald, Brashears, McMaster, Shaw, Wentz, Smith, Brown and Silver. A fair election law put into the secret custody of a committee dominated by Messrs. Wentz and Colton would be smothered as quietly and ruthlessly as the princes in the Tower. This was so patent that many honorable members, including some even of the most pronounced party-men, refused to consent to the scheme. Senator Poe, with a boldness which is most honorable to him, fought his old enemy, Mr. Wentz, with vigor. Mr. Preston, of Baltimore, announced without any shilly-shallying that he was under personal pledges to vote for the Australian law which he would break for no caucus. Messrs. Laird and Wirt were equally emphatic in expressing their disgust, and subsequently issued a statement of their views on the matter. In this they forcibly pointed out that it would be improper for members of the General Assembly to go into caucus upon measures affecting assessment and elections, with the understanding that they would be bound in advance to abide by and support the caucus action, whatever it might be. They demanded a full, free and open discussion of such questions as due to the public, and as necessary to develop whatever differences of opinion, if any, may exist among the Democratic members as to the proper legislation necessary to redeem the pledges of the party. Up to this time, however, there has been nothing before either House to show that differences of opinion exist, and therefore in any view of the case, no occasion has arisen for a caucus. They participated in the caucus only for the purpose of ascertaining how far it was proposed to control the action of members, and inasmuch as the resolutions adopted by the caucus bind those who participate in its future deliberations to support its conclusions, they cannot, consistently with their views of their duties as legislators, take any further part in its meetings or recognize its authority as the exponent of party sentiment. That, they justly say, is the function of the party convention, and no man can go astray as to the duty of the representatives of the party, with the State and city platforms of 1889 before him.

After a vigorous resistance on the part of the ablest Democrats in the Legislature, the caucus passed Mr. Wentz's resolutions, but the result showed that while the Ring still controlled forty-three Democrats absolutely, there was a large minority of twenty-five members determined to make an effort to carry out the solemn pledges made during the campaign. In view of this strong and intelligent opposition, the Ring has been compelled to apologize for its effrontery at the expense of its intelligence, and the announcement is now seriously made to a confiding public that all this struggle was entered upon to get a committee with powers only advisory!

Though foiled in this first attempt to enforce repudiation upon the party, the desperate Ring is unquestionably still straining every nerve to effect its purpose to perpetuate fraud at elections, and the pressure exerted upon recalcitrant Democrats at Annapolis who insist upon some regard for common honesty is said to be tremendous. It therefore behooves the Business Men, who have endorsed all the party promises and whose own credit is equally in jeopardy, to bestir themselves.

As a first step they have passed and published the following resolutions, and have sent a copy to each Democratic member of the Legislature:

WHEREAS, by the language of the resolutions adopted by the Democratic Convention in September last, together with the interpretation publicly and generally given to it in the canvass which followed, the expectation was held out to the voters, that in the event of the success of the Democratic party the introduction of the general features of the Australian method of voting in the city, if not in the state, could be expected; . . .

Resolved, that in the sense of the committee those pledges should be fully, and not grudgingly or partially redeemed.

Resolved, further, that the committee entertains the fullest confidence that the Democratic members representing the city in the Senate and the House of Delegates of the Legislature will not be wanting in any effort to meet the just expectation of the Democratic voters in this matter.

It is not exactly the same thing to say that "the expectation was held out to the voters . . . that the introduction of the general features of the Australian method of voting in the city, if not in the state, could be expected," as to say as they did, in their fervid language, just before the election, "The recent Democratic City Convention recommended . . . that the best features of the Australian system of secret voting . . . should be *introduced*. The persons nominated for the Legislature stand pledged to *advocate these measures*. They could not violate their pledges without a breach of faith, so clear and open as to expose them to just and general contempt." But a business man's appreciation of his wares is probably higher during the heat of a bargain than a month after he has made a good sale. We shall not quarrel with them, therefore, over a slight weakening in their tone, but we do venture to suggest that if the goods yet to be furnished shall not come up to their representation, their own credit before the people will be once for all destroyed. But it became plain, on their visit to Annapolis, that the Business Men are at last fully aroused to the danger they are now exposed to, of being hopelessly discredited as the dupes of Mr. Gorman. The speeches made by the delegation, and particularly Mr. Daniel Miller's warning that the party, if it repudiated its solemn promises, will suffer a defeat at the hands of its friends, were manly and determined. In view of this spirit among his friends, we wonder that Judge Fisher is averse to holding a public meeting to give expression to the popular demand for ballot reform, because it might "take on the complexion of an indignation meeting." What, in the name of heaven, is to be used to coerce corrupt politicians into decent behavior if not public indignation and fear of punishment? And what more deserving indignation than the brazen effrontery which discards the solemn pledges of a great party, as a gambler might throw away the soiled pack with which he had won?

CONGRESS AND CIVIL SERVICE REFORM.

THE CIVIL-SERVICE REFORMER has no politics. It is no more hostile to the supremacy of the Republican party in national than it is to that of the Democratic party in State affairs. Nor, craving the indulgence of that earnest, if somewhat recent, reformer, Mr. John P. Poe, does any sensible man of either party really believe the contrary, however much some may try to persuade themselves or others that they do. We therefore feel no coyness as to telling the Republican majority in Congress a few obvious and salutary, if unpalatable, truths from the standpoint of one ready

to use their party as an instrument of good government, with no prejudice against it and none against its rival, but to whom either party which ceases to be an instrument of good government becomes an incumbrance to be cast off, if not a nuisance to be abated. The first is that they are in power on probation only. They have no such hold on the respect, confidence or affection of the people as will justify foolhardy pranks. Their bank account of political capital may be easily overdrawn if it is squandered in idle affronts to public morality or common sense. In both houses of Congress they have very small majorities, and it is at least open to question whether they would have any in either had there been a new election last autumn. To control the next Congress they will need all the shrewdness and sound judgment at their command between now and November, and have no margin of good luck to waste in doubtful experiments or exhibitions of mere tomfoolery. In their position it is sheer recklessness to slight any means which may conciliate intelligent public opinion, much more to wilfully alienate and openly defy it.

In the next place they must really make up their minds that neither the methods of Mahone nor those of Foraker nor those of Clarkson are suited to their present needs. These have all been tried and found wanting; only political ostriches do not because they will not see this. We do not mean that these methods have failed to secure honest government, purify politics, elevate public morals, make Americans love and honor their country's rulers; we assume that the majority in Congress are not "sentimentalists," but care as little for these trifles as Mr. Gorman himself; we mean that the systems of policy in question have further failed to attain those ends to which they are avowed means—failed to gain votes to carry elections, to promote discipline and harmony within the party that practices them. No doubt some Republicans were not ashamed to place the Federal patronage in Virginia in Mahone's hands while they thought he could and would "break the solid South" for them on these terms; but to do this and then find the South made more solid than ever can hardly seem brilliant strategy even to them. Foraker's rabid talk, Clarkson's peddling out of the post-offices may have been in their eyes right enough if Ohio and Iowa could be thus carried and big and little "claims" all over the country thus amicably adjusted; but, with Ohio and Iowa lost and the party everywhere honey-combed with disaffection, complaints and factions, because, or largely because, of these very scandals, they can hardly think, nor with entire complacency, how these were tolerated and encouraged by party leaders and the party press. Honor, patriotism and self-respect, the esteem of good men and the applause of their own conscience, are luxuries which "practical" politicians must forego to assure party success; but there seems nothing very practical in disgracing one's self to be repaid by disastrous failure. Those who in mediæval fables sold their souls to the devil at least obtained the stipulated price: to make such a bargain and then have Old Nick cheat you besides would make even our senior Senator feel "sentimental." We consider politics as a profession a mean and paltry one, but those who practice it ought at least to know their business; and if success is the proof of knowledge, the men we have named certainly do not know theirs. The Republicans must choose other guides and adopt a different policy if they would retain the ascendancy which their blunders have so gravely endangered.

What is that policy? This is a very simple question if only

one is willing to let recent experience answer it. In 1884 the Republicans lost the presidency because their candidate, with many elements of unusual strength, had one fatal weakness. His nomination was an insult and a challenge to the reform sentiment of the country. In 1888 they regained it because they had been taught by defeat the wisdom of conciliating this same sentiment which the Democratic administration had in a measure disappointed and wounded. In 1889 their supremacy was shaken because there were signs that in the intoxication of victory they had forgotten or were likely to forget the double lesson. One must be blinded by prejudice or self-interest who cannot in the light of all this see what is their true policy in 1890. The people do not care for hopelessly sterile declamations about the dead questions of thirty or twenty or even ten years ago; they ask existing parties to deal with the living questions of to-day, to secure them fair elections, honest and economical administration, and a system of politics in which men who are not mere tricksters and time-servers can and will take part. They ask this too resolutely and persistently for the demand to be ignored, and they will be satisfied with no subterfuge or evasion. If the majority in Congress would serve its party it has only to recognize these patent facts in its action; to support by friendly legislation and reasonable appropriation the admirable commission whose appointment is the wisest as well as the most creditable act of the President that party elected, and to thus prove its platform to have been more than a shameless lie. They need not be reformers or statesmen, or patriots, or even good citizens, to see that this should be their course; they will adopt it unless as politicians their moral obliquity amounts to mental alienation.

CORRESPONDENCE.

HIGH LICENSE AND PROHIBITION.

To the Editor of THE CIVIL-SERVICE REFORMER.

Sir:—As the CIVIL-SERVICE REFORMER has taken up in its December and January numbers the subject of high license in Baltimore, and as there seems to be abroad a great misapprehension of the position of those who favor prohibition as the better and only effectual bar to the acknowledged evils of public liquor selling, will you allow me to give a few reasons why we stand where we do, and while not objecting to any prohibitory legislation, whether contained in high license bills or not, uncompromisingly oppose high license itself as "wrong in principle and powerless as a remedy."

All prohibitionists will cordially unite in the preliminary reasoning of the friends of high license. It is a striking example of the old maxim that "to agitate is to educate." That the liquor traffic is an evil, that it is the prolific cause of crime, poverty, and political corruption, are old truths to us, however new to the friends of high license. That the latter are willing, even at this late day, to stand uncomfortably with one foot on our platform, is gratifying. Perhaps in time they will muster up courage to stand squarely with both feet there and proclaim, with all the zeal of new converts, that liquor selling is a crime, and the parent of crime; that to license crime in a community is a criminal act against the morals of that community; and that gambling houses, lottery shops, brothels and saloons should be classed together and *prohibited by law together*: with this exception, as to classification, that the saloons do tenfold more harm to the community and are therefore tenfold more deserving of being prohibited than the other three places combined.

The question of liquor licensing becomes, then, to the prohibitionist, first of all one of right or wrong—the right clearly on one side, the wrong clearly on the other. It therefore admits of no compromise. On such a question only half-Christians are in favor of half-measures. To seek to make a source of crime a source of revenue is in itself a crime—a taking of blood-money; a selling by the State of the manhood of its men, the bright future of its boys, and the virtue of its young girls; a betrayal of helpless human lives—sixty thousand annually in the United States—to death and slow burning up worse than death—a deed infamous from old times until now, as a means of gaining any pecuniary advantage, whether the reward come in the shape of thirty pieces of silver or one million dollars in taxes.

This is the *moral* reason why prohibitionists cannot and will not support high license, while favoring all prohibitory legislation.

To those with whom moral reasons have no weight—and they are the great majority—we can only say that we regard the *practical* arguments in favor of high license as an evasion of all the facts of the case.

The following fallacies of high license can be contradicted by bold assertions, but never by hard facts:

1. That all low grog-shops are, or can be, wiped out by high license.
2. That high license lessens the consumption of liquor.
3. That it lessens appreciably crime and pauperism.
4. That it takes the saloon out of politics.
5. That it does not create a monopoly of the worst and most odious kind.

6. That there is any precedent, or that it is desirable or permissible for the State to make an acknowledged source of crime and pauperism a source of revenue.

7. That it has been a success wherever tried.

It may be better to anticipate at once the answer which will inevitably be given, not to any one thing asserted, but to all—the one poor, solitary, hard-worked, lonesome answer—Philadelphia.

The prohibitory features, and the prohibitory features only, of the Brooks law, with good men behind them, have done good—not *High License*. The more stringent prohibitions are made there or anywhere, the more prohibitionists will be pleased. Prohibit altogether—the whole logic of the matter—and they will be delighted.

But—there is much virtue here in a "but"—there are some large States and eighteen other cities under high license. Philadelphia is a case where the exception *does not* prove the rule. What about these other cities—Chicago, Boston, Omaha, Pittsburg—which have been relegated to such undeserved obscurity? Can it be possible that Philadelphia is to the high license men like Mecca to the Moslem—the only city in the world! Are all the other seventeen accursed, that they should not be mentioned—that their names are never heard? Always Philadelphia, Philadelphia. Revenue from high license—Philadelphia; decrease of crime from high license—Philadelphia; general benefit of high license—Philadelphia. Have the friends of high license ever even *heard* of Omaha, Pittsburg and the others? Really, if it is to be Philadelphia, Philadelphia, Philadelphia, forever, one could take a green, ugly, hook-nosed, lively parrot, and in three weeks teach it exactly the same method of reasoning to the letter—and a much better one in four weeks if it was a bird of ordinary intelligence.

JOHN C. CARPENTER.

KIND WORDS.

SCOTTSBURGH, N. Y., Jan. 13th, 1890.

To the Editor of THE CIVIL-SERVICE REFORMER.

Sir:—Enclosed please find one dollar for the CIVIL-SERVICE REFORMER. My heart is still with you in the generous fight you are making against the banded forces of political corruption. I wish to express my satisfaction especially with the excellent literary quality of the paper you are sustaining in the interest of good government. Cultivated intellect has generally ruled the world in the past, and I believe it to be a more potent element now than ever before. I remain,

Very truly yours,

JOHN H. MAGEE.

FREDERICK, MD., Jan. 29, 1890.

Editor CIVIL-SERVICE REFORMER:

Sir:—Enclosed find one dollar for a year's subscription to your paper. I believe in the principles for which you are contending, but I sometimes lose heart; but after considering things in the light of past history, I come to the conclusion that civil service reform must eventually prevail over all obstacles, because it is right. No good thing has ever been accomplished, no great reform ever established, that has not cost patience and perseverance and industry and toil and sacrifice. "Grow not weary in well-doing, for ye shall reap if ye faint not."

Yours truly,

THOMAS E. POPE.

THE CHURCH IN POLITICS.*

Gentlemen of the Catholic Club:

IN an address of welcome to the prelates of the Third Plenary Council some five years ago, I said, speaking of the presidential contest of 1884, then just concluded: "The Catholic church has no politics: she knows nothing of candidates or platforms, of administrations or policies, of tariffs or currencies; she is mute on every question as to which honest men may honestly differ, and no more tells her children what ticket they shall vote than what food they shall eat or what clothes they shall wear. But as she demands that they shall eat with temperance, that they shall dress with decency, so she requires of them to vote with an

* An address delivered before the Catholic Club of Baltimore, Wednesday, February 5th, 1890, by Charles J. Bonaparte.

unclouded judgment, with an undrugged conscience, with the good of the country as their motive, with the fear of God before their eyes."

I avail myself of your very flattering invitation for this evening to recur to this subject and point out why and how the church, as one and the first of those forces which in modern society "make for righteousness," can and of right should affect the nation's political life. Macaulay claimed that to say of Charles I "He was a good man, but a bad king," involved a contradiction in terms. No one who violated in the discharge of public duties the principles of morality and honor could, he urged, be reasonably and justly thought of as "a good man." If this be true of an English king, it is no less true of an American citizen. His conduct as a citizen cannot be ignored in any fair estimate of his character. Of course I speak only of the moral aspect of that conduct. Men equally conscientious and patriotic have always differed, and while human nature remains essentially unchanged, always will differ as to questions of public policy. A measure which to one seems wise and just will often to a man of different temperament, education, surroundings or private interests, appear highly inexpedient or oppressive, yet the opinion of each may be perfectly sincere and inspired by an earnest purpose to advance the public welfare. It is not always easy for a strong partisan to recognize that there may be this honest difference of opinion; he will be often tempted to think those who cannot see things as he sees them *humani generis hostes*. But free government is possible only if and where this fact of human nature is practically accepted by the people. In the United States we realise that even those who put spokes in the wheels of our pet schemes for ushering in the millennium are not necessarily servants of the devil, and we enjoy an orderly liberty. In some countries of the New and some of the Old World no party seems able to admit this; the result is alternations of absolutism and confusion. There is, however, a fundamental distinction between tolerating mistaken views and tolerating immoral professions or behavior. When a man's words or actions show that he does not accept the obligations of conscience as controlling his political conduct, he is not a less but a more legitimate object of censure than if similar moral obliquity were displayed in his private life. I can illustrate my meaning by a reference to two topics now attracting a large share of public attention. Many persons whose opinions are entitled to weight think that the estimable citizens who have presented a "high license" bill to our General Assembly make a grave mistake in asking the appointment of a board of excise with large discretionary powers. It would be foolish and uncharitable for either party to this discussion to impugn the other's motives; but if any one should seek merely to impede the passage of this bill, not to improve it, he has no cause to complain if he is deemed indifferent to the evils of intemperance and treated as one indifferent may reasonably be treated. Again, it may be matter of fair argument whether the Australian ballot system will or will not promote fair and free elections in this country. A speaker or writer who maintains that it will not may be prejudiced, ignorant or obtuse; he cannot for this reason alone be justly thought corrupt. But if one should be found who objected to the system not because it would not but because it would promote fair and free elections, and because he thought fair and free elections might injure his party or faction or his own interests, then such a man would admit himself to be unscrupulous and dishonorable, and should expect to be so called.

A principle which would exempt from the censorship of public opinion that very province of human life in which one man's action most directly and visibly affects his neighbor's interests, is on its face false and mischievous. Were it generally accepted that "in politics, as in war, everything is fair," there would be simply no such thing as politics, for the existence of politics implies a government by persuasion, and with moral influences excluded there would be room only for a government by pure force. But I go further and deny that "everything is fair" in any sphere of man's activity; that in anything which he does, or is, he lays aside his conscience. Consider for a moment the illustration

chosen. In nothing has the moral progress of mankind been so manifest and so rapid as in the ethics of modern warfare. The maxim *silent leges inter arma* may have contained a measure of truth in pagan antiquity; it has now become indisputably and glaringly inconsistent with fact. In war between civilized and Christian nations, some things are no doubt lawful which are unlawful in peace, just as there are some things lawful in peace which become unlawful in war; but the reign of law, the recognition of moral duties and restraints is unbroken; indeed, the voice of law is more imperious and the punishment of disobedience far sterner. And these are but the legitimate fruits of Christianity. It was an essentially heathen idea that men might for a time cease to be morally responsible, that some of their thoughts or actions did not concern the tenants of Olympus:

"Sérains dans les cieux, contemplant leurs autels,
Les dieux s'occupent-ils des amours des mortels?"

When, however, men were told that for every idle word of wantonness or wrath they should one day strictly answer, no exception was made for words spoken at a primary. The decalogue contains no clause suspending its operation while ballots are counted or votes returned or appointments sought. A Christian cannot draw a sponge over his record as a member of civil society; that record will avail to fix his destiny, and if it does, it concerns the church. Even if she would, she cannot limit her mission, cannot escape dealing with evils by closing her eyes to their existence. Doubtless it is a delicate task to deal with those evils. Her serpent wisdom must endow with prudence and tact those who speak in her name. Zeal not according to knowledge, however well meant, may here be readily harmful, but all this amounts to saying that the work must be done wisely, not that it should be left undone. For be well assured that if this field is given up to the enemy, his tares will spread to those adjacent. You cannot abandon a heart to sordid passions in the forum and hope that it will be pure and honorable and generous at the fireside. Burke has well said "There never yet was *long* a corrupt government of a virtuous people." The church then must help good men to purify and elevate politics. But how shall the help be given? Not, I need hardly say, by participation in political struggles. Her kingdom is not of this world, she covets not the things of Cæsar, and her ministers, while entitled to the unobtrusive exercise of their rights as citizens, and, indeed, in my opinion, bound in conscience to thus exercise these rights, cannot be too rigidly or sternly forbidden to display any partisan activity. She can promote honest government, pure politics, sound and lofty public spirit, by teaching through the words and acts of her representatives that she believes in and prizes these things and does not hold them mere phantoms: by making those who fight for them feel that in spirit and sympathy she is on their side, and those who fight against them know that she counts as her enemies enemies to their country's welfare. When we read that mediaeval barons bestowed on churches and monasteries wealth acquired as the spoil of a life devoted to rapine and bloodshed, we can be charitable to the imperfect manners of a barbarous age; but there is room for no such indulgence if the material interests of any enterprise, however laudable in itself, are advanced through agencies which imply a condonation for intrigue and corruption and suggest indifference to wrongdoing. The courage of consistency is the first virtue of a moralist. He will never lead others who is afraid to show by his life that he believes what he teaches.

"Those love truth best who to themselves are true,
And what they dare to dream of dare to do."

THE CIVIL SERVICE REFORM SERMON PLAN.

I HAVE been asked to say a few words regarding the Civil Service Reform Sermon Plan, by which an appeal was made to the religious ministers of the country to present to their hearers the moral claims of the reform, upon last Thanksgiving Day, or at such other suitable time as they might select. The story is short and simple, and I will gladly tell it.

It occurred to the mind of the writer, one Sunday last April, that as a very important moral question was involved in the treatment of 200,000 appointive Federal offices as party spoils on the one side or a public trust on the other, it would be well to ask the ministers of the country to treat this matter as one coming fairly within the pulpit's domain. To make such a request with any reasonable chance of success would involve considerable labor and some expense, but the result might be attained if the steps leading to it were wisely and patiently taken. The result hoped for was not of any radical change in the condition of things relating to the reform, or one which would be plainly visible to ordinary observation; it was rather the setting in motion of gentle forces of agitation and the gradual diffusion of well digested information, which should make more fruitful the efforts of veteran reformers, and should assist the advance of deeper and truer political thought on the subject.

At first, a few friends representing different religious bodies were appealed to for advice. As their opinion was favorable to the movement, the matter was then referred to Mr. George William Curtis, with the assurance that it would be prosecuted or abandoned according to his judgment of its probable usefulness. Not only was Mr. Curtis' reply favorable, but responses from many other leading reformers were equally so. The work was then begun of making a systematic appeal to leading men in the various churches for their indorsement, so that the weight of their names might be added to the general appeal to be made later, to the entire religious bodies which they represented.

This preliminary appeal, which occupied the summer and early autumn, was largely successful. The Roman Catholics declined to assist the movement, while expressing favorable opinions of the reform, but twenty-eight of the Bishops of the Protestant Episcopal Church approved it, together with leading divines of that and almost all the other Protestant bodies, including Methodists, Baptists, Presbyterians, Congregationalists, Dutch Reformed, Lutheran, and Unitarian Churches, also Jewish laymen and Rabbis entered actively into the movement. Some eminent men, it is true, while expressing warm approval of the reform, felt that the question was too closely allied with politics to permit its discussion by the pulpit. But the great majority of those reached in the preliminary appeal took the view that the moral issues involved in the reform were of so deep and vital a nature as to bring the question clearly within the domain of Christian ethics. These responses were very interesting, as they revealed the deep interest taken in this question by religious men of prominence in all parts of the United States. Answers were received which ranged from Maine to Florida and from Massachusetts to the Pacific coast.

While this part of the work was in progress, money steadily flowed in (mostly in small sums, as had been requested) from those friends of the reform whose assistance had been invited, until finally more than one thousand dollars was subscribed for the incidental expenses of the work. These were considerable, as the plan proposed a direct personal appeal to more than twenty thousand ministers, and also involved mailing to them several pamphlets containing such information upon the nature and history of the reform as might serve them in the preparation of their discourses. The pamphlets or tracts in question were "The Reform Primer," an excellent article prepared by Mr. Eaton on "The National Civil Service Act," and "A Brief Sketch of the Reform," which was a synopsis of Mr. Eaton's work on "The History of Civil Service Reform in Great Britain," and Miss Lucy M. Salmon's "Appointing Power of the President." A valuable agitation of the question of civil service reform was started and stimulated by this preliminary work during the course of the summer and autumn. Many of the newspapers, both religious and secular, discussed the subject in their columns, the majority being in favor, some opposed to the sermon plan, and a still smaller number to the reform itself. Valuable assistance was given the plan by the opposition of the New York *Sun*, which honored this effort by several attacks upon it, and by the presentation of such evidently sophistical arguments against the reform as did much to advance it in public estimation. The drift of

political events during the course of the summer also aided the work, for the general management of the civil service was such as to convince thoughtful men of the necessity for renewed effort toward an abolition of the spoils system.

No careful effort was made to ascertain how many clergymen preached upon the reform on Thanksgiving Day in response to the twenty-three thousand appeals which were sent out one month before, but there are abundant indications that the responses were sufficiently widespread to warrant the effort and to repay whatever time or money had been expended upon it. Since then more than two hundred and fifty clergymen have personally communicated with the writer, stating in the great majority of cases that they had treated of the reform in Thanksgiving sermons, and in a minority of cases that they intended to do so in the near future. Many of these responses were exceedingly interesting, showing that persons who have never before been reached on this question have not only now been reached but have been convinced of the necessity for the reform. As was anticipated, the good attained by this effort is rather the widespread diffusion of information which will slowly but surely fructify, than startling or apparent results. While it is hardly probable that more than a third of the twenty-three thousand pamphlets distributed have produced sermons, or have even been read by those who received them, if that, or even a smaller proportion have touched, with their facts and arguments, centres of moral influence, the sermon plan will have accomplished its mission.

HERBERT WELSH.

REAL ESTATE AND PURE POLITICS.

THE report of the president and directors of the Baltimore Real Estate Exchange shows that body to be aware of the close connection between corruption in government and depression in business. It will be remembered that this body published and distributed last summer a series of addresses by various well known Baltimoreans upon the causes of our excessive taxation. In that connection the report says that "much of our real estate, particularly dwellings of the middle class, presumably assessed at its market value, is in reality taxed largely in excess of what it would bring in the market—in some cases as much as from thirty to fifty per cent. This alone is, in a measure, destructive to the value of such property; on the other hand, large blocks of vacant land stand upon the tax books of the city at the price assessed more than twelve years ago, and the asking price of its owners attests the utter absurdity of the assessment under which our levy is made. Much valuable business property, too, is largely under-assessed, and thus escapes its proper share of the burden. As a matter of fact, the only fair basis of value of improved property for taxable purposes is the *revenue* which the property produces, which for dwellings of the middle class, renting say from \$400 to \$1000 per year, should not exceed a capitalization of the rent at ten per cent."

The report continues: "The hope of our real estate for the immediate future lies in the Legislature now assembled at Annapolis, and the interest taken in this subject of taxation by our several commercial bodies and leading business men gives promise of tangible results. Three proposed laws to which we should lend our influence, and which may be said to be vital to our interests and those of our clients, are:

1. A new *ballot law* after the Australian system, ensuring purity of elections, upon which depends the election of those who are to represent us and vote our taxes.
2. A new *assessment law*, which is of prime importance and should be most carefully prepared; and
3. A *high license law*, which, apart from its moral effects, by no means to be disregarded, should add largely to the revenue of the city."

After citing several economies that might be made, the report thus points out one of the nuisances involved in keeping up sinecures in the Tax Department:

"There is one practice of our City Collector's Department which is very reprehensible, and which should be legislated out of existence—the levying upon 'one chair' by its bailiffs about the first of February for the taxes of the

preceding year. This proceeding is manifestly to secure to the bailiffs certain fees, which are promptly added to the bill, and no further steps taken under the levy. It is a fraud and deceit, since it threatens to do what it has no intention of carrying out, and, whilst the delinquent owner is not reached, its effect is to thoroughly frighten the innocent tenants, who, in many cases, immediately vacate the premises from fear of losing their household effects. It is a pertinent query in this connection whether our taxes could not be collected possibly without the services of the bailiffs and with great economy to the Department, as well as to owners of real estate."

The spoils system in a business office is thus condemned: "Referring once more to the new assessment law, it is important to *emphasize the fact* that no matter how carefully prepared, its value to us, looking to an honest and equitable assessment of all property, will chiefly depend upon *those who are appointed to carry it into effect*. The assessors should not be men appointed, as is too often the case, merely as a reward for party services, but *experts* well equipped for the work, having a thorough knowledge of the value of our real estate; men of character and integrity, who will be free from *even the suspicion* of what is known as "influence," and whose valuations cannot be impeached. The compensation should be ample to secure such men, and, if possible, the appointment for the city of Baltimore should be vested in the Mayor, as one best fitted to judge of the qualifications of the appointees."

A LUXURIOUS LEGISLATURE.

THE Baltimore *Sun* remarks: "Our contemporary, the Hagerstown *Mail*, is scandalized at the fact that the twenty-six Senators of the Legislature at Annapolis have twenty-one officials to wait on them and 'two chaplains to pray for them.' With wheat at 75 cents a bushel, it is a question to the *Mail* whether this does not smack of extravagance. The *Mail* objects to the apparent helplessness of the Senators. It doesn't like their having stamp-lickers, messengers, clerks, doorkeepers, cloak-room keepers, etc., to the tune of \$110 a day. It concedes that they need the services of their two chaplains, but is skeptical as to the practical results. Our contemporary forgets that the heads of our Solons are now so swollen up with ideas and reflections upon the subjects of taxation, ballot reform, gas jobbery and belt railroading that they cannot get about without assistance. They are not paid to use their legs, our contemporary should recollect, but their intellects. As the session advances it may expect, in accordance with the general law of nature, that the locomotive and prehensile functions of our Senators will be somewhat inert from disuse, and before the session closes it ought not to be surprised if it finds them physical wrecks, taken out in carriages with bottles every fair day (by their twenty-one officials at \$110 a day) for airings. Intellect comes high, but we must have it."

Mr. Edward Stake, of Washington County, in his recent address before the State Farmers' Association, said, apropos of the same matter: "Our legislation costs too much money. We have too many useless employes in public affairs. We dispense our funds too liberally and lavishly. Our national legislators must have high salaries—personal clerks at the public expense to do the work they ought to do themselves. Our State legislators must have employes at high salaries to do the most insignificant and unnecessary acts—carry their checks to bank—pull off their overcoats—to stand up their umbrellas for one wet day out of thirty dry ones, and to be paid for the dry days—to watch a door that no one is ever prevented from entering, and to keep a water-closet at five dollars a day, with postage stamps and stationery thrown in, which duty is farmed out at fifty cents a day, while the official stays at home and draws \$4.50 for doing nothing, as well as officials for a host of other unnecessary attentions. A Senate of twenty-six members with twenty-three employes. A double Senate at double expense. Our county affairs cost too much money. Our road laws are a bungling mass of inconsistent and incongruous acts without system. A large part of the money expended produces no

benefits. Our courts are conducted upon a system that has outlived the state of society which gave it birth. Court charges, clerks and registers, sheriffs and attorney's fees, per diem of jurors, bailiffs and other appendages are maintained at war prices; methods of conducting courts and public business of all kinds are unduly expensive. In times like these, when we are looking for relief, it is not asking too much of the law-making power to apply such corrective legislation as will relieve us of these oppressions."

A SHAME IN OUR POLITICS.*

THERE is no charge which weighs more heavily upon the thoughtful citizen than that sometimes made that our Government, intended for the benefit of all, is used by a few for selfish ends. As we look upon the history of governments in the past it is difficult for one who has a sense for human rights to defend them. They seem to have been devised and perpetuated mainly to satisfy the ambition or serve the interest of some individual, or family, or class. Even the republics of Athens and Rome were not for the common benefit, but for that of the freemen of those cities against the great mass, who were slaves. The theoretic anarchist has, I fear, the best of the argument, when the past is had in mind. But American patriots can say, No matter about the past; we stand on fresh soil and with new ideas to-day; we will have a government if never there was one before, not for the people to serve, but to serve the people.

God said, I am tired of Kings,
I suffer them no more;
Up to my ear the morning brings
The outrage of the poor.

Think ye I made this ball
A field of havoc and war,
Where tyrants great and tyrants small
Might harry the weak and poor?

And Emerson, who says this, describes the genius of American institutions when he says:

Old Europe groans with palaces,
Has lords enough and more—
We plant and build by foaming seas
A city of the poor.

We grant no dukedoms to the few,
We hold like rights and shall;
Equal on Sunday in the pew,
On Monday in the mall.

There is accordingly nothing to be dreaded more than the introduction of arbitrary will into the conduct of our government. For persons who attain to political power to use their position to further their private or class interests—this is to insidiously undermine free institutions, in effect, and to say to the anarchist, Yes, you are right, not only about the past, but about the present. We object to the old English kings distributing offices to their personal favorites or as a reward for services rendered to themselves; we applaud the barons who in 1215 made King John promise that he would not appoint any "justices, constables, sheriffs or bailiffs but such as knew the law of the realm and meant truly to observe it"; but what difference does it make if we have Presidents or Senators or Councilmen to-day, instead of a King, who exercise the old arbitrary prerogative? The trouble is not with the name a man bears, but with what he does with the power he has and how he uses it.

The fact is we deceive ourselves in this country. We think we have got rid of old political abuses, but we tolerate some of the worst that ever existed. . . . The old world was purifying itself, while the new world was still maintaining these abuses. England, down to 1853, was in perhaps as bad a way as our own country; but public opinion, aroused and indignant, overthrew the spoils system in that year and substituted the merit system in its place, so that Gladstone can now say that not more than seventy offices are affected by a change in the administration, and in 1880, as

*Lecture delivered before the Society for Ethical Culture, in Chicago, Sunday, December 1, 1889. By W. M. Salter.

matter of fact, not more than fifty were affected, after a great election which declared decisively in favor of a change in the foreign policy of the nation and put Gladstone in the place of Beaconsfield at the head of affairs. All the subordinate officers of the civil service in France hold their positions without fear of losing them except for misconduct or infirmity, and so, in spite of war or revolution, the public service goes quietly on.

I do not forget that there have been improvements in our own country. The civil service bill of Pendleton, himself a Democrat, carried in 1883, now regulates admission to over 20,000 offices. But the extent of the evil still remaining is shown by such facts as that President Cleveland in the first two years and three months of his term made 42,992 changes out of a possible 56,144, that during the latter part of his term he was driven into an almost complete use of the offices for the promotion of party objects, and that already under the present administration 20,000 changes have been made by the Postmaster-General in the Postoffice Department alone. The present system, while it does not allow Congressmen to make such appeals, still permits a Republican or Democratic National Committee to levy a tribute upon all members of the civil service of the country who care to keep their position under a new administration; it permits widows employed in the Postoffice Department, with salaries of \$900, to be called on to pay \$45, as happened not long ago; it permits government clerks on \$30 a month to be assessed for \$7.20, as happened with a person of unquestioned integrity, who afterwards was removed because he did not comply. Its spirit is reflected in a speech of Senator Payne, of Ohio, on the eve of Cleveland's inauguration, when he proposed a radical overhauling and purging of the existing service, turning on the hose, to use his savory language, plying the hickory and scrub-brush, and allowing only Democrats to enter. It is reflected in the bombast of Senator Ingalls, of Kansas, who declares there are thousands of men in his State, whom he never saw, who make his cause their own, who defend his acts and his words, who would fight for him, who would sacrifice rest and spend money for him, who would get up at midnight and ride a horse forty miles to set at work influence in his behalf. And for what is all this sublime selfishness? The Senator tells us when he says that he wants to give those men some of the things the Republican party has won. What does a great party chief propose? It is impossible in such a discussion not to mention names: it is Senator Farwell who is about to introduce a bill to abolish the civil service examination system, the only expedient we have, however imperfect, to check the ravages of party spirit, the doing away with which would lower our politics, already low enough, to a still deeper depth of corruption. Do not think me extreme on this matter. Story, one of our great constitutional writers, said long ago that if the power of appointment should ever be wielded to gratify ambition or resentments, to satisfy personal favorites, or, still more, if it should ever interfere with the freedom of elections, it would become one of the most dangerous engines to destroy private independence and public liberty which could assail the republic. Webster said on the floor of the Senate, after four years of the Jackson regime—I quote his exact words—"Mr. President, as far as I know, there is no civilized country on earth in which, on a change of rulers, there is such an inquisition for spoil as we have witnessed in this free republic. . . . And in my opinion, Sir, this principle of claiming a monopoly of office by the right of conquest, unless the public shall effectually rebuke and restrain it, will entirely change the character of our government." Lincoln, soberest of men,

New birth of our new soil, the first American,

said: "If ever this free people, if this government itself, is ever utterly demoralized, it will come from this wriggle and struggle for office."

My friends, there is but one way to speak of all this—it is a shame in our politics. It is not a party question that I speak of—it is not an intricate problem of law, about which none but specialists can speak—it is a moral question, into the right or wrong of which a wayfaring man, though

he be a fool, can see. How specious are the defenses of the present system, how easy it is for an unsophisticated man to look them through! It is said we have a government of parties. A bill was introduced into the House in 1882 by a certain Moore, of Tennessee, of which the following was the preamble: "Whereas, the Government of the United States is a government necessarily of parties, and whereas the interests of the successful party demand the distribution of public offices among those who indorse the principles of said party; and whereas, under the existing peculiarities of our human nature, as well as the genius of our institutions, no party can prosper under a system which recognizes the right of one set of claimants to hold office continually; therefore be it enacted, etc." What transparent humbug! Certainly, we must have parties. But there are parties in England, and when one party goes out of power and another comes in, there is a change of from fifty to seventy offices in the Kingdom. So much for the "lie direct." And "the lie with circumstance" is this—that human nature is such that men cannot combine to agitate and carry through some line of public policy without expecting to get paid for it after they succeed, or to pay those who do the hardest, or perhaps the lowest and meanest work. What a slander! A party is formed to accomplish an end: is it not enough if the end is accomplished—tariff reform, protection, abolition of slavery, land nationalization, whatever it be? An election is a contest between parties, ultimately between different lines of public policy: the party that wins puts its men in office who will carry out its policy—is it not enough for them to carry it out? What are our Presidents, our Congressmen, our Mayors, our Councilmen, but our servants—servants in the better and nobler sense: have they got to reward us or some of us for making them our servants? It is we who should reward them for assuming these difficult burdens. The notion of rewarding those who help put men in office is rotten to the core. Even granting that a Congressman may feel grateful to his constituents for placing him in a position of such responsibility, he can surely show his gratitude in innocent ways, he need not pay his private debts out of the public purse. Granting that there must be workers in a political campaign, men who give their time and their thought to it—we citizens, we members of the party in question, should recompense them for their service, but not the man whom we elect, or if he, then out of his own pocket, as we out of ours. For a Congressman to demand the right to bestow patronage is itself confession of sin; it is a confession that he has sought or is seeking the office rather than the office seeking him, and that he has succeeded or hopes to succeed by making promises of patronage or allowing expectations to grow. It is disgust with this whole business that makes high-minded men more and more unwilling to enter the field of politics; and the party machine is often in such hands that their nomination is impossible. Politics itself is losing its larger and nobler meaning; it no longer signifies the art of promoting the public welfare by this or that line of public policy—it becomes a petty, even a personal thing; as popularly used, it means the art of winning votes, of carrying elections—as when we say that a man does this or that from a "political motive," we mean with an eye to his re-election or to bringing himself before the public as a candidate. Senator Edmunds—one of the few men who seem to continue the earlier and nobler traditions of the Republic—has made the grave admission lately that our politics are now "chiefly carried on by those whose ends are purely personal." I believe that aside from the natural infirmity of man, nothing is so much responsible for this debasement as the fact that public offices are still so largely party plunder. He who will not soil his hands with the necessary scheming and bargaining can with great difficulty be elected to office, and as there are always those in the community who will do it, politics tends to drop to the meaner level. It is the kind of system we have that determines who shall be uppermost in it; if we have a bad system, whether in industry or in politics, it is impossible that good men shall take the lead in it.

But, my friends, when we take a deeper view of the subject, who is it that is responsible for this system? It will

not do to say it is the politicians. It is the politicians who take advantage of it, it is they and their class who in the first place created it; but who permitted its creation, who allowed the foul fungus to grow and strike its roots into our body politic? There are no lords in this country, there are no irresponsible rulers. It is we, we the people, that are at fault. We keep our hands off, we abdicate our sovereignty and let the politicians play their games as they will; we do not assert our mind and make it law.

What do we mean by civil service reform, or what in the first place have we in mind when we speak of the civil service? We mean all those offices which are non-political in their nature. Strictly speaking, it includes all offices filled by appointment, instead of by direct suffrage; but practically, the positions in the President's Cabinet being essentially political, they are left out of the account, and "civil service reform" is concerned only with those offices whose occupants are not as such concerned with the political policy of the Administration, but have certain definite matters of business to which they attend. For example, the Custom House is a purely business institution; the duties of its officers are regulated by law—whether there is a Republican or a Democratic administration, those duties are the same. The Postoffice is a business institution; it might be in private hands; the real functions of a postmaster and his assistants are to receive and distribute letters, newspapers, books, etc.; but there is no Republican or Democratic way of doing this, there is simply the economical way, the expeditious way, in a word, the business way. So with marshals, with district attorneys, with land agents; they have certain definite functions to perform under the law, they have nothing to do with directing the policy of the government, as have the President and his advisers, not to speak of members of Congress; they act under the law and subject to the authority of the Executive. But if those who fill these various positions, fill them well, and do their duty faithfully, why should they be changed for others? If the ends of the public good were kept in mind, they would not be changed; it is only as some personal or party motive enters that such an idea would arise in an executive's mind. The same rules must evidently apply to public business which apply to private business. In any well-conducted business house, those are employed who do their work well, they are promoted as they are worthy of promotion, and such persons have entire security so long as the head of the house is not arbitrary or given to favoritism; and it may be added that just so far as he is arbitrary and follows his personal likes and dislikes rather than his sober judgment, he is not a good business man. Service, efficient service, is the only test. Now the idea of civil service reform is to make efficient service the only test of employment in the different businesses the Government carries on. I came across an anecdote the other day that will illustrate the point. "A postmaster who held office under President Cleveland, but was dismissed by Mr. Harrison, has since become cashier of a country bank. He is one of those Democrats, however, who took their dismissal in good part and believes in the spoils theory. He was expounding it to a customer in his bank one day recently in the presence of several others. 'Postmasters ought to go out every four years,' he said. 'After that period, if they are sure of their offices, they get careless and inefficient.' 'Well,' said the customer, 'how many years is it safe to leave a bank cashier in his place?' The confusion of the cashier and the laughter of the audience showed how the shot had told." In fact, there is absolutely nothing in this favorite contention of the defenders of the spoils system; it is a trumped-up argument, it is really disingenuous, though great is the power of words, and men may unwittingly—or shall we not rather say, wittingly?—come to deceive themselves.

I know the danger is often talked of an official class. That, too, is in part disingenuous. Who talks of the dangers of an official class of railroad men, or express drivers, or horse-car conductors, or bank clerks, or of salesmen in a great dry goods house? So long as they do their work well are we not satisfied, and are they not apt to do it better the longer they do it? Should we like to have a change in the railroad or horse-car service, or in the personnel of the shop we like to

patronize, every time we have a new President or a new Congressman, or a new Mayor? Do we imagine that this would be a better order of things than the present one? For my own part, I believe that till our Government system is changed, it would be folly for the Government to undertake to do one particle more business than it does; as it is, I have serious doubts whether some of the business it now does would not be done better by private agencies, managed on sound business principles. Instead of the hirelings of party, we want men attending to the work of the Government who will do it well, and they may do it for life if they are faithful and efficient, so far as sober men, unsophisticated by politicians, care. Yes, just because Government positions are so insecure, it is difficult to find persons of first-class talent to fill them. A young man is very willing to take his chances in a business house, where he knows he can keep his position if he wants it, and can rise to a higher if he is worthy; but he would not care to, if every time there was a change in the politics of the country he was liable to be turned on the street. And in the light of this, how naive is the explanation of a mayor of one of our large cities, himself a professed and practiced spoilsman,* as to why he had been obliged to appoint men of bad character to office: "Few people," he said, "have any conception of the difficulty of selecting proper men. . . . The selection in nine cases out of ten must be made from office-holders and office-seekers. Men of good ability, holding permanent business positions with good wages, do not apply and would not accept. They are unwilling to give up business positions of certain tenure for political positions of uncertain tenure, and they are right." What a confession to make! It is to this pass that the spoils system brings us—alike in the service of the municipality and in that of the Government. Permanence, so long as duties are faithfully performed, is just what we must give to these subordinate government positions, if we are to have anything like first-rate service in them.

No wise reformer wants to carry reform to pedantic extremes. Surely one in the Government service is also a private citizen, and as he has his right to vote, so he has a right to aid the political party of his choice by contributing to its support. Nowise essential to reform, either, is any set system of examinations; they are but a device for getting some standard aside from the favoritism or party bias of the one who has the appointing power; good to this extent, but surely not meant to take the place of the judgment which acts on other data than those of mere readiness to answer questions. The real thing is to substitute the merit system for the spoils system, to have employment on grounds of merit in the first place, instead of as a reward for services to a party or a "boss"; to have promotion on grounds of merit in the second, and to have one's position perfectly secure so long as meritorious service is performed.

I can not believe the present system is long to continue. Despite our Farwells and our Ingallses, an honest sentiment is arising in the community and a righteous indignation over methods that have long had sway. How strong the sentiment is, is shown by the fact that neither of the great parties dares array itself against the needed reform, but is loud in its praises—though the party machines, in both cases, are "dead against it," since if the reform were carried, much of their very sustenance would be gone, and they would have to look about for straight and honest means of support.

What we want at bottom is a revival of patriotism, less absorption in our private affairs, and more thought and care for the public good. The spoils system arose because the public conscience slumbered; let that conscience awake and the system could not stand a day. Let us bring the question to the front, and keep it there till it is fairly met. I believe at the present this is the first of all political reforms. It will pave the way to others, but the others can not be seriously thought of till this is accomplished. Let us hold the parties to their pledges, and unsparingly rebuke them for their unfaithfulness. Let us make it a test question to all political candidates. Let a body, growing ever larger and larger, form itself of those who will rise superior to party politics (which in

* Mayor Hodges.—[Ed.]

fact at present mean almost nothing), and elevate a real issue—an issue in presenting which Jefferson and Washington, Madison and Adams would have joined hands with us, as they joined hands with one another one hundred years ago to form the republic which we are now called upon to purify and preserve. Arbitrary power or rule they would not have in their day, not of a party any more than of a king; let the people arise in their might and majesty and say that arbitrary power and rule must cease now.

MR. ROOSEVELT ON POLITICAL ASSESSMENT.

IN a recent report on political assessments in New York, Commissioner Roosevelt says:

"Experience in a number of investigations of this sort has convinced me that the talks often heard about the injustice of not allowing clerks to make 'voluntary contributions,' which the law in nowise prevents, is all nonsense. Government employes do not, as a rule, contribute simply from a desire to help the political cause in which they believe. The so-called 'voluntary contributions' are nine times out of ten made from some personal motives, that is, either in the hope of being retained in office, or else with the object of gaining some advantage over the other clerks. In other words, the employes are coerced into making them, for fear that their positions will be jeopardized if they fail to do so. It is probably safe to say that ninety per cent of the money collected for political purposes from minor governmental employes represents so much blackmail. This particular species of robbery is mean enough at best, and one of its meanest features is the fact that the men most apt to contribute money, the men most susceptible to pressure, are those of opposite political faith to the dominant party. Those who agree in politics with the party in control feel some assurance of protection if they refuse to be coerced into parting with their money; but the unfortunates of opposite political faith feel they have no power behind the throne on which to rely, are nervously afraid of giving offence, and yield helplessly when threatened. The amount paid is not absolutely very great in any individual case, but to a poor clerk just able to get along, the loss of three per cent of his salary may mean just the difference between having and not having a winter overcoat for himself, a warm dress for his wife, or a Christmas tree for his children. Such a forced payment is a piece of cruel injustice and iniquity.

Another fact to be remembered is that very much of the money so collected is never turned into the party campaign chests at all, being kept for their own private uses by the jackals who have collected it. If the head of the office is determined to have his subordinates contribute, the latter soon know it, and the fact that they must pay becomes common talk among them. In some offices the system of making political assessments has obtained steadily for so many years that many of the clerks have come to regard it as part of the established order of nature, against which they do not think of rebelling, but, whatever their own politics, regularly pay their contributions into the campaign chest of the dominant party; as one of them expressed it, 'They feel that the desk, not the man at it, owes just so much to the party in power.' Many politicians take this view as a matter of course. One of the witnesses in the present case, a strong Republican, who was holding office under the last administration, testifies that he was advised to contribute to the Democratic campaign by one of his friends, a New York Republican district leader, as being the only thing to do if he wished to keep his place."

The result of his inquiries seems to show that in the Naval Office under Col. Burt this disgraceful practice was broken up. But under Collector Magone there was widespread effort to collect money. There was, however, no active coercion. In the Surveyor's office, under Mr. Beattie, the contributions were levied generally. Both Democrats and Republicans gave to the Democratic fund. By means of covert threats even the most unwilling were forced to pay. Some who refused at first were made very uncomfortable

by being removed from their posts to others less agreeable. After payment they were sent back.

PROGRESS IN VIRGINIA.

THE first civil service reform bill for any State south of the Potomac was recently introduced into the Virginia House of Delegates by Mr. Clements, of Petersburg. The bill, in the preamble, sets out the fact that the efficiency of the police and fire departments of the several cities and towns of the State will be promoted by organizing them upon a non-partisan basis. Accordingly, the bill provides that after the first of July next three persons shall be selected in each town by the town council as fire and police commissioners. It is to be their duty to select those persons to fill vacancies in the police and fire departments who, after fair and proper examinations, are shown to be best qualified, without reference to political opinion. Persons so selected, however, are to be not appointed, but merely nominated to the councils for appointment.

The members of said board of commissioners shall be so selected as that not more than two of them shall be adherents of the same political party, and shall hold their offices for terms of six years. The term of one commissioner to be first appointed shall be for only two years, and the term of another only four years, and it shall be determined by lot which two of said three commissioners shall hold their offices for said terms of two and four years respectively.

Each board of commissioners to be appointed under this act shall prescribe for its government in the discharge of its duties, which shall be subject to approval by the council of the city or town for which such board was appointed.

All necessary expenses incurred by the board of commissioners of any city or town in the discharge of its duties under this act, and a reasonable compensation for each day of its sessions thereunder, shall be allowed the members of said board, which expenses and compensation shall be provided for as a charge upon such city or town.

Each commissioner selected under this act before entering upon the duties of his office shall take and subscribe, before some officer authorized by law to administer oaths, an oath that he will faithfully discharge the duties of his said office.

No person habitually using intoxicating beverages to excess shall be appointed to or retained in any office or position to which the provisions of this act are applicable.

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Supplement to the Civil-Service Reformer

VOL. VI.

FEBRUARY, 1890.

No. 2.

A Strong Argument for the Belt Line.

REVIEW OF THE OBJECTIONS TO A FREE RIGHT OF WAY.

THE CITY'S RECORD IN THE PAST.

ADVANTAGES TO BALTIMORE OF THE PROPOSED TUNNEL.

MILLIONS OF MONEY AND RAPID TRANSIT ASSURED.

To the Editors of The Sun:

The gentlemen interested in the Belt Line project believe that the time has arrived for them to take part in the discussion, and clearly lay before the people of this city their views and their purposes. They have published their plans, put their plate and diagrams on exhibition, furnished facts, invited discussion. The project has been considered from many points of view, and there seem to be two conclusions that have been reached by all: First, that the project is one promising great benefits to the city in ways too numerous to mention; second, that it is an enterprise which local capital is not willing or not prepared to take up, and which the railroads entering here and likely to benefit by it are not in a condition to undertake.

The question which is still being discussed pro and con is the following: Shall a project of this kind be weighted down with additional burdens of a character never before put upon enterprise by any American city? This is the present subject of discussion, and it is on this mainly that we wish to be heard.

The suggestion that such burdens should be imposed upon us was first made by The Sun. The friendly attitude which that paper assumed from the start and the tone of its articles were an assurance to us that in making the suggestion it was actuated only by a sense of public duty, though we think it was misled by a wrong analogy. That suggestion, however, made by The Sun in good faith, has been taken up since by the strikers and the obstructionist, and has been the excuse and cover for a hostile attack whose purposes are too plain to deceive any one who ever engaged in a public enterprise. Every individual who falls in the attempt to hitch his own private scheme to it begins straightway to be filled with anxiety for the protection of the public from some great wrong. This class is well known by those who engage in large enterprises. How large it may be in this instance, how much influence it can command, we do not know; it is to be hoped that it is small. We desire, however, to discuss the question on its merits and with the respectful attention due to the good faith with which it was first suggested by The Sun, feeling confident that you will not treat the discussion as closed until our side has at least been heard.

No one can fail to have noticed the singular unanimity with which we have been left out of consideration thus far. The question whether the project would benefit the city has been complacently settled in the affirmative. The benefit to the Baltimore and Ohio Road and other roads has been admitted by their friends and their unfriends. The interest of those of us, however, who come from outside to undertake this work, presumably for profit, has thus far been considered in one connection alone, to wit, how big a toll could we be put under, and how burdensome restrictions could be laid upon us without absolutely driving us away from the town. Outside capital seeking permanent investment in a city never received a colder reception. This, however, is really apart from the line on which we wish to discuss the matter.

We do not consider that we are entitled to ask from the city of Baltimore anything in the way of generosity to us simply because we propose to engage in an enterprise in the city; such an idea is entirely misleading. It is a business matter which we engage in for our own profit, which is the standpoint from which we look at it. The city and its people do all that can be asked of them when they look at it from the same selfish standpoint from which we look at it, to wit, the interest of the city. It is not their business to look after us or be generous to us. What it is their business to do, however, is to look at it from the broadest and most enlightened standpoint. It is wise for the city to encourage enterprise, to take it by the hand rather than by the throat, not because that is the generous thing to do, but because that leads to enterprises from which the city gets a benefit. It is from this point of view alone that we ask consideration of the question. How shall we and our enterprise be treated by the city of Baltimore? Shall we be treated in such a way as shall be an assurance to us of the wisdom of our coming here and of the safety of the enterprise inaugurated here?

Looking then, at the question of whether a toll shall be exacted from the Belt Road Company for the privilege of building—in other words, whether a tax or burden shall be laid

upon the enterprise as an enterprise—the subject will be most readily considered from two points of view: 1. Has the levying of toll of this kind upon enterprise the sanction of custom and experience in our American cities, more especially in Baltimore? 2. Is this enterprise in which we are now engaged a good one on which to be experimenting with this notion?

Let us look at the first question. Has it been the custom of American cities to so deal with large enterprises starting in their midst? To state this question is to answer it. The history of the tremendous growth and settling up of this country is the history of private enterprise and municipal aid. It would be the pettiest to enumerate the broad and liberal treatment of enterprises by the cities of this country to attract them to their territory. Wherever a big project, involving permanent and large expenditure, is under consideration, it is a race of diligence between a half dozen cities of the country to secure it by every species of liberality and inducement. We have seen the representatives of this city and of other cities following Mr. Cass Spreebles along the whole Atlantic seaboard, and vying with each other in the inducements held out to him. We have lately witnessed the generous gift (for it can not be otherwise described) made to the Permanent Exposition Company by the city of Baltimore; but it is dangerous to go into this question because we will be led aside by too many facts. The cities of our country have, as a rule, encouraged enterprises of large character by every species of aid, and although it may have been that in some instances the liberality went beyond the point sanctioned by sound business principles, yet the policy has been approved both by experience and by the mature judgment of the better minds of those cities.

Limiting ourselves more especially to the subject of railroads, it has been recognized as an elementary fact that it was of great interest to a city to get a railroad within its limits. In some cases the city has actually gone into the railroad business and built a railroad itself; in other cases it has gone in as a partner and taken large stock in the concern. More commonly, however, it has simply held out a helping hand to private interests that were willing to risk undertakings of this costly character. You know how the city of New York divided evenly with the New York Central Railroad the six millions of expense necessary to the carrying of the New York Central Railway into the heart of the city underground. You know that the States of Connecticut and Massachusetts have provided by their laws that where a city desires that a railroad shall be put underground, the city shall bear a certain proportion of the expense. In those communities, the most careful and economical in the country, the wisest sentiment has recognized this as an interest which warranted the city's direct contribution.

Take your own city, and we find that from the beginning up until now it has been giving every encouragement to railroads to come in and to reach all parts of the city, and the suggestion of charging for the privilege has never been heard until now. Let me give you a little sketch of what your city has done in this regard. In the year 1831, by Ordinance 18 the B. & O. R. R. Co. was authorized to lay a track down Pratt street to President, and thence to the city property east of the falls; by the same ordinance it was authorized to lay a track from the corner of Pratt and Greene streets, along Greene to Franklin, Franklin to Eutaw and Eutaw south to Camden. By Ordinance No. 34 of that year it was authorized to lay a track from the corner of Pratt and Cove streets, thence northwardly along the centre of Cove street to Saratoga, thence to Chateworth, thence to Biddle, thence along Biddle to the old Almshouse lot, and there connect with the Baltimore and Susquehanna Railroad, now the Northern Central. In 1845, by Ordinance No. 21 the same railroad company was authorized to construct a branch to some point on navigable water within the limits of the city, between Hughes Quay and Fort McHenry, under this the Locust Point Branch was built. In 1853, by Ordinance No. 15 it was authorized to construct a branch from its Locust Point branch, on Eutaw and Howard streets or any alley between them, to the Camden Station property, with the right to cross Camden, Conway, B. & C. and Lee streets. In the year 1854, the Legislature authorized the same company to build an elevated road through the city along Pratt street, under the street. In none of these cases was any compensation required or asked by the city.

Take the case of the Northern Central Railway, the old Baltimore & Susquehanna. In 1837 (Ordinance 31) there was passed an ordinance giving the Baltimore & Susquehanna Railroad the right to construct tracks along any streets it might select, with the Mayor's approval, to connect its main line

with the track laid on Howard street at its intersection with Franklin street or with the city block, or to any depot which might be established on Calvert street. In 1838, Ordinance 83, the same road was authorized to extend its track from the intersection of Canal and Wilkes street, now Eastern avenue, along the centre of Eastern avenue to Exeter street, and along Exeter to the city property on the city block. In 1854, Ordinance No. 55, the city gave the Baltimore & Susquehanna, now the Northern Central Railroad, the right to construct a lateral branch from any point on its line to the water line of the Northwest Branch of the Patuxent river east of Jones's Falls. In 1865, by Ordinance No. 31, the Canton extension of the Northern Central was authorized; it was to begin at North avenue and run to the navigable water of the Northeast Branch; the company was to adopt such grade as it deemed suitable, getting the city's assent where it desired to change graded streets; was to be carried under North avenue, Maryland avenue, Charles, Read, North and Belvidere streets and York Road; thence was to go by tunnel from York Road to the corner of the burial ground of the Second Presbyterian Church; was to cross Gay street at its present level, run along Biddle street to a point near Chesapeake street and down the centre thereof. In 1868, by Ordinance No. 79, the Northern Central Railroad Company was authorized to lay a track from the intersection of Eastern avenue and Eden street on Eden street to Aliceanna, and a track on Aliceanna, from its intersection with Bond, west of Albemarle.

In 1868, Ordinance No. 77, an ordinance was passed whose preamble states that it is desirable that railroad tracks should pass above or below grade, and that the Northern Central is desirous of removing its tracks from their present location to the northeast side of Jones's Falls and putting them below grade; the ordinance then provides that the grades of Charles street, between Hoffman and Lanevale, and Bager, between North and Buren, be raised so that the tracks can be made under grade, and that all open cuts in Hoffman and other streets be tunneled. The expense of making this change was to be borne by the railroad, but the far greater expense of constructing the bridges necessitated thereby was borne by the city.

In 1869, (Ordinance 26,) an Ordinance was adopted giving the Baltimore and Potomac Railroad the power to build their tunnel westward. It is unnecessary to enumerate all its provisions, but they constitute abundant grant of the use of the ground under the streets, and there is not a suggestion of payment for the privilege.

On May 24, 1884, the Mayor was authorized to contract with the Northern Central Railroad Company for the construction by the Railroad Company of a bridge for the Union R. R. Co. over Broadway, and the City was to pay \$3,520 as its share of the expense of that bridge.

But perhaps the most liberal grant of this kind was one made within the very last year to the Western Maryland Railroad, being Ordinance No. 28 of 1889, passed unanimously by both Councils and approved by the Mayor, and having at every stage of its progress the encouragement and approval of all classes in the City. It gave that Company the right to reach tidewater, and in doing so to cross railroads at grade and otherwise, and to use and cross streets and ways at over or under grade. The suggestion was not heard from newspaper, property-owner or Board of Trade that toll should be exacted for the privilege, or that extra burdens should be laid upon the project.

Here we have grants by the City to railroads already existing of the use of its streets far and wide, on the graded surface, under the grade, in subways and up in the air. We have them extending from the year 1831 down even until the year 1889, and the whole policy of the City has seemed to be to give any railroad all possible facilities for reaching any part of the City without cost, or at the City's cost, and in doing so to give up to the railroad company the use even of the graded city streets to whatever extent might be necessary to the securing of the object desired. From the beginning of these Ordinances, in 1831, down to the ordinance for the Western Maryland in 1889, (which gave the right to cross streets, to change the grade of streets, to cross other railroads at grade or under,) there is not a single suggestion that any of these enterprises should be made to pay for the privileges given them. In the case of the arrangement for the Northern Central to sink its tracks not only was it not made to pay for the privilege, but the City actually went to the expense of three-quarters of a million of dollars for bridging made necessary by the change.

In the case of the Western Maryland ordinance of last year the city, in practical effect, allowed the Railroad to make an arrangement by which the bonds for the new im-

improvement could have precedence over the payment of the city's interest.

It may be safely said that the idea of taking toll from a railroad or enterprise for a privilege granted by the city was never suggested by any one in the city of Baltimore until it was suggested in regard to the present enterprise of the Belt Road, and this brings us to the second point for consideration, as to why this enterprise should be selected as the subject for a levy of this kind. There ought to be something to explain why the city, which gives privileges so liberally to every other enterprise without money and without price, yea, which even pays people to take them in some instances—gives a privilege and contributes towards the utilization of it—why that same city turns suddenly upon an enterprise like that which is now brought to its doors, and, so far from giving it a welcome, begins to agitate different methods of burdening and weighing it down, such as have never been laid upon any other enterprise.

Is there anything in the Belt Road project as such that makes it wise for the city to discriminate against it when compared with all the other enterprises with which the city has every dealt? On the contrary, the best intelligence of this community, the capital and the labor element, agree in considering it an enterprise freighted with great profit to the city of Baltimore.

Let me now call your attention to the character of that enterprise, the benefits it is likely to confer upon the city and the reasons why the step-mother treatment of it should cease. And to begin with, the beneficial feature that seems to strike almost every one is the one which is regarded by those who have looked closely into the project as the smallest of its benefits—to wit, the fact that this road will bring into the city of Baltimore at least \$6,000,000 invested in labor and commodities here, will give employment to all classes of labor and a market for goods, the results of which labor and expenditure will be left in the city of Baltimore as a permanent improvement on which the tax collector may work his will.

This, of course, is not a profit to be despised, but, as I have said before, I consider it the smallest.

Let me now call your attention to the real and larger advantages to be expected from the Belt Railroad. The road will start with a depressed way from Lee street to Camden, will then pass into a tunnel and run with that tunnel under the bed of Howard street to the Richmond Market, and coming out at Park street, north of Preston, it will pass by a subway under all streets to North avenue, and thence around the northern and eastern part of the city and connect with the Baltimore and Ohio's Philadelphia Line at Bayview.

It may be stated as a simple fact that this Belt Line will connect every railroad that comes into the city of Baltimore with every other railroad that so comes in; that it will give access to tidewater to every railroad that comes within our limits. The roads that will more particularly be benefited by it will be the Maryland Central, the Baltimore and Ohio, the Annapolis and Baltimore Short Line, the Drum Point Railroad and the Eastern Shore Railroad, which will strike it over the Annapolis and Baltimore Short Line, with which they have now made a connection. It will also afford an alternative means of reaching the city to the Western Maryland.

Let me now call your attention to a few of the results that this road may be certainly expected to produce. I do not desire to draw any fancy picture, but it is hard to over-estimate the number of ways in which this road is actually going to benefit the city.

1st. The Maryland Central Railroad will by this be enabled not only to reach Baltimore, but to reach down into the very heart of the city. Along the heights of that road are situated the most desirable lands for suburban settlement in the neighborhood of Baltimore; the building of the Belt Railroad, bringing suburban settlers from Towson and points beyond to within from twenty to thirty-five minutes of the heart of the city, will lead the parties interested in that Company to make a broad-gauge road of it. Arrangements have already been made to proceed with this at once if the Belt Road goes through. This means the expenditure of another million and a half dollars in the State of Maryland, and so one enterprise begets another. It is unnecessary to speak of the profit that comes to a city from the encouraging of suburban settlement; it is a feature of the great cities of New York, Philadelphia, Chicago. It is a great and recognized lack of Baltimore, and that in spite of the beautiful country that lies around this city.

2d. The Western Maryland Railroad would be given a double outlet; either it could free itself from the tremendous tax to which it is subject for its tunnel charges, a direct saving to the city of Baltimore of that amount of money, or even if it continued to make use of that tunnel it could secure better rates, or could divide its traffic. It would reach all points on the B. and O. R. R., as well as all points on the Pennsylvania Railroad. Along that road also large suburban settlements are growing up, which would be greatly stimulated by the placing of the suburban settler within twenty or thirty minutes of the heart of the city.

3. Over the Annapolis and Baltimore Short Line will come the traffic of the Eastern Shore, which has already contracted for this connection. It is but a short time since the Board of Trade, which now seeks to add to the difficulties of the Belt Road, asked the city to indorse \$600,000 worth of bonds for the Eastern Shore Road. Why should that Board ask the city to aid an imperfect and doubtful arrangement to secure connection with the Eastern Shore, and when a perfect arrangement is made ask the city to obstruct it?

4. More important, in some aspects, than any of these is the relation of this Belt Road to the Baltimore and Ohio, and there is one view in which it will be very dependent upon the last. Of course it would give the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad Company and passengers therefrom two depots in the city of Baltimore, and give it a line through the city northward; but there is another point in connection with the B. and O. Railroad very important to consider. That road has a line already by the ferry across the Patapsco; such a line is unsatisfactory for passengers, but is abundant for freight, and a cheap line. It becomes a very important question whether the Baltimore and Ohio Company's freight, or any large part of it, will go over the Belt Railroad. Part of it probably never will; a large part of it may. It is all important to the success of the Belt Road that it should be in condition to secure that traffic. All the passenger travel of all the railroads that centre in Baltimore, even if that of the Baltimore and Potomac, Northern Central and P. W. and B. were thrown in, would not be sufficient to pay the interest on the cost of construction of the Belt Road; it must have another source of revenue than that. That source of revenue would be supplied by the Baltimore and Ohio R. R. Co.'s freight, if the conditions are such as to warrant its passage over the Belt Road. If the Belt Road can afford to give a low rate, such as freight can pay, then that traffic will go over it. You can see, therefore, how important it is that the Belt Road itself should not be hampered by a heavy toll upon its revenues. It must be able to give reasonable terms to the Baltimore and Ohio R. R. Co.'s freight, and the more of that freight it can get the better it will be for the city, for the following reason: The Belt Road must be able to make a low rate for passenger travel if it is to get the custom of the suburban railroads; a large part of that is commuter business. The commuter living at Towson pays but seven cents a trip; the Maryland Central cannot afford to pay much additional on that passenger to the Belt Road to take him half a mile farther. It must have better terms from the Belt Road than that, and the Belt Road cannot give them unless it has a big freight traffic to make it up on and is guaranteed against other reduction of its revenues.

5. But dropping the individual railroads that will feel the stimulus of this, look at its benefit to the class dependent on railroads as a whole. You have a large enterprise at Steelton, one of the largest in the State, and it may be taken as an example; instead of being on one road, it would be, when the Belt Road was finished, on every road that comes into the city. That enterprise requires an immense quantity of lime; would it not at once feel the benefit of close connection with the Western Maryland Railroad and the limestone region reached thereby? And would it not, in a lesser way perhaps, feel a separate benefit from its connection with each of the seven roads by which it would then be reached?

This city is anxious for the settlement of manufacturing enterprises here; it would seem to afford splendid opportunities for that same, and it has been a source of wonder that the fine advantages so apparent here have not been embraced by capital from elsewhere. Rumors are in the air of other enterprises of large character looking towards Baltimore, and it is hoped that Baltimore is ere long to begin to take the place that she should as a manufacturing city. We have here abundant water front; we have the best coal in the country within easy reach; ground is very cheap; living is very cheap; all these tend to attract enterprise. But even more potent than any of them with those who engage in manufacturing enterprises is the question of railroad facilities. No intelligent manufacturer likes to be shut up to one outlet, and other things being equal, likes to have as many railroads in reach as he possibly can. But should the Belt Road project be carried through Baltimore, from having been rather lacking in facilities of this kind, will be unique in the close connection afforded to all classes and districts with the numerous railroads that centre therein. Baltimore would become a distributing point for all the different territories tributary to her several railroads, and the two central stations, located at North avenue and German street, would offer to its citizens passenger facilities unequalled by those of any other city.

I have enumerated some of the advantages that may be expected to come from the building of the Belt Road. They are the more direct advantages and those easily seen, but there are many others less direct. I think we can safely say that there has not in the last twenty-five years come to the city of

promise for good as the Belt Railroad, and that it should be selected as the enterprise on which to inaugurate a cold and obstructive policy is one of the strangest chapters in the history of American enterprise. This would be so even if the Belt Road were asking the city to give to it something valuable, as were the numerous grants made to the other enterprises of which I have spoken, but the thing is more astonishing when we consider that in point of fact the new enterprise does not ask the city to give it anything that has value. If we asked the city to give us the use of its streets, as it has done to the Baltimore and Ohio, the Northern Central and the Western Maryland, this project could be carried through in a month, and one-tenth of the estimated cost would be ample outlay for its completion. But we do not ask anything of value from the city—nothing that the city could utilize. We will destroy no street; we will take no usable property. We propose to go down under the city and tunnel through. The ground there is being used by no one; it will not be; it has no market value from its use. The same thing which we ask from the city would not have any value in the hands of a private owner. It is merely to relieve us of a difficulty that we ask the city. We do not ask it to give us a dollar, to abandon the use of its land, to sacrifice a penny of its revenues or inconvenience its citizens. The thing we ask has no value to the city, but relieves us and aids us in the carrying out of an enterprise from which the city gets a benefit.

The proposal is that the city shall exact a toll from us for doing this; shall make us pay for it, not on the ground that it is selling us a commodity having value, nor that it is subjecting itself to loss or inconvenience, but simply on the ground that we cannot carry the thing through without it, and can be forced to pay. Is it wise for the city to do this? We urge upon the thoughtful portion of the city the serious consideration of this. Incoming capital was never treated in this spirit before by any American city. We had not expected such a proposition. We must not be misunderstood in our attitude towards it. With due recognition of the friendly feeling of so many people of Baltimore expressed towards the project, we will not for a moment submit to an exaction of this kind, and we will not pay the city of Baltimore for the privilege of spending \$6,000,000 tunneling under her streets. The privilege in itself is no value. None of her citizens are desirous of using it. The essence of the project is the money to do the work and the enterprise to undertake it; the bare right to tunnel under the ground could not be sold for a dollar.

It may be said that the work, when completed under the ordinance, will have value. While the margin of profit in this enterprise is small, yet we will admit, for the sake of argument, that it will have value; it does not affect the question. That value comes not from the value of the ground which we take, but from the six millions of dollars in good money which we must spend upon it. It is this that gives it value, and in that value the city will get the larger share. We again repeat we will not turn a shovelful of earth in a city that revives the semi-civilized practice of taking toll from enterprise as *enterprise* as a condition of allowing it to exist. We are willing to pay taxes; we come into a city whose tax rate is high (high, we believe, not so much from excessive expenditures as failure to develop and extend. We are willing to be responsible for any damages, but toll or tribute we will not pay. There are people who believe that no profit is received by a city from an enterprise except in the form of a direct payment into its treasury. In point of fact the indirect profit received by its citizens through the ordinary channels of trade, the payment of labor and the purchase of supplies, is infinitely more important than that which is paid directly to the tax-gatherer. The old practice of taking toll from merchants at the gates of a city has passed away with a hundred other blighted institutions, and no intelligent political economy believes that it is wise to tax enterprise as such.

In one sense we do pay for our privilege, and in a way that the best minds of your city will believe satisfactory: We pay for our privilege when we put into Baltimore \$6,000,000 of outside money, and fasten it down there in the form of fixed property—money that is now free to seek investment in New York, Omaha or Seattle.

Summing up, therefore, this part of the subject, I would say that I do not believe it is wise to agitate the question of levying a toll on the Belt Railroad. First, because that notion of levying toll is not one that has prevailed in our American cities, and was not considered and provided for by the projectors of this enterprise when they undertook it. Second, because this enterprise is so exceptionally beneficial in its promises to the city of Baltimore, asks so little and gives so much, that it is not wise to be tinkering with it or risking the great profits of a big thing to experiment on the fanciful economic projects of some little people. Third, (perhaps more important than all,) because I would say on behalf of the people who are behind this enterprise, that if a dol-

lar of tribute is levied this enterprise will not come to Baltimore, and \$3,000,000 will seek investment in some place where these notions do not prevail. There was a suggestion made by The Sun of which I desire to say a word. It must not be confounded with the toll or tribute proposition which I have just been discussing, but has been by many people confounded with it. The idea of The Sun has been that while we should not be taxed as an enterprise per se, we should be made to pay for the ground which we actually take, in wit, the portion of Howard street between Hamburg and Camden. We do not want to take anything for nothing, and if we take that ground we have no objection to paying for it; but, I think when you consider it, we do not take it at all. That ground is a part of the condemned bed of Howard street; it is not, however, practically part of Howard street as a traveled way. The reaching of Camden Station by freight wagons is so important to the people of Baltimore at that place that, without any action by the railroad at all, the west side of Howard street has been changed in its use; it has no sidewalk on it, it is simply paved with Belgian blocks, is used simply and solely as the street approach for wagons to Camden Station freight and express sheds. That use will have to stop when the Belt Road is made. That is true. By whom is it to be supplied? If the city will supply to the people who need access to that freight yard from the street a new mode of access we will most willingly pay for the use of that ground; but I take it for granted you would not desire that we should pay the city for the use of that ground and then pay the city a second time by getting new ground for that use. That is what has to take place. Access to the Baltimore and Ohio freight and express sheds has to be supplied, and it will have to be supplied by the Belt Railroad Company obtaining the same amount of ground inside as an approach to those sheds; it is, therefore, as broad as it is long.

If the city will provide its people with the street access to the sheds which its people need, we will pay for the ground taken up along Howard street. We should hardly think it right, however, that we should be obliged to pay for the ground which we take and then also be compelled to pay for the ground to supply its place. I am sure that this feature has never been called to your attention, and believe that the justice of our position will commend itself to you.

But another burden has been suggested for us. It has been desired by some that we not only go into the building of a costly railroad, but that we also go into the business of opening streets and dedicating them to the city. It has been calmly suggested that inasmuch as we go up under the bed of Howard street as far as the Richmond Market, we should be compelled, in carrying our road on beyond that point, to open Howard street out in a straight line continuous with its present line so far as we go, and give to the city the street so opened by us. The wide chasm between this proposition and any reason for it has never been bridged. Because we go up under one street, and by the admission of these very people do it no harm as a street, is certainly no reason why we should make another street to go under.

How would it do if this same rule were applied to another enterprise? The effect of this proposition would be to compel us to make a broad avenue up to the contemplated Permanent Exposition Buildings, of which Mr. Frank Frick is the active promoter. (He is also, by a strange coincidence, President of the Board of Trade from which the proposition emanates.) What justice would there have been in it if the city had attached to its liberal arrangements with that enterprise a provision that it should open an avenue somewhere, leading to some other enterprise foreign thereto? Instead of that the city did what cannot be called other than very liberal. It gave to him and his colleagues, at a rental of \$7,000 per year, property for which the city paid \$600,000. It further provided that the Permanent Exposition people should be allowed to redeem that rent for \$200,000 if they chose; that is, buy a \$600,000 property for \$200,000, and that the city should not have the right to resume its possession of the property except on paying for all the buildings that should in the meantime have been put thereon. Ought not an enterprise that has gotten a little arrangement like that to build its own streets, and not attempt to get a ride out of a new enterprise that has just come along? But ever were it just to compel us to do this, we would not have the legal power. We could not acquire title to the surface above our tunnel in order to give it to the city. We can condemn property for the direct use of our road, but not otherwise. If we need ground under the surface we can condemn that use. If we need it on the surface we can condemn that. We cannot, however, because we need land under the city, condemn also land above our right of way to give to the city. We would have just as much power to condemn land for a street in another part of the town as condemn land for the extension of Howard street above our line, as suggested by the Board of Trade. In other words, we would have no power to condemn it at all, but would have to purchase. If, therefore, any single owner chose to ask a million dollars for his lot

we would have either to pay it or have the whole enterprise blocked. This is the suggestion of the Board of Trade when fully stated. We see an illustration of the principle we refer to in the city's tunnel aqueduct, where the right under ground was condemned, but the land above still belongs to the original owners. The ordinance suggested by the Board of Trade would set forth on its face the condemning of the land by a railroad company for the purpose of giving it to the city—in other words, would by its very terms be illegal. To this suggestion, as to the one regarding the charge for the privilege, we would have to say, respectfully but positively, that we would not submit to it. If we are wanted here we must be protected from such exactions. The scheme is as far from the natural scope of the project as it is from our purpose to yield to it, and that is a good distance.

Another suggestion is that we should be made to change our plan so as to add at least a mile to our distance in tunnel. This would be very objectionable. In the first place, a tunnel is an objection to a line in itself; it is a mode of construction never adopted but from absolute necessity; it tends to diminish the passenger travel on any line, and to add to the inconveniences and discomforts of the traveling public.

This line is meant to afford rapid transit within the city limits and an entrance into the city for a large suburban passenger travel—millions of passengers yearly from the Maryland Central, Baltimore and Ohio and such other roads as may desire to use it. It would not only inconvenience every passenger so traveling, but it would in many cases drive them away from the line, and anything which lessens the use of the line by the traveling public diminishes its value to the city and its owners. Moreover, the objections made to an open cutting are fanciful and unreal, as is shown by the experience of this and other cities. Take the case of New York. I was myself one of those who built the open cutting by which the New York Central comes down Fourth or Park avenue into the heart of New York City. That line runs in an open cutting along the middle of Park avenue from Forty-second street to Harlem. From Forty-fifth street to Seventy-second street it runs in an open cut in the middle of that splendid avenue, and is traversed by bridges at the cross streets. For this distance (over a mile) there have been erected on both sides of the street, since the railroad was built, the handsomest structures for private residences in New York city, and the suggestion that it would injure or has injured that property for residence purposes has not been heard.

In Chicago the very finest residences lie along the line of the Illinois Central Railroad. For miles as it comes into the city the road lies below the street level, so that there is no travel over it, and its six tracks are used by four great railroad systems. The finest residences in that city, extending along the whole line of road, run back to and about upon that railroad. The property has never been hurt in value for residence purposes; in point of fact, it has been improved by the stations that lie along it, for this continues for miles. Lake avenue is one of the finest avenues in the world, and is so peculiarly devoted to residence purposes that the street is paved with a light pavement, and draught wagons are not even allowed on it.

The change in the situation at North avenue would not cause any new expense to the city. If there were a new bridge there, the raising of which was necessitated by the construction of the Belt Road, it would be proper that the Belt Road should bear the expense of replacing it. The bridge now there, however, is in a very bad condition, and its replacement by a new structure is a question of the immediate future. The cords are broken in several places and have had to be supported near the Maryland Central's line by a row of posts; the posts supporting the bridge are now split and held together by bands, as can be seen by any one who will take the trouble to examine it. As the construction of the Belt Road will require the raising of the bridge at that point we are willing to build the approach.

North avenue is one of the handsomest drive-ways about the city, and is a part of every drive leading to the Park. When the new bridge is constructed such changes should be made as would free it from all grade crossings, and this can be accomplished by carrying the bridge over the Northern Central tracks. This would be a great improvement to the street, and lessen the danger to the people using this as a drive-way to the Park.

To sum up, we are simply asking from the Mayor and City Council the right to spend six millions of dollars in removing an obstruction to the trade and commerce of this great city.

Very truly yours,
JOHN B. McDONALD.

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ADDRESS

THE CIVIL-SERVICE REFORMER,
ROOM 9, WILSON BUILDING,
No. 301 N. CHARLES STREET,
BALTIMORE, MD.

Reply to Mayor Davidson.

OFFICE OF BALTIMORE CITY PASSENGER
RAILWAY CO.,

JANUARY 28TH, 1890.

HON. ROBERT C. DAVIDSON,

Mayor of Baltimore:

My Dear Sir: Amazement only expresses my great surprise at the appearance of your letter "to the Senators and members of the House of Delegates from Baltimore City," in THE DAILY NEWS of Saturday last. Let me state in all fairness and courtesy to yourself and respect for the high office you hold as mayor of this great and growing city—and only with such publicity as you resorted to yourself by publishing in a newspaper three days before it could reach the city delegation, to whom it was addressed, on the reassembling of the Legislature in Annapolis—the reasons of my unfeigned surprise.

Naturally the first impression created by this premature publication, so long in advance of its possible receipt by the representative gentlemen to whom it was addressed, is that it was intended to "catch" the public rather than convince the legislator.

How different my course to your honor in this matter! Weeks ago, and before I had confided my purpose to a single person outside of my board of directors and our attorney, I went to the mayor's office and told your honor that I thought it was due and courteous to you as mayor of the city to acquaint you with my purpose to have such a bill, as you say in your letter to the city delegation you "do not conceive it possible that they will consider for a moment," submitted to the General Assembly, with a view to the attainment of rapid transit in our city.

You seemed to be surprised, not at the bill but at the necessity for it, as you seemed to think—and if I mistake not, so expressed your opinion—that the time for the city's option had passed: as the last Council had taken no action upon Mr. Wlener's resolution. I told you that there might be an honest difference of opinion about this, and that I did not want you to commit yourself without proper consideration of the matter.

Two weeks later—on Monday of last week—I again called to consult with your honor about the bill. You received me very courteously and very graciously, gave me precedence over large delegations that were waiting to see you. I told you I hoped you had fully considered the matter, as I purposed going before the city delegation in Annapolis the following Thursday. You replied that you had not reached a conclusion, and when I asked if you had any objection to my speaking to any member of the Legislature before again seeing you, you replied "Certainly not, but I may have something to say myself."

You did not in either interview or later intimate that you would oppose the bill, or I might never have introduced it in the Legislature with the knowledge of your honor's opposition, but remained content to "let well enough alone," so far as my company's interests were concerned, if I had been disposed to disregard the popular sentiment for faster transit. Hence, I have said that you seemed to be surprised, &c., because on reading your letter in the NEWS I was forcibly reminded of what some writer has said—that "words were often used to conceal ideas."

If this was my first surprise, how greatly was it intensified on reading the much-misleading statement in the third paragraph of your letter as to the history of this company in connection with the rate of fare and Park Tax. While it is true that the Act of Assembly of 1863, which incorporated the Baltimore City Passenger Railway Company, exacted a payment of a Park Tax of twenty per cent of our gross receipts, and only authorized a five cent fare, it is also true—a fact of which you appear to be ignorant—that the succeeding Legislature of 1864 found it necessary, in view of the impossibility of the company maintaining itself under those conditions, to increase the fare to six cents. Subsequently, in 1874, the rate of fare still remaining at six cents, the Mayor and City Council of Baltimore, by their own voluntary action, reduced the Park Tax to twelve per cent, upon the condition of the non-use of "Slawson boxes"—a condition with which this company has faithfully complied, as in every other of its obligations to the city. In 1883 the Legislature by Act, Chapter 229, fixed the Park Tax for all companies at nine per cent, and reduced the fare to five cents,

in consideration partly of the reduced tax, but leaving us to pay an enormous municipal tax, which had not been imposed upon us until 1881, and amounting last year to my company to \$33,318.82, in addition to \$74,683.45 of Park Tax. This first legislation concerning the company you may be excused for not being familiar with, as you were not then a resident of Baltimore.

But my surprise increased to amazement as I further read your letter and found this assertion—which if uttered by a private citizen I should pronounce untrue; but as made by your honor I can only call incorrect, because I have too high an estimate of your honor's character and too much respect for you officially and personally to suppose for a moment that it was uttered intentionally to deceive, viz: "And whose stock is worth ninety dollars per share for about seventeen dollars paid in."

Although no share of our stock has ever sold for ninety dollars per share, to my knowledge, if that is your honor's opinion of its "worth," of course the city could not expect to take our "properties and franchises" for anything under your honor's own estimate—although that would make a pretty "big pile" for the city to pay—and I shall not take issue with you on this point.

But when your honor proclaims, not only "to the Senators and members of the House of Delegates from Baltimore City," but to the world at large through the columns of a newspaper of large circulation, that for this "worth" "only about seventeen dollars per share was paid in," I must remind your honor that you are no longer "a youth in Richmond," as you recently stated you were about the time of the grant of our charter, but now the mayor of Baltimore, and that it would have been only meet and proper in you to have acquainted yourself with what was "paid in" before uttering so reckless an assertion and one so damaging to much the largest taxpaying interests in the city which has honored you with its highest municipal elevation. This you could have done by an examination of our books, which I would freely have accorded you, and after which you never could have given such utterance.

As regards your honor's proposition that "the company consent to pay say 15 per cent instead of 9 per cent of its gross receipts in consideration of this change in its charter," I can only say that as we could not pay 20 per cent upon a six cent fare and \$1,000,000 of capital, it would be sheer madness to consent to pay 15 per cent upon a five cent fare and \$5,000,000 capital.

Your honor states your belief that "your opinion is concurred in by a large majority of our best citizens." I do not know how your honor has arrived at this conclusion, but I do know that you asked the "opinion" of some of our "best citizens" who differed with you in toto, and I had not heard of one who coincided with you until I read last night Col. Marshall's remarkable letter in yesterday evening's NEWS. I can and do most truthfully aver and asseverate that all day yesterday among the hundreds of our "best citizens" whom I met on the floor of the Corn Exchange, in the Merchants' Club, in my office, on the street, and in the cars, both steam and street, and among whom your letter was the subject of general conversation, I did not hear one gentleman "concur in" your "opinion." Your honor cannot include among our "best citizens" the proprietors, managers and editors of our daily and weekly papers, for most certainly every paper published, daily or weekly, in Baltimore—with possibly two exceptions—has approved of and does advocate what Col. Marshall is pleased to call "the Bowie bill." How otherwise than through the press, and the public utterance, are we to correctly arrive at "the opinion of a large majority of our best citizens" your honor may possibly be able to enlighten me. But I know of no other, and certainly no surer way.

I have spoken of "Col. Marshall's remarkable letter which I read last night" and which I wish I had not read until this morning, as it kept me wrestling most of the night with a hideous nightmare—driving away all peaceful slumber with his, to me, very eccentric conclusions. Quoting Col. Marshall's language, "As I understand the case," he concludes that the creature is greater than the creator, that although the State law, which is paramount and every way superior to the city's ordinance, declares that the value of this company's property and

franchises shall be decided by arbitrators and an umpire in case the city and the company cannot agree upon their fair and just equivalent and value, that "they ought not to object to a law authorizing the city to dispose of its privilege to the highest responsible bidder."

Not until I came to the conclusion that Col. Marshall did not "understand the case" did I obtain any refreshing rest, and on rising very early this morning and again referring to the column of THE NEWS which contained his letter to your honor, I was so relieved to find by the heading that it was only "Col. Marshall's idea" that I was enabled to enjoy a comfortable breakfast which in some measure compensated for the loss of a night's rest, and encouraged me to give your honor my understanding of the case.

Your honor, when last I saw you in your office, pointed to the roll of the proof-sheets of your forthcoming message and pleasantly asked me to "pity the troubles of an adolescent mayor." I fully recognize the troublesome responsibilities of your high office. I know that you properly estimate them. I believe that you will prove yourself fully equal to their able, faithful, honest discharge.

Therefore I hope you will not consider it impertinent in one who sincerely wishes you every success in your administration, on your own and the city's account, and to whom you designated yourself an "adolescent," to give you this friendly advice. If you are for the time—as you will not long be—a little "green" in office, do not ever be too greedy; do not for what you think the city's welfare be too grasping, or demand from any interest any more than it can pay. Remember that you did not obtain from the city banks the percentage you wanted for the city's deposits, because you ask too much; that you did not obtain from the gas company the \$250,000 you named, because you ask too much; and because you ask too much from the City Passenger Railway Company, do not kill the goose that has for years been laying golden eggs for the city to the amount of \$2,319,869.79 for park tax and \$248,529.20 for municipal tax since 1881, when it was first imposed upon us by act of Assembly.

Remembering that this company has in all these years fully and honestly to the last farthing, and even further than that, complied with its every obligation to the city, do not risk the loss of all by giving to adventurers who may offer more, eventually pay nothing. Such experience has proven to be possible.

Hoping that this may not be the result of your honor's administration, I am faithfully, your friend and well-wisher,

ODEN BOWIE.

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The Civil-Service Reformer
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JUN 18 1890

Civil-Service Reformer.

VOL. VI. — No. 3.

BALTIMORE, MARCH, 1890.

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The Civil-Service Reformer.

VOL. VI.—No. 3.

BALTIMORE, MARCH, 1890.

PRICE TEN CENTS.

THE MONTH.

FROM one of the daily newspapers we learn that—

"State Senator William D. Burchinal has been urged to go in for the surveyorship, but he has not yet showed any weakening in his fight for collector.

'A soldier,' said Captain Burchinal recently, 'should get that place. If the President doesn't appoint a soldier as collector he will make a mistake. If he doesn't want to appoint me, let him name some other soldier, and I will cheerfully step aside. If I can't get the place myself, I want to see another soldier there. That is my position exactly.'

Not very long ago President Harrison took a solemn pledge that fitness should be made the discriminating test in all appointments to office. When Captain Burchinal invites the President to appoint a man to collect customs because he fought battles twenty-five years ago, he invites the President to break that pledge.

THE scramble for office among the Maryland Republicans goes on untiringly. In the contest over the Westminster post-office, the Postmaster-General was confronted with no less than six candidates, all having good indorsements and large followings among the Republicans of the community, and he concluded that it would be best to have an agent of the Department visit the place and give the Postmaster-General the benefit of his advice in making the selection. This has been done in the shape of a confidential report, which Mr. Wanamaker has not yet had time to read. When the report was filed a number of the friends of the several candidates were on hand, hoping to learn something of its nature.

THIS Administration is afflicted with a Higgins who bids fair to give it as much trouble as "Gene" did Mr. Cleveland. The Higgins of the Treasury Department has now made Annapolis the scene of his labors, and finds pleasure and profit in treating the rural legislators to bumpers of champagne. But one of his namesakes has haunted Washington almost continuously since March last, insisting that he must be made postmaster of Easton if the Republican party on the Eastern Shore is not to go utterly to pot. His opinions on this subject are so pronounced that he not long ago got into a fight over them with some one who disagreed with him. This rather injured Mr. Higgins' chances with a pious man like Mr. Wanamaker, but, as the *Sun* informs us, Mr. Higgins has not yet given up the fight by any means, and he was lately at the Department with a paper signed by every Republican member of the State Senate and House of Representatives who was within his reach, except Senators Urner and Burchinal, who, being candidates for the collectorship, were not asked to sign it. This paper is addressed to the President, and sets forth the opinion of the signers that the best interests of the Republican party would be served by the appointment as postmaster at Easton of the candidate having the indorsement of Mr. Thomas S. Hodson and the members of the Republican State Central Committee. Both Mr. Hodson and the members of the Com-

mittee still stand by their indorsement of Mr. Higgins, and the President and Postmaster-General may yet decide to appoint Mr. Higgins. We have not learned that there is any good reason for making any change in the Easton office other than the opinions of the incumbent upon the tariff and States' rights; but this Administration apparently finds those opinions fatal to usefulness in any post-office in Maryland.

THE Congressional investigation into the conduct of the United States Civil Service Commissioners has done the Commissioners no harm, as yet. The most serious charge was that a man named Campbell had sold certain examination questions to a teacher in Washington who prepared candidates for the Government service. Messrs. Hatton and Ewing, to prove this charge, called Mr. Oberly, formerly a member of the Commission. We abridge the following account of his testimony from the report in the *New York Times*:

Mr. Oberly's evidence proved to be such a sweeping refutation of all that they had charged that Hatton and Ewart actually tried to choke off his story, and when the effort failed, sought by cross-examination to dispute his own evidence. Other witnesses for the prosecution turned out to be equally unsatisfactory, and, taken all in all, total failure was the sole result of the day's work.

Mr. Oberly had made a special investigation of the Campbell case, and he gave the committee a very full and detailed report of the entire transaction. He told what method he pursued in the examination, whom he examined, and what he learned from each person he called upon, and then gave it as his opinion, based on his investigation, that Campbell had simply done his duty. The ex-Commissioner went on to show that it was Mr. Campbell's duty to give out specific questions, just as he had done in the case out of which Hatton and Ewart were trying to make capital. The Commission, Mr. Oberly explained, had no printed questions at that time because of some trouble about printing, but any person wanting to take an examination could see the paper of the last examination, and could take copies of it if he wished. Mr. Oberly insisted, to the discomfort of Mr. Hatton and Mr. Ewart, that Campbell had not committed any breach of discipline. It would not be proper for a clerk to take up the time of the Commission in copying the questions, but in this case Campbell had done the work after office hours. All this was so unsatisfactory to the prosecution that Messrs. Hatton and Ewart appealed to the committee to shut off the witness on the ground that he was amplifying too much. The committee, however, failed to see the matter in that light, and Mr. Oberly went on breaking down the case of the prosecution. The whole responsibility for the retention of Campbell belonged to him, Mr. Oberly said, for he investigated the case and told the Commission that no further examination was necessary, for he had found that Campbell had only done his duty.

When Mr. Oberly had finished his clear and convincing statement, Mr. Ewart began to cross-examine him. Mr. Ewart made an apology for his course, begging the committee not to hold him down to the ordinary rules of evidence. He was given the widest possible latitude, but his questions only resulted in the still more emphatic testimony by Mr. Oberly that there was nothing in the Campbell case which was not all right. The fact was also made still more plain that the questions copied by Campbell had never been used again in Washington, and that anybody that wanted to might have seen the papers.

The other charges seem to us to have fallen to the ground as this one has done, but we shall reserve the evidence until next month, and report upon it after it is all in.

A CONSPICUOUS piece of jobbery before the Council is the proposition to employ C. Dodd McFarland to codify the ordinances and resolutions of the City Council, and appropriating the extravagant sum of \$6000 to pay for it. The work could be done in his leisure time in six months by any competent lawyer, and \$2000 would be ample pay for it. But Mr. McFarland is not a fit man, as every one who knows him must know, and he would probably farm the work out. Mr. McFarland is closely associated with Mr. Budnitz, whose connection with the gasoline job we referred to some months since. Mr. Stabler and Mr. Thornton Rollins, who opposed this gratuity to Mr. McFarland, would do well to ventilate his character and associations.

FRANK C. PLUNKETT has been appointed a bailiff in the Tax Department. At the late election Plunkett was one of the judges in the first precinct of the Ninth Ward, in Marsh Market Space, being appointed the day before the election. At this precinct fraud was notorious. In one case a man voted on the name of a person who had resided in the precinct for years, and who was well known to Plunkett and the other judges, and in another a repeater offered to vote on the name of a registered voter of the precinct and, although his vote was challenged, the judges accepted it. A young man not over 25 offered to vote on the name of a man 73 years of age. The vote was challenged, and the judges were asked to order his arrest, but they refused to do so.

OUR friends of the Business Men's Democratic Association attached much importance during the last campaign to the results to follow from an investigation of the methods of business practised in the City Hall. Mayor Davidson, in the numerous specimens of his eloquence with which he favored the electors, took much anticipative pleasure in the benefits certain to flow from the recommendations of the practical men of business to whom he promised to entrust the duty of prying into the dark hiding-places of the vermin of politics. The Commission was duly appointed after Mr. Davidson entered upon his labors, and, as we remarked last month, its report fully sustained the charges of extravagance and inefficiency in the public business so often reiterated by the Reformers. Thus, for example, of the management of public works by Mr. Smyrk, the report says:

The Commission feels that it would be derelict in its duty if it did not state its belief that the system now in vogue and which has long been in existence in the City Commissioner's Department is an inefficient one and certainly not economical. The demands of the city require the very best engineering intelligence and skill in this department, and your special attention is asked to the recommendations bearing upon this subject, which appear under the caption of Board of Public Works.

The state of things in this particular department has been a crying evil so long that Mr. Davidson could scarcely have been ignorant of it before his election; and now that he has had time to inquire about his subordinates, and has had his attention particularly directed to Mr. Smyrk's incompetence by the unanimous report of five gentlemen of different political views, selected for the express purpose of aiding the Mayor in obtaining what, to quote one of his campaign speeches, "the people of this community desire, an administration of the office of Mayor by methods of common sense, economy, business integrity and sagacity," it is, to put it very mildly, a matter of no small astonishment that Mr. Davidson should have reappointed to the office which the Com-

mission declare him unfit for, the same man whom the Commission condemned.

Again, of the manner in which the Street-Cleaning Department has been mismanaged by "Bart" Smith, "Hen" Lancaster, "Mike" Fadgen, "Jim" Busey, and their fellows, Mr. Davidson's Commission reported:

The present system of street-cleaning is confessedly a failure, recognized by every observant citizen as not meeting the requirements of a city whose natural conditions would render it comparatively easy, with a good system, to keep the streets and alleys clean. Money has been spent lavishly, and yet the results, in the way of increased cleanliness, have not been at all commensurate with that expenditure; hence, the Commission advises a radical change from the prevailing system, being convinced that better results may be attained at a less cost by the adoption of new methods, as recommended below.

We assume, of course, that the Mayor had read this report when he wrote his message transmitting it to the Council, in which he said:

"The gentlemen constituting the Commission, selected on account of their experience and intelligence, have given much time and labor to the performance of a duty at once highly responsible and very unattractive.

"They are entitled to the gratitude of the whole community, and their recommendations are worthy of your early and careful consideration. I trust that they may result in changes which will render the public service not only more efficient, but also less expensive."

But if he did know that the report contained that sweeping condemnation of those of Mr. Rasin's lieutenants whom we have named, we are forced to conclude that the Mayor either changes his mind very quickly, or else succumbs very quickly to the pressure of Mr. Rasin's screws.

THE House of Delegates amused itself by drawing out Mr. Richardson into an *opéra bouffe* oration upon his resolution instructing our members of Congress to vote for the repeal of "that obnoxious, unconstitutional, un-Democratic and un-Republican measure known as the so-called Civil Service Law, which strikes at the fundamental principles of free government, which disfranchises three-fourths of the American people from the right of holding public office."

Mr. Richardson's ridiculous speech convulsed the House with laughter, and his proposition was voted down by an immense majority. The good Mr. Geo. Colton, who likes the losing side, voted with the minority.

DURING the late campaign and since, Ring orators and editors have replied to every argument brought against the Ring by loud shrieks of the dangers of negro domination if any one not the regular nominee was elected to any office. In the Legislature the terrors of negro rule have been painted in lurid hues to justify, and to induce unthinking members to leave unscotched, some of the worst snakes in the registration and election bills. How much genuineness there is in all this is illustrated by the bill introduced in the House of Delegates by Mr. Charles Carter to gerrymander the ninth, eleventh, twelfth and twentieth wards. The sole purpose of this bill is to create a ward which the Iroquois Club, Mr. Carter's particular friends, can carry. Their present ward, the twelfth, is a Democratic ward in national politics, but in local affairs it has for the last few years very resolutely declined to support the Ring candidates. In order that they may be able to carry it for any one they

choose to nominate, they propose to construct a ward, the eleventh, in which negro domination will be not only possible, but certain; for in the eleventh ward, as they propose to make it, there will be an absolute majority of negroes.

WHERE IS THE MAN FOR THE HOUR?

IT must be evident to all who observe politics in this State that the Democratic party of Maryland is about to go through a transition. A spoils-hunting and spoils-mongering freebooter who has long commanded the party as Black Beard did his crew, has now become closely allied with the beneficiaries of high-tariff taxation, while the sentiment of Maryland Democrats has of late been more and more pronounced for a lowering of tariff taxes. An active effort is now being made by a band of highly intelligent and energetic young men to increase and strengthen this sentiment among the masses of the Democratic party. The recent very successful public meetings at Towson and at Hagerstown show that, in two localities wide apart, even those who have heretofore acted in concert with Mr. Gorman have decided to cut loose from him now and hereafter. Mr. Cleveland, the leader to whom the vast majority of our Democratic fellow-citizens look up with enthusiastic admiration, loses no occasion to promote the interest of his party in measures to which Mr. Gorman has openly and repeatedly declared himself opposed. The *Baltimore Sun*, moreover, whose great influence among our people can scarcely be overrated, and whose reputation for being on the winning side is not likely to be thrown away, has lately cast all the weight of its name and all the strength of an intelligent and able criticism into the fight against Gormanism. In these circumstances, the result cannot long be doubtful, and a few years will doubtless see Mr. Gorman's activities transferred to other fields than those where he has reaped, though he has not watered.

Who is to take advantage of the opportunity to lead the party which will be afforded by Mr. Gorman's overthrow? A few days ago it seemed that Mr. Poe, whose eye for a good thing is commonly thought rather keen, had perceived the great chance for a vigorous and active man to come to the front. Backed by the organized strength of the Business Men's Democratic Association, by the immense preponderance of public sentiment over the whole State, as shown conclusively by the *Sun's* interviews, and actively supported by that journal, Mr. Poe made his appearance before the Senate in a new character, as the upholder of the wishes of the people against the orders of the bosses. His argument on the advantages of the Australian ballot system was powerful and unanswerable. His recognition of the solemn obligation of his party to enact an Australian ballot law was as full as his frank admission that he was himself bound by his word of honor to support such a law to the last. But in a moment of, what it is charity to call, weakness, he deserted his post of duty, and by introducing sham reform bills he has forfeited his claim to confidence, and nothing, unless it be his sudden return to his former position, can now save him from the doom of just and general contempt which his co-laborers, the Business Men, in their ante-election address, declared would be pronounced upon those candidates for the Legislature who should commit the "clear and open breach of faith" involved in a violation of their pledges to enact "the best features of the Australian system of secret voting."

Young Mr. Carter, too, whose career is still all before him, and whose intelligent interest in the cause of ballot reform, and whose strong determination to uphold it, seemed to augur well for his future, has unfortunately been entrapped into supporting the scandalous registration bill which Mr. McClure has foisted upon Mr. Poe. Senator Brown, on the contrary, profiting by his experience in the wiles of the Ring gained at such expense two years ago, is more earnest than ever as an advocate of pure elections, and Mr. Wirt, Mr. Laird, and Mr. Rich are endeavoring to carry out the pledges of their party in a way that entitles them to the gratitude of their fellow-citizens. Which side will win in this fight is to be decided in the next few days. To those members of the Legislature whose courage may be wavering under the threats of the Ring, we have only to say that in the long run (and we think the run is now very near its end) honesty is the best policy. For the benefit of those, and they are not few, who have been promise-cramped by the lobby which has infested and befouled the State House this winter more densely and disgustingly than ever before, we would call attention to Uncle George Colton's ominous and apparently successful efforts to make hay while the sun shines, and to his (we trust) prophetic declaration that he would never again ask for votes. He feels that the days of the Ring are numbered.

Our belief is that no man who opposes ballot reform, and still less any man who aids in passing a sham ballot reform law, can have any political future in this State. Even the long-suffering Business Men's Democratic Association is full of rage at the prospect of having to bear odium as deceivers, or contempt as dupes. They roar all like bears.

More potent, however, than the Business Men, and therefore more feared by the aspiring politician, are the Labor Organizations. Their especial representative, Mr. J. Henning Jones, has done good service in his efforts to prove that nothing less than the best features of the Australian law will satisfy the workingmen. Their chief organ, the *New York Standard*, has so fully acquainted them with the provisions of a good Australian law that they cannot be fooled by a sham. The *Standard* thus summarizes the essential features of such a law:—

"First. All ballots shall be official, and shall be printed and distributed at public expense.

Second. The names of all candidates for the same office shall be printed on the same ballot.

Third. All ballots shall be delivered to the voter within the polling place on election day by sworn public officials.

Fourth. Only official ballots so delivered shall be voted. The voter shall be guaranteed absolute privacy in preparing his ballot, and the secrecy of the ballot made compulsory.

Fifth. Voters shall have the right to nominate candidates by properly certified petitions.

No humbug envelope system, but the real Australian system, the first requisite of which is the exclusive use at elections of official ballots furnished by the State and prepared and cast by the voter in compulsory secrecy."

Such a law the people are determined to have, and the party and the leaders that give it will gain an immense hold upon popular confidence. That party and those leaders who, having gone into power upon the most solemn promise to enact such a law, shall then betray their trust, will at the next election find themselves contemptuously rejected.

THE REGISTRATION BILLS.

THE registration bill of which Senator Poe is the reputed author, and which he introduced in the Senate on the fourteenth day of January, while making a number of changes in the details of the existing law, preserves the present system substantially intact. Four of the changes made—viz., the abolition of the May, June and July sittings, the use of the original registration books at the polls, making the registers serve as judges of election, and the reduction of the salaries from \$40,000 per annum to \$17,820—if enacted into law, would be great and important reforms. In no one of the cases, however, are the details worked out so as to yield the best possible results. The officers of registration are to sit for registration five days in all; that is, on the third Monday of September and on the next two days, and again on the first Monday in October and on the following day. It is probable that five days so arranged will not in practice be found to give as good facilities for registering the entire vote as would be furnished by the four days provided for by the Reform League law, and so arranged that there is an interval of a week between each day.

Again, Mr. Poe's bill provides that only two registries for each precinct shall be made up. The objection to this is that, as the majority of the officers of registration in each precinct can determine which of the officers of registration shall keep the registries, the minority officer of registration may and usually will be deprived of the opportunity of checking the work of the majority, which he would have if he too had charge of one of the registries.

Nor is the reduction in the expense by the Poe law as great as is made by the Reform League law, according to which the expenditures for pay of the officers of registration, excluding that they will receive as judges of election, will be \$8910.

The provisions for appeals to the judges are substantially the same as those contained in the present law, and, like the present law, the proposed one renders it practically impossible in a year of new registration to have names fraudulently registered struck off by the courts, for in those years the right of appeal to the courts to have the names of such persons struck off exists only when some one has filed with the officers of registration an objection in writing, under oath, to the registering of their names. Practically such an objection will not and cannot be filed in one case in fifty in which fraudulent registration takes place, as usually the fact that the registration of a particular name is fraudulent is not discovered until after the registration is over, the printed lists published, and the names upon them investigated.

A new feature is introduced, by which exceptions may be taken to any ruling of the court in a registration appeal, and upon which exceptions an appeal may be taken to the Court of Appeals, at any time within five days. The Court of Appeals is to decide the case so soon after the transmission of the record as practicable. It will unquestionably be an advantage to obtain an authoritative decision of the Court of Appeals upon important questions of registration law, but as the provision for appeal stands in Mr. Poe's bill, we fear that its practical effect would be to render the revising power of the courts almost nugatory. Many, perhaps most, of the registration cases are heard within the two weeks immediately preceding the election. Exceptions may be taken to the admission of any trivial piece of evidence and an appeal taken in almost every case. In scarcely one of them can the appeal be determined by the Court of Appeals in time for the election. A clause should be inserted in the law making it clear that the execution of the order of the court below shall not be suspended by the appeal, and that, if subsequently reversed by the Court of Appeals, the necessary correction shall then again be made in the books. In other words, supposing a state of things in which the officers of registration of a particular precinct and the judge of one of our courts differed, and the opinion of one or the other of these parties must be given practical effect at the election, there will be no difference of opinion that the views of the judge rather than of the officers of registration should prevail. If it is possible before the day of election to get the judg-

ment of the Court of Appeals, then its decision will be controlling, but it should not be possible, under cover of taking an appeal to the Court of Appeals, to make certain, even when that court agreed with the judge below, that the voting should be done in accordance with the views of the officers of registration and not with those of the courts.

A desire to get rid of the Federal supervisors in the years of new registration is probably the reason for the proposed change, by which, after the present year, the new registration will be held in the years in which State elections are held, and the revision will take place in the years of Congressional elections. Whatever be the motive, however, for the change, the enactment of the law would give us, in fact, annual registration during the next two years, and would, we doubt not, demonstrate by practical experience that the objections made to that system of registration are utterly unsound. If the Legislature shall enact the Poe bill, we shall gain the four great reforms already mentioned, but the registration system of the State will still be open to the objection that it denies annual registration in Baltimore, and that its provisions are complicated and obscure.

In such an event, however, it could be claimed that if the Legislature was unwilling to make radical reforms in the registration system of the State, it had at least shown no disposition to undo whatever in that direction had been accomplished by the act of 1888.

As judged by the law he first introduced, Mr. Poe was willing to let things stand substantially where the act of 1888 placed them. But after (it is said) a hasty visit to Washington a decided change came over his views, and he was found introducing and championing a bill prepared by Mr. James A. L. McClure, the secretary of the Democratic State Committee, and for many years counsel both for the Police Board and the officers of registration. Mr. Poe has now changed base again, but we think it important to point out the weaknesses of his position in order to prevent his ever returning to it. Supporting the McClure bill, late in February Mr. Poe declared that biennial registration, of which he approved in January, is too frequent, and that triennial is quite often enough; that precinct registration, for which in January he provided, affords too great facilities for the fraudulent registration of negroes; that the poll-books, which in January he thought were useless and dangerous, are really necessary, and so on to the end of the chapter. It is difficult to analyze with calmness the provisions of a measure which is so well adapted to increase the opportunities for fraud. As the CIVIL-SERVICE REFORMER has repeatedly pointed out, annual registration is absolutely necessary if elections are to be fair. No one who has made a close study of the question doubts this. None know it so well as the managers. They know the more infrequently the registration is renewed the greater the accumulation of names upon which the boys may vote safely, and therefore they propose that for the biennial system now in use a triennial one should be substituted. This change, bad as it is, is by no means the worst feature of the bill, and because it is not the worst the Ring, when they found that the bill was too heavy for even them to put through, decided to sacrifice this part of it and return to biennial registration, in order to save the other still more dangerous provisions of the measure.

The greatest reform brought about by the act of 1888 was the substitution of precinct registration with representation for the minority, for ward registration by a partisan official. This reform Mr. McClure's bill proposes to take away and to return to the ward system. The whole tendency of the measure is to throw the registration into the hands of petty ward politicians of the class expert in election tricks and political trades and deals. Men who have regular business or employment cannot afford to give it up to serve for a month or more as officers of registration. It is not practically possible to pick out 594 officers of registration, receiving \$30 apiece, with such care that the machine can control each precinct in the city, but it is possible to select 66, who are paid \$130 each, that the orders of the managers will be implicitly obeyed in every registration office in Baltimore. The attempt of the draftsman of the law to make it appear that precinct registration is provided for, increases rather

than diminishes the opportunities for fraud. The number of days during which the officers of registration are to sit are not prescribed, except that they are not to exceed 31 days in all. They are to sit in each precinct as many days as the Board of Supervisors think necessary. The discretion, therefore, whether they are to sit 9 days or 31 days in all, is committed to the Board of Supervisors, who can also, if they see fit, have the officers of registration sit for 23 days in one precinct, and distribute the other eight among the remaining eight precincts. How long registration offices are to be open should not be left to the discretion of any one, for temptations to abuse that discretion will be too great. In practice, we think that it would soon be found that the supervisors were always of the opinion that the officers of registration should sit longer in Democratic than in Republican precincts. The system would be anything rather than favorable to a full registration of the honest vote, for the ordinary citizen would not be able to keep track of the places where the officers of registration are sitting. It would facilitate fraud, because under the present system of precinct registration the three officers of registration are all residents of the precinct, and there are usually some other of its residents in or about the registration office. The local knowledge possessed by these official and unofficial persons is a vastly better protection against fraud than can be found in the assumed capacity of the ward registrars to remember the faces of every one of the 5000 people whom they may register. Indeed, the proposition that because the ward registrars will register for the whole ward, they will be able to prevent double registration, is absurd. If we could assume for a moment that they could remember every face before them, what is to hinder the person who wants to register fraudulently from registering in each one of the other 21 wards? In the years of revision, in which the officers of registration have a great deal more work to do than in years of new registration, they are not to sit more than 18 days. The right of appeal to the courts to have names fraudulently registered stricken off is restricted to a resident of the precinct, so that a resident of the ninth precinct of the Ninth Ward, for example, could not, under the McClure bill, petition to have some of the fraudulently registered people in the first precinct stricken off, when he is as much injured by these frauds as a resident of the first precinct could possibly be. This provision is intended to prevent, and in practice will prevent, any systematic attempt to get the courts to correct the errors and frauds of the registration officers, for the only way in which a systematic investigation of the registration can be made is to put men regularly at work to investigate it. Practically, at no reasonable cost can you find fit men in every precinct to do the work, and you often have to use men from other precincts, and even other wards, to make the inquiries, and these men, if fraud is discovered, must be the petitioners to have it corrected, for they alone will, as a rule, be able to make the necessary affidavit.

The McClure bill contains the provision in the Poe bill for an appeal to the Court of Appeals from every ruling of a judge of the Supreme Bench of the city or of the Circuit Court of the county. The laborer is worthy of his hire, and, as Mr. McClure drew the bill, he did not let slip so good an opportunity to look after his own interests by providing that his salary as counsel for the registrars should be raised from \$300 to \$1800 a year, and that \$1500 more could be expended in paying his legal assistants.

In contrast with this bare-faced attempt to give us a registration system bad as bad can be, and with the Poe law, which is content to make a few beneficial changes, preserving some of the existing abuses, but introducing few new ones, is the Reform League law, which is aimed to secure, and would, if enacted, secure, the fairest possible registration. By it registration in the city would be annual and in the counties quadrennial, with annual revision, precinct boards of three registrars, among whom the minority would be represented, would sit on four successive Tuesdays in September, each registrar keeping his own registry, two of them for use at the polls. The registrars can be compelled to serve and are to act as judges of election, so that the services

of the best citizens can be procured. A right of appeal ample to enable the supervisory power of the courts to be freely exercised is given, and all this at a cost for registrars' salaries of but \$8910, exclusive of the sum to be paid them as judges of election, as compared with \$17,820 under the Poe law and \$8712 under the McClure bill. In the latter case, however, this sum would be increased by the \$3300 allowed for services of the legal advisers to the registrars, making the total cost for salaries under this fraudulent system \$12,012.

Until a thoroughly honest system of registration is adopted there will be, and there ought to be, public discontent—a discontent which cannot be stifled, and which is bound to grow stronger and stronger. Under the conditions here prevailing it matters not what election system is adopted, whether Australian or any other, fair elections are impossible if the registration machinery is susceptible of manipulation. The best election law can do no more than secure that the votes of the registered voters shall be freely cast and fairly counted; but this is of little avail if people who have no right to vote are registered, and people who have a right to vote have been prevented from registering. But the individuals who by dint of so long calling themselves "the party" have made a great many people think that the King is the Democratic party of the State do not intend, if they can help it, that we shall have either a good system of registration or a satisfactory election law. They intend to cheat all they can at the registration, and then cheat, bribe and bully on election day.

THE BALLOT LAWS.

BOTH the Reform League and the Business Men's Democratic Association prepared and had printed election laws. These laws differ somewhat in detail. Thus, for example, the Business Men's Democratic Association does not allow party nominations by parties polling less than 3 per cent of the vote at the previous election, which would, in effect, though of course it was not so intended, prevent party nominations by the Prohibitionists. The Reform League law, with the view to afford this party opportunity for such nominations, provides that they may be made by any party polling one per cent of the vote. The Reform League law permits the general public to have access to the polling room outside the rail; the Business Men's law restricts this privilege to one challenger for each party polling not less than one-fifth of the vote of the State, adding, however, a privilege, doubtless well intended, but which we fear would be made the means of giving very unfair advantages to the party controlling the majority of the judges, that the judges may, in their discretion, at the request of candidates, admit other challengers.

In general, the details of the Reform League law are worked out much more carefully and thoroughly than is the case in that of the Business Men, but in substance both laws are the same, and that they are substantially identical is the strongest possible proof that the fundamental features of both are right. Two distinct bodies of gentlemen of character and ability, honestly anxious to devise a law which will reduce to a minimum the opportunities for corruption and intimidation at the polls, after working independently for some months upon the drafts of measures to accomplish these purposes, finally settle upon plans which, when compared, are found to agree in almost if not in every point of real importance, and to be very much alike in most of their details.

The Reform League law was introduced in the Legislature by Senator Wirt; that of the Business Men was never, so far as we know, introduced in the shape in which it was officially published by that organization. On the 16th of January, Senator Poe introduced a bill which the newspapers described as that of the Business Men, and which was that law with some few changes, but these changes, or some of them, are of great importance. Thus the Business Men's law provided that the ballot clerks in the counties shall be appointed, as the judges of election now are, by the County Commissioners. By the Poe law they are to be appointed by the Governor, which is centralization with a vengeance.

How valuable the judgment of the Governor would be upon the relative fitness of persons suggested as ballot clerks in Garrett County, for example!

Another most curious provision makes its appearance for the first time in the Poe bill, and that is the requirement that the supervisors of election in Baltimore City, and the Governor for the rest of the State, shall appoint for each voting place as many State election officials and inspectors as the United States appoints supervisors and deputy marshals. The only powers given these "State election officials" are to be present behind the guard-rail during the election. Duties they have none, and their privileges are the right to draw three dollars a day. Of course, such a provision can be intended merely for the purpose of enabling the Board of Supervisors and the Governor to pay out of the public treasury three dollars a day to a number of their party friends. The idea that they are needed in order that the State shall be as well represented at the polls as the United States is unfounded, for the State would be, in fact, as well represented as the United States without these persons. The State will have present three judges of election, two clerks of election, two ballot clerks, and at least two police officers, making nine State officials in all, which will certainly, on the average, be as many, if not more than the Federal government will have. Besides, as these State election officials and inspectors are given neither power nor duties, of what use can they be to the State? This scheme may be interpreted as a device to provide for the "hustlers," whom the Australian law aims to get rid of.

The Business Men's law allows the illiterate voter to select any one or two of the election officers to assist him in marking his ballot. The Poe bill very properly requires him to make application to the two ballot clerks. A provision common to both bills is the judicious one which requires that the Police Commissioners shall divide the precincts from time to time so that they shall contain as nearly as possible 500 voters, but the section is defective, in that it does not require the Police Commissioners to announce the boundaries of the new precincts earlier than the week before the beginning of registration.

On the 7th of February Mr. Poe introduced another bill substantially identical with the first one introduced by him, except that its application was confined to the city of Baltimore.

A little over two weeks after the introduction of the last mentioned bill Mr. Poe suddenly changed his mind, and on the same day in which he introduced the McClure election bill he offered a bill which is substantially the Linton-Sheehan bill which Governor Hill put forward as a rival to the Australian system. Instead of the one official ballot which is the essence of the Australian system, this bill provides for the old-fashioned separate party tickets, to be printed and distributed by the State.

One of the great advantages of the Australian system is that it affords exceptional facilities for scratching by those voters who are so disposed. This bill, however, in effect, makes it more difficult to scratch than is now the case, for at present you can fix up your ticket at home, while under the proposed bill you will be compelled to do it at the polls; and the only way in which you can do it is to write the name of the person whom you want to substitute for the objectionable candidate on your party ticket beneath the name of that candidate. Obviously it will take a great deal longer to prepare such a ballot than to mark the Australian ballot, yet the proposed law deliberately substitutes for the provision of the Business Men's law requiring at least one compartment for every one hundred voters and not less than five for each precinct in the city, a provision by which the number of compartments may not exceed one for every 250 voters and not less than three for each precinct, the size of the precincts being raised by the law from 500, as provided by the Business Men's law, to 700, a number which, it may be said in passing, is 250 greater than under even the old system of voting the Legislature of 1882 thought expedient in the interest of fair elections.

There is in these provisions abundant opportunity to create vexatious delays and annoyance to the voters and

cause a great many of them to leave without voting at all, and thus make the whole system of secret voting unpopular. The effect of this scheme, moreover, is that there may be no secret voting at all. The voter is required to put the ticket he intends to vote in an official envelope and vote it, and to cast the tickets he does not vote into another ballot-box; but he will, in fact, be able to throw any other piece of paper of like appearance into the ballot-box, and to carry out the ballots he did not vote and exhibit them to the person who intended to pay him for his vote. This process is facilitated by the provision of the act giving the kind of voting booth which is to be erected. Under the Business Men's law this booth will be so constructed that the voter will be in plain sight all the time, although the ballot will be so concealed that it will be impossible to tell how he is marking it; but under the Poe bill the voter will be completely concealed, and he will be able to make any change of tickets he may desire. And to still further facilitate disclosure, the power is given to the judges of election to designate one of the ballot clerks as marker, from whom alone the voter can obtain the tickets.

Foreign-born voters are also given the right to bring with them into the polling room a sort of political godfather, to answer for them all questions the judges may ask them.

In this bill, moreover, the scheme of State election officials is fully developed. It is now made applicable to Baltimore City alone. Their appointment is no longer restricted to years in which the Federal officials are present; they are in this bill designated as election police, and given the same power as Federal supervisors and deputy marshals. Their number is no longer limited to the number appointed by the United States, but the Board of Supervisors are given power to appoint as many as they see fit. No one pretends, and no one can pretend, that with a majority of the election judges and with the police the interests of the regular Democratic organization is not sufficiently protected at the polls. This scheme is simply one to compel the city to provide, at the public expense, an unlimited number of party workers for the dominant party, and to invest these workers with great but ill-defined powers, which will enable them to intimidate and browbeat voters. The McClure registration and the Poe election law together make up an election system under which the opportunities for fraud and rascality will be greater than has ever been possessed by the Ring before.

THE DINNER OF THE MARYLAND ASSOCIATION.

ON the evening of February 21, the Maryland Civil Service Reform Association entertained the members of the United States Civil Service Commission at dinner at the Merchants' Club. About seventy gentlemen were present. Mr. Bonaparte presided, and proposed several toasts, in response to which speeches were made by Messrs. Lyman, Thompson and Roosevelt, of the Commission, as well as by Messrs. John K. Cowen and John S. Wirt. No reports of these speeches were made, as the dinner was not regarded as a public affair. Prof. E. G. Daves read the following letters from gentlemen who were unable to accept invitations to be present.

Mr. Geo. Wm. Curtis wrote from West New Brighton, S. I., as follows: "Last year at this time you gave us all the keynote of reform for the year, and whatever may have occurred since then that note has not flattened upon our lips. If it was hopeful then, it is not elegiac now, for the note of the reformer is always cheerful and in the major key, and in view of the steady advance of the good cause, it rises naturally and involuntarily into a triumphant strain. I should think it a happy year for reform if it had done nothing more for us than to give us the present national commission—whatever may halt or falter, that marches on. It offers us the stimulating spectacle of an aggressive contest for reform. It is not apologetic, nor hesitating, but its attitude is well represented by one of the commissioners, whose bold mien and crisp and conclusive dealings with the enemy remind me of Sir Philip Sydney's advice to his

brother Robert, then upon his travels: 'If you hear of any good wars, go to them at once.' If there be any better war at present than that in which we are all soldiers, I have not heard of it; and if there be any better fighting than General Roosevelt's, it is yet to be discovered. When I enlisted I certainly did not expect to be wasted to success on flowery beds of ease. But neither did I suppose that, against tradition and prejudice, and ignorance and honest doubt, and party spirit and falsehood, and wrath and ridicule, and the huge organized political machine, the demand for reform in the civil service would make such rapid and prodigious progress as to become within a very few years one of the two or three chief practical questions of politics. I am sure we all agree that fighting in this cause is, as virtue is said to be, its own exceeding great reward. A genuine American likes nothing better than to attack monstrous public abuses, save that when, as in this case, the country begins to ask about them, it will ask more and more loudly and imperiously, until it answers itself by correcting them."

Senator Butler, of South Carolina, wrote: "I feel the deepest interest in the movement which looks to the success of civil service reform, and would make any reasonable sacrifice to promote its progress. The unfair assaults which have been made upon it will prove abortive if its friends will persevere in their advocacy and good work. It may be my duty to have something to say in the Senate, if the enemies of the reform should endeavor to cripple the Commission in its work."

Mr. McComas, member of Congress from the sixth district of Maryland, wrote: "It is my personal regret that I lose this opportunity to meet the members of the Maryland Association, to whose unselfish labor we owe much. Let me assure you that my vote in Congress will be on the right side. I am confident that this Republican House of Representatives will abide by the pledge of the Republican party and vote supplies to liberally help the enforcement of this law. Many of the foremost Democrats in Congress will vote the same way."

COMPETITIVE TESTS ILLUSTRATED.*

WHSOEVER observes the tone of the press over the country sees a predominant disapproval of the spoils system; but so many people have been blinded by false statements regarding the methods of the remedy applied under civil service law, and especially regarding the competitive

*From the *Civil Service Record* for February, 1890.

examinations, or "tests," as they should be more properly called, that it seems just now especially important to explain in what these tests consist. One way of doing so is by displaying the kind of questions asked; and this was extremely well done in the speeches of the Civil Service Commissioners at the dinner given in Boston, November 22d, and reported in the *Civil Service Record* for December. Even those statements, though they served to remove many misapprehensions, hardly do justice to the competitive tests. In order to show the full value of the tests it is necessary to exhibit the work of the applicants. Accordingly, we have decided to give some illustrations.

To do this we begin with some cases of copying from rough draft of a letter required as a part of the examination for the highest grade of clerkships in the State service.

Before going further, let us remind our readers it is important to remember that the examinations are wholly different for different employments; and also, in order to appreciate the tests in any particular case, it is important to notice beforehand the kind of work to be performed in the office sought, and the qualities and knowledge especially needed.

The applicants whose work is here illustrated were, all but the last, seeking clerkships of the highest character, where permanent records have to be kept, and where letters of high officials on important matters have to be taken from dictation or copied from rough drafts, and where a knowledge of arithmetic, including interest and discount, is absolutely necessary.

In such positions, a good clear handwriting, with a knowledge of spelling, punctuation and capitalizing, is of the first importance. Accordingly, handwriting counts 4 out of 15; spelling, 1; copying from rough draft, 3; writing from dictation, 2; and composing a letter, 2; or 12 in all, out of a total of 15. The other 3 are given to arithmetic, including discount. There are no questions at all in geography, history, or astronomy for these positions.

Lest any one should think the standard of handwriting is too high, it is only necessary to explain that for lower grades of clerkships the marking is not so strict; for the police and fire service writing, copying, &c., count for far less in proportion, the copying being from print, and not a rough draft of a letter; while for a foreman of laborers it is only necessary that the writing be fairly intelligible in order to be perfectly satisfactory.

The following is a portion of a rough draft letter given to each applicant to copy:

established by
The system of the Civil Service Act & Rules
is based upon the democratic theory that, subject
certain/ to limitations, every ^{Citizen} ~~person~~ ^{the} has a right to compete
for public employment, and the position shall
person go to the ~~one~~ ^{one} who comes out ^{in the competition} ahead. This theory
only/ can be carried out by limiting the no. of persons
admitted for a vacancy to the highest ^{on the list}. The Com-
missioners are not (the appointing power) and

The following is a portion of the copying by an applicant who, according to the required statement of experience

made by each, was a professional bookkeeper and copyist. This penmanship was marked 98.3 per cent.

The system established by the Civil Service Act and Rules is based upon the democratic theory that, subject to certain limitations, every citizen has the right to compete for public employment, and the position shall go to the person who comes out ahead in the competition.

This theory can be carried out only by limiting the number of persons certified for a vacancy to the highest on the list.

The next sample is by an applicant with one and a half years' experience copying in a registry of deeds. The writing was very even, but, being rather light, has not had

full justice done it in the reproduction. The penmanship of this was marked 98.3.

The system established by the Civil Service Act and Rules is based upon the democratic theory that, subject to certain limitations, every citizen has the right to compete for public employment, and the position shall go to the person who comes out ahead in the competition. This theory can be carried out only by limiting the number of persons certified for a vacancy to the highest on the list. The Commissioners are not and can never become the appoint

The following sample was counted good enough to pass. It is the penmanship of a person without a trained clerical hand, as appears also by the statement of experience. The mark, however, was low, on account of the high grade of

clerkship applied for. Had the candidate been examined for a lower grade, or for some service not requiring such careful writing, the mark would have been much higher.

No person shall be permanently appointed to any office or employment in the first division who has not passed an examination as provided by these rules.

Whenever any officer or board having the power of appointment to any office or employment under these rules shall

The last sample is of an applicant for the second class of clerkships; and it is to be noted that, though the handwriting is inferior to the last specimen, yet, being an applicant for a lower grade, where it is not necessary to have so good a writing, the mark was about the same. The applicant, however, failed to pass in the examination, getting only

39.7 out of 100, while an average of 65 per cent is required. The copying, apart from the penmanship, was marked only 10 per cent, because he made the following errors: mistakes in transposition affecting the use, 6; added words, 3; abbreviations, 3; punctuation, 13; capitals, 1; unimportant transposition, 1.

The relief afforded by closing a few mines, can, at best, be only temporary; for the greatest difficulty silver has to contend against, (as we have so often pointed out,) lies in the vast stock of the metal discredited, as money, the world over, the white metal has lost caste, nation

These samples were selected with reference to handwriting only. The best ones were not the very best possible, but ranked very high; while the poorest was only an average poor one. Many worse might have been selected.

Now, assuming that the characters of these applicants were established by their certificates as good, who would hesitate between one of the first two and the last one in selecting a clerk where penmanship and care in copying were required? It happens that these papers illustrate one or two other points. The two who have had regular clerical experience pass the tests with far the highest standing. Neither of them had anything but a grammar school education.

The next to the last sample was of a candidate with an education in classics and modern languages, but there were more mistakes in writing from dictation, in common arithmetic, and a poorer handwriting. All the Latin, French and algebra went for nothing, and the total mark was only 69.2, as against 92.7 for those with only a common school education. The last was also the product of a person with a classical education. His education, doubtless, fitted him for many other walks in life, but clearly did not fit him for the position of clerk with copying to do.

Some one may ask, how is the selection to be made when shorthand or typewriting is required for the office work? The answer is that those applicants who have passed the general clerical examination are allowed to apply for a special examination in stenography or typewriting. If they pass the latter they have the advantage of being put also on special eligible lists, from which names are certified when a special request for typewriters or stenographers is made.

We do not hesitate to say the more an unprejudiced business man examines into the results of these competitive tests, the more he will be convinced of their utility and fairness; and we venture to add that even the friends of the reform will, many of them, be agreeably surprised to find how accurately and how fully these tests reveal the capacities of the applicants for the positions they seek to obtain.

PRESIDENT HARRISON'S FIRST YEAR.

[From the *Civil Service Chronicle*.]

IN a few days President Harrison will complete the first year of his term. With this number the *Civil Service Chronicle* also ends its first year. It has been well known that those in control of the paper actively favored the election of General Harrison; but in commencing this publication, they laid down the principle that the standard of criticism which, in other fields, they had before applied to the management of the civil service should not be changed; President Harrison should be judged by the same rules by which they had judged his predecessor. And now at the end of the year they feel that they have kept to the mark. It would have been easy to say that the President has a hard row to hoe,

that those at a distance cannot realize the pressure upon him, that he can only reform the civil service as fast as public sentiment will support him, that he means well, but he is deceived by those around him, that he can accomplish nothing without his party, and if he goes faster than he can carry his party, he will sit down between two stools, and so on; but it has seemed better to say that he is the President, and he is to be held to his constitutional responsibility without evasion or excuse. And this course has met with an approbation both personal and in the public prints from all parts of the country that will always be an unalloyed gratification.

President Harrison closes his first year, leaving behind him some acts of which history will never be proud. He has a settled policy of keeping appointees after their unworthiness has become notorious. In this way he bids fair to make cases like those of McFarlane, Bagby and Chambers, of Indiana, rival those of Tompkins and Dowling under the late administration. His putting the Federal patronage in Virginia into the hands of Mahone was an assault upon the rights of half of the people of that State, and its disastrous results do not seem to have taught him any lesson. His failure to dismiss the office-holders who attempted to collect money for Mahone does not indicate a determination to execute that part of the law. His removal of Pearson, Burt, Graves and Saltonstall indicate a spirit of putting his heel upon the neck of the reform sentiment of the country. His allowing the railway mail service to be looted while the eligible lists were being prepared, and the manner in which it was done, were peculiarly in broken faith. His sweep of the fourth-class postmasters by Clarkson, his turning the census bureau over to the common spoil, his advancing in the same direction with the Indian service, his subsidizing the press, his grudging retention of some Democrats to the end of their terms, his greedy removal of others, like General Manson, his turning whole States over to men like Platt and Quay, his appointment of relatives to office, and his general use of the 100,000 places in the unclassified service to pay personal and party debts, unmistakably mark him as a man who believes in such use of a great public trust. That he has a constitutional right to so use it, he would not himself claim. Like other Presidents, he has frittered away the golden opportunity of breaking up the spoils system. Yet he has not built himself up in other directions. He has refused to work in his one peculiar field, and no others are or will be open to him, except in a limited and routine extent. If he goes to the end as he has started, he will have been a common-place President whose term has had its full share of vicious administration.

There is one branch of this subject that must be treated by itself. President Harrison said that he would enforce the Civil Service Law, and, leaving out the Mahone assessments, he has done so. To begin at home, if a Democrat in Indiana, examined by the Indianapolis local board, does not get

upon the eligible list, it is his own fault. It may be stated with absolute certainty that any person coming before this board for examination will be treated exactly according to his merits, and will get the place on the list that he earns in open competition. And it may be added that if he secures a place upon the eligible list of the Indianapolis post-office, he will be appointed when his name comes to the top of the list. That office employs a large proportion of Democrats, yet no one is dismissed without cause. We are glad to say this because we have been a severe critic of this post-office, and we desire to give full credit to the present course of its management.

And elsewhere, and so far as we can learn everywhere, the law is honestly enforced. When the post-offices in Philadelphia, Baltimore, Chicago, Milwaukee and elsewhere are remembered, the revolution which has taken place becomes apparent. Possibly with a less courageous and less able man than Mr. Roosevelt in his place on the Civil Service Commission, the result might have been different; but the President is to be given the credit due for a wise selection of a Civil Service Commission and for then sustaining it. The result is that the merit system is vindicating itself on every hand. Never before did it overthrow so many enemies and so easily, and the general summing up must be that never has it made such rapid progress as during the past year. To such an extent does it now meet public approval that no party can safely go into a presidential campaign ignoring this subject, however much that party may be agitating some other question.

REMOVAL OF COLLECTOR SALTONSTALL.

AFTER Mr. Pearson and Colonel Burt, it is perhaps not worth while to express surprise at the removal of Collector Saltonstall, which took place after the following correspondence:

I.

TREASURY DEPARTMENT,
WASHINGTON, January 17, 1890.

The Hon. L. SALTONSTALL, Collector of Customs, Boston, Mass.

My Dear Sir:—The President is ready to make a change in the collectorship at Boston, but would be glad to do so in a way that would be most agreeable to you.

Very truly yours,
W. WINDOM, Secretary.

II.

CUSTOM HOUSE, OFFICE OF THE COLLECTOR,
BOSTON, January 20, 1890.

The Hon. WILLIAM WINDOM, Secretary of Treasury.

My Dear Sir:—I have this day received your letter of the 17th inst. informing me that "the President is ready to make a change in the collectorship at Boston, and would be glad to do so in a way that would be most agreeable to you." In reply, I beg to say that, placing entire confidence in the declaration of the President concerning tenure of office, I am prepared to serve the term of four years for which I was commissioned on the 5th of May, 1886, unless removed by the authority of the President for such cause as he has announced to be controlling in such cases. If such cause exists, I respectfully request to be informed of the same.

In the conduct of this office I have endeavored to perform its important duties with fidelity to the government, in a manner satisfactory to the merchants of Boston, and to conform to the spirit as well as the letter of the civil service laws. I therefore cannot stultify myself by any act which would imply the consciousness of dereliction on my part, and prefer to leave the decision of this matter in the hands of the President, to whom I forward a copy of this letter. I beg to assure you that I communicate this my conclusion with entire respect for the President and for yourself, and hoping that it may not be misunderstood, I am, very truly yours,

LEVERETT SALTONSTALL, Collector.

III.

CUSTOM HOUSE, OFFICE OF THE COLLECTOR,
BOSTON, January 20, 1890.

To the Hon. BENJAMIN HARRISON, President.

My Dear Sir:—I herewith inclose a copy of my letter of this date to Secretary Windom, in answer to his letter informing me that you were ready to make a change in the collectorship at this port. I take this course, deeming it proper that you should be informed without delay of my views as to the tenure of the office which I have the honor to hold, and am, with great respect, very truly yours,

LEVERETT SALTONSTALL, Collector.

No criticism is made upon Mr. Saltonstall as an officer. He has carried out to the fullest extent the civil service reform principles of the Republican platform. The *Indianapolis Journal* says that Mr. Saltonstall has been sick for six months and therefore was removed. The *Boston Journal* says that the collector is called upon at dinners to respond for the President and asks us to "imagine a gentleman who had defied the President occupying such a position"; by "defied" it is meant that Mr. Saltonstall is a Democrat. Senator Hoar says that the office is akin to a Cabinet position, and that the collector ought to be a protectionist; also, that a free-trader "cannot interpret our protective tariff." In the variety of reasons, the real one becomes apparent. The place was wanted as party spoil and it was so taken, and the President has added another to his broken promises. The removal was brought about by Senators Hoar and Dawes, whose greedy pursuit of this place marks distinctly the decline of Massachusetts Republican statesmen. Senator Hoar will hardly expect his excuse to be treated soberly. The law and the rules of the Department regulate the duties of a collector. With these as his guide, one honest and capable officer produces the same results as another. There is no way to honestly "interpret our protective tariff" except according to law. Any other way is a system of tips and winks; and this shows that Senator Hoar cannot mean what he says. It is a satisfaction to know that the course of the Administration is reprobated by such Republican papers as the *Boston Advertiser*, the *Boston Traveller*, and the *Boston Transcript*.—*Civil Service Chronicle*.

ADDRESS OF THEODORE ROOSEVELT BEFORE THE CIVIL SERVICE REFORM ASSOCIATION OF MARYLAND, FEB 21, 1890.*

Having been a member of the Commission for nine or ten months, I am able to speak with a greater knowledge of the work than when I first met the gentlemen now present. Let me lay before you one or two of the problems confronting the Civil Service Commission, state what are its needs, and give a brief account of our stewardship. We have tried to make our examinations as practical and our operations as public as possible. In ninety-nine times out of one hundred the attacks upon the civil service law are made by misrepresentation. The statements made against it are mostly untruths, and the openness of the proceedings is the law's best protection. Ever since Mr. Thompson has been made a member of the Commission, the papers, records and books have been put at the service of the public. Every representative of the press has had the fullest access to them. The eligible lists are permitted to be seen, and the only condition made has been that they be published in some newspaper. Upon the suspicion of any wrongs in connection with examination papers, they are handed out at once. I think the publication of the eligible lists one of the wisest steps ever taken. Some drawbacks may be found in the opportunities thus given to a man who is highly marked to get assistance in seeking an office, yet the good resulting does far more than counterbalance this.

In every post office the lists are open. Any one can see if a postmaster or collector takes up the names in regular order. The only secrecy observed is in keeping the name of the man who writes up examination papers from being known to examiners. The candidate signs by numbers. From the moment the papers are marked the name is made public, and if there be a suspicion of fraud, it can be followed up. It is a cardinal point to have absolute publicity. The next point is to make the examinations bear upon the very qualities to be exercised by applicants after appointment. To say that our examinations are only theoretical or scholastic is sheer nonsense and misrepresentation. I can hardly refrain from noticing misstatements made by two men in high official positions in Baltimore, one of whom is a Republican and the other a Democrat. It was said that a certain bright young man failed because he could not tell the length of the Yang-tse-Kiang—or was it the shortest

* From *The Sun* of February 22, 1890.

distance between the earth and Mars? I wrote to each of the gentlemen, asking for an explicit statement of the case, but got no answer. I then went carefully through all the examination papers since 1883, and then wrote to them that they were positively in error, and that no such question had been asked. Again I waited in vain for an answer. The statements showed in a comical manner the misunderstanding as to the effect of a failure to answer any one question at any one of these examinations. Such a failure would only result in the loss of one-half of one per cent in the marking of the average.

In our letter-carriers' examinations in classified post offices like those in New York, Baltimore, Philadelphia, or other large cities, we give different weights to different subjects. The main weight is given to the knowledge of local delivery. Such questions are given as, "What would be the most direct route from the City Hall to the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad Station?" "Name two prominent business houses, and state the most direct route from them to the Cathedral, or other well-known point." These are eminently practical tests. Thirty per cent is marked on this subject. Thirty per cent is marked on the accuracy and speed with which a candidate can read 100 written addresses. Thus sixty per cent of the examination comes upon subjects directly connected with his proposed occupation. Forty per cent is devoted to test the ordinary educational qualifications. Simple sums are given. The candidate is told to write a short letter detailing, perhaps, something of the business in which he has been engaged during the past year. With the idea of fitness in view the examinations are framed. We now have one for assistant chemists in the Agricultural Department. It is, of course, technical. A number of women, who are examined for printers' assistants, are examined simply in reading, writing and arithmetic, and it is said that their examinations compare with those for the makers of a nautical almanac. No man in a public position has a right to talk upon such questions without due information.

The needs of the Commission now come in for attention. Appropriations for the work are necessary. The workings of the Commission are, of course, susceptible to improvement. We will have to make a thorough reclassification of the rules. The system is good, but its rules are tentative. Any commission is bound to make blunders. A confession, they say, is good for the soul, and I will tell of one committed unanimously by the Commission about six months ago, for which I was perhaps chiefly to blame. You know we are frequently told that this or that office has special needs. The head of the office speaks of the latitude allowed his predecessor. He claims that he requires men with a peculiar fitness not possessed by men upon the eligible list, and must have such men for the good of the office. A new incumbent of a particular New York office asked that two of the places under him—he only had six—be taken from the classified list. He must have men of fitness, and if he had to take "boys fresh from school," a phrase often heard, they would not fill the bill. It was a fact which we knew that the best possible men could not be filled from the list, and we granted the request. Two officers of a Republican association of a New York Assembly district got the places, and ten days afterward, at a primary election in the district, that association was victorious. We could have given two men eminently better fitted than those chosen. I doubt if we can undo this mistake, but I guarantee the four other officers will be kept under classification with an iron hand.

I hesitate to speak of any other branch of the Government. A bill has, however, been introduced in Congress by Gen. Banks, of Massachusetts. It is offered, as I think, under a misapprehension, and is for the addition of 30 medical examiners of the Pension Bureau. There are already 20 examiners appointed from our lists. The bill is, therefore, one to virtually repeal the civil service law in this instance. If it passes, you will find 50 examiners—20 under our rules and 30 outside. It will cause confusion and complications innumerable. It is stated that young doctors are not desirable, yet those on our lists are from 21 to 55 years, with an average age of 34 years.

The Commission must have more funds. We are falling behind. A certain senator frankly opposed to the civil service law said the best way to do would be to withhold appropriations. I do not know if he has yet found out that this will simply stop appointments, for none can be made except from our lists. Therefore the lack of appropriations will only hamper the Commission and finally the Government service.

It is often stated that we have enough eligibles for the next ten years. Not only is this untrue, but we have not enough for the next ten days. We have more than can find positions under some heads and not enough under others. For instance, we have an overabundance of female copyists, but not enough Patent Office examiners. We have barely enough special examiners, plenty of female stenographers, but not enough eligible male stenographers. In 1888 we had from Indiana 43 for clerical positions, and but one received appointment. Some States have plenty upon the lists, others not enough, and the appointments by the law are apportioned among the States. Maryland, Virginia, West Virginia and Delaware being upon the ground, have full quotas. But Arizona, Wyoming, Montana, being far away, have not. Other States show peculiarities. Indiana has plenty, while Louisiana had but three passed, from whom two were appointed. From Texas 12 passed and 3 were appointed. Last year 182 males came from Indiana to be examined, while only 4 came from Louisiana. The pressure from places where there is a temperament for taking public positions raises the standard because of the competition. If you say Texas gets ten appointments and Indiana ten, it means ten chances out of twelve for the Texas applicant and ten out of 200 for the Indiana applicant. There ought to be on the lists at least double as many as will be chosen. The cumbering of the lists comes from the inequality of numbers applying and the apportionment by States, and while there may be plenty from certain States, there are not enough from others, hence it is not true that there are enough eligibles for ten years. Any man on the list from the four States of Louisiana, Texas, Alabama or Mississippi is practically sure of an appointment. But unless you could pass a law raising the standard in one State and not in another, or unless you can by law change the temperament of some and force them to take office by law, you cannot equalize matters.

Mr. Henry Richmond, of Buffalo, alluded to his appointment to the New York Civil Service Commission by Mr. Cleveland, and said that when in New York he first heard the proposition to make the eligible lists public, he was opposed to it. He, however, indorsed the Civil Service Commission's present views. Speaking of ballot reform, he said: "I am a new convert. I can only say I am a Democrat. I believe in the principles of the party. Yet if the Democratic party cannot succeed on a fair ballot, I want it to be defeated. I want a fair ballot to preserve the institutions of the country. I have been a life-long Democrat and a bitter partisan. When it becomes my duty to choose for the Legislature between a Democrat opposed to ballot reform and a Republican in favor of it, I shall always choose the Republican."

THE INDIANS AND THE SPOILS SYSTEM.

THE Executive Committee of the Indian Rights Association, the Secretary of which, Mr. Welsh, is a valued and frequent contributor to our columns, sends us the Seventh Annual Report upon the work of the Association. The work of the Association during the year has, on the whole, been satisfactory, while the prospects of an advance for the general Indian cause are more encouraging than usual. There are evidences of a steady and powerful growth of public sentiment not only in favor of justice to the Indian, but of the adoption and vigorous prosecution of wise methods of Indian administration. It is not too much to claim that the Indian Rights Association has been a prominent factor in securing this result.

A prominent feature in the work of the Association during the past five years has been an effort to prevail upon the

Government to introduce the merit system into the Indian service. It has been shown in numerous publications and reports hitherto issued that it is impossible to conduct a satisfactory and efficient Indian service upon a system of appointment which violates every sound principle of administration; which makes appointment to office the reward of party service rather than of merit, and which dictates removals not for misconduct or inefficiency, but for partisan reasons. Abundant illustrations of the fruits of this pernicious system, as practiced by the Indian Bureau during the greater part of President Cleveland's administration, were collected and published by the Association. This vigorous and impartial action was followed by excellent results, since the offending Commissioner and Assistant Commissioner toward the close of the last administration retired from office under the incessant fire of criticism which their course had brought upon them. Their retirement was followed by the appointment of Mr. John H. Oberly as Commissioner. Mr. Oberly was previously well known to the Association through his connection with the Indian service as Superintendent of Indian Schools, and through Prof. Painter's personal contact with him in Washington during that time and subsequently. The Association finding Commissioner Oberly a man of integrity, ability, experience in Indian affairs, and one fully committed to the merit system, promptly abandoned its policy of criticism upon the Bureau and adopted that of cordial support and co-operation.

The estimate which the Association had formed of Mr. Oberly's probable merits as Indian Commissioner was fully borne out by the record of his brief official life in that office. When it became evident that the new Commissioner was sincere in his professed desire to reform the service, and that his official acts were wholly free from the taint of partisanship, the Executive Committee of the Association determined to advocate his retention in office.

The President's pledge that fitness and not party service should be the discriminating test in appointments to every grade and department, and that only the interests of the public service should suggest removals from office, naturally encouraged the Association to hope for Mr. Oberly's retention as Indian Commissioner in spite of his opinions on the tariff and States' rights. This hope, however, was soon disappointed by Mr. Oberly's prompt removal by President Harrison.

His successor, General Morgan, the Association reports, has endeavored to conduct his office in accordance with the President's injunction to satisfy the religious and philanthropic sentiment of the country, and at the same time so that it should be in harmony with strict business principles. He has given especial attention to the matter of education of Indian youth, having greatly improved the personnel of the school force. He has introduced system into the schools and enlarged the attendance.

In all appointments to such offices as under the present system the Commissioner controls (this excepts Indian Inspectors and Indian Agents), he has acted in the spirit of civil-service reform, having dismissed no one for partisan or sectarian reasons. The Commissioner has given special attention to improving the character of the medical service. He has caused special investigation to be made into the character of farming and farmers. He has caused a more rigid inspection of traders, and has dismissed from the service several physicians and other employes for drunkenness. He has also refused to re-license traders for the same reason.

The report contains a strong protest against the absurd principle in Indian appointments misnamed "Home Rule." The "Home Rule" theory accords to the politicians of the States and Territories in which Indian Reservations are located the right to control appointments to the various Federal posts upon the Reservations. The Association opposed this policy on the ground that it was false in principle and likely to prove disastrous in practice. It is a contradiction in terms to call that policy "Home Rule" which restricts the choice of administrators for the affairs of an Indian Reservation to politicians of localities which frequently are most hostile to the interests of the Indians themselves.

The Association does not maintain that excellent agents and employes may not frequently be selected from Western States and Territories; many such have been so selected, but to make appointments from these localities obligatory, and to take the power of appointment out of the hands of the Executive and to place it in the control of local politicians, is neither sound in theory nor likely to produce good results in practice. The "Home Rule" policy is the legitimate offspring of the spoils system. It removes the power of appointment from the Federal authority in Washington, where it belongs, and places it in the hands of local politicians in the Territories, by whom it has been usurped.

As an illustration of this policy, we may instance an Indian Reservation where the question of the removal of the Indians upon it has for some time been vigorously agitated, in obedience to the clamor of adjacent white residents who desire to possess the Indians' lands, and for no other reason. The agent and another employe upon this Reservation, who were selected under the "Home Rule" policy, frankly confessed to the agent of the Association that they had accepted their positions with a view to securing land claims when the Indians were removed and the lands of the Reservation were open to settlement. It would be but natural that these officials should be partial judges of the proposed removal while that question was pending, and that they should exert their influence in the line of their acknowledged interests.

The scandal connected with the purchase of Indian supplies, which was ably exposed by Mr. Herbert Welsh last summer, is referred to in the report, and the hope is expressed that Mr. Welsh's efforts had a wholesome influence in checking the growth of bad methods and influences.

The report produces the impression that while the Association, with immense labor, effects some good, the spoils system still reigns in the Indian service, to the great demoralization both of the Indians and of those whose duty it is to care for them.

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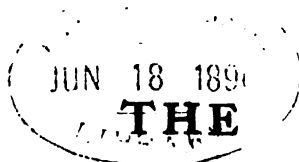
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The Civil-Service Reformer.

VOL. VI.—No. 4.

BALTIMORE, APRIL, 1890.

PRICE TEN CENTS.

THE MONTH.

AMONG the jobs defeated in the Legislature was an attempt to increase the number of managers of the State Insane Asylum with a view to obtaining a majority willing to turn out the efficient and able Superintendent, Dr. Gundry, and provide a place for a politician. The only reason suggested for the proposed change was that Dr. Gundry was a Republican. No more bare faced piece of spoils mongering than this could be conceived, and its failure is a cause for congratulation. Among those to whom credit is due for opposing it is Mr. Barnes Compton, who has hitherto often proved himself a spoilsman. There is less joy over Mr. Compton's conversion than would have been felt had it occurred earlier. Among the sweet uses of his present adversity, doubtless, will be an awakening of his interest in the work of keeping good men in office without regard to their political opinions. He might devote himself to preventing Jim Caulk, with whom, as a Rasin man, he may have some influence, from making removals on political grounds in the Postoffice.

THE high license law for liquor saloons found strenuous opposition from "saloon politicians" like Messrs. Fitzgerald and Colton, and was practically beaten. The measure passed provides for licenses costing only \$250 each, and will be useless, or nearly so, as a means of lessening the number of drinking places. The feature of the bill to which we object most, however, is not this, but one introduced into it by gentlemen who certainly have the best interests of the community at heart. We refer to the board to pass upon the qualifications of applicants. Such a board may readily become a means of rewarding saloon-keepers for fidelity to one side, or punishing their defection to the other. It may also be used as a means of blackmailing applicants. That it is the intention of the politicians so to use it will be evident if Governor Jackson should appoint Mr. Colton on the board, as, we are informed, is suggested.

THE Legislature of 1890 was looked forward to with many well-founded apprehensions, but a happy combination of circumstances prevented most of the expected evils, and doubtless the session now ended will be looked back upon hereafter as the time when Gormanism began to decline in Maryland. The *Sun* is the chief among the agencies that brought about this highly unexpected result in a body in which the Gorman Ring had an apparent majority led by Mr. Colton and Mr. Poe. We think our gratification at the *Sun's* fight against Gorman and all his works, as well as our surprise, will be shared by the best people of the State. If the *Sun* will continue to expose Mr. Gorman's nefarious schemes as boldly as it did the Wentz bill and the canal steal, Mr. Gorman's days of power are numbered. It is only in the darkness that such as he can thrive. When he is dragged into the sunlight of public opinion his strength must wilt. Had the press generally done its duty heretofore in holding him up to public gaze as the *Sun* has

during the past three months, Gorman could never have carried out the "deals" and the "steals" which are his chief political occupations. But while the *Sun* receives and deserves encomiums, the members of the Legislature who fought Mr. Gorman's henchmen upon the floors of the Senate and House are equally worthy of praise. The reforms accomplished and the jobs defeated by Messrs. Wirt, Brown, and their four associates in the Senate, and Messrs. Laird and Rich and their helpers in the House, entitle those gentlemen to general gratitude. The Republican members who voted with them deserve less credit only because they had not to run the risk of defying their party leaders, as did those gentlemen whom we have named.

A RECENT number of the New York *Times* offers a comparison between Mr. Cleveland and Gen. Harrison, from which we learn that in the twelve months between March 4, 1889, and March 4, 1890, the number of Democratic postmasters below the Presidential grade replaced with Republicans was 33,000. In the first twelve months of Mr. Cleveland's Administration the number of Republican postmasters of the same grade replaced by Democrats was 18,700. In his first year Mr. Harrison sent to the Senate for confirmation the nominations of 1600 Republicans to take the places of Democrats in postoffices of the higher grade, as against 900 sent by Mr. Cleveland during his first year in the White House. There were about 1200 other Federal offices filled by Mr. Harrison in his first year, making his grand total of offices treated, in making changes, as "political," 35,800. Making like deductions in Mr. Cleveland's case of army and navy appointments, there were 900 other Federal offices filled by him in his first year, making his grand total of "political" appointments for that year 20,500. The railway mail service is not included in these figures. During Mr. Cleveland's Administration it was not under the Civil Service Law. Before his retirement he directed that it should be brought under the law May 1, 1889. His successor deferred the date to June 1. During the four years of Mr. Cleveland's Administration 1999 changes had been made in the railway mail service. In five months from March 4 to July 1, 1889, under Mr. Harrison, 2434 changes were made. In other words, five months of the latter's Administration saw more changes than the four years of Mr. Cleveland's term. If the figures for this service be added to the totals given above, it will be seen that the changes in offices in Mr. Harrison's first year were 15,735 more than were made in Mr. Cleveland's first year.

MR. LODGE has introduced into the House of Representatives a bill for a rational organization of the fourth-class postoffices. At present these offices are the defenceless prey of any freebooting member of Congress. The "hayseed" spoilsmen who pack county conventions or write scurrilous abuse of the other side for county newspapers are paid for their labors with one of these offices. They are now the chief engines for the country "machines." Mr. Lodge's bill provides for dividing the whole country into suitable districts, with a postoffice inspector for each.

Whenever a fourth-class postmaster is to be appointed in such a district the inspector is to give public notice of the fact. Applicants are required to give information about themselves in their own handwriting and upon oath as to their name and address, education, health, employment, criminal record, if any, and the particular building where the applicant proposes to establish the office. Each applicant must also furnish sworn certificates from three reputable citizens that in their opinion he is capable. No officeholder, State or Federal, may sign such certificate, nor shall any communication showing the political bias of any applicant be received. The names of applicants are to be posted in the locality of the office, and the inspector is to make inquiries as to their qualifications. In his report to the Postmaster-General he must grade the applicants in the order of their relative fitness, and give his reasons therefor. All application papers, certificates and reports are to be open to public inspection. The appointment must be made from among those designated as fit; and if the Postmaster-General shall appoint any other candidate than the one graded highest, he shall place upon record his reasons, which record is open to public inspection. He is required to make his selection without regard to politics.

MR. W. D. FOULKE has addressed to the press a vigorous review of the recent attack upon the Civil Service Commission. He divides the members of his own party, the Republican, into two classes, one of which contains men like Secretary Windom, who believe that the party really meant to keep the promises made in the Chicago platform with regard to the civil service, while the other regards those pledges as no more than a successful lure for voters. In the latter class he places Clarkson, Porter, and also Wanamaker, the Tartuffe of Mr. Harrison's company. These men do not intend that civil service reform shall maintain its present status, still less that it shall be promoted. They are responsible for the attack made upon the Commission by the *Post*. When Messrs. Thompson and Roosevelt got abroad through the country the idea that places in the classified service were to be won in honest competition, these men determined to cripple the Commission, as Senator Farwell openly declared. But to withhold the money needed by the Commission, as they proposed, required some excuse or palliation before the country. The investigation, by showing abuses in the Commission, was to furnish this excuse. Mr. Hatton, who makes the charges, was actively aided by high officials, who furnished him the information on which to base his statements.

The charges themselves failed of proof. We referred last month to that referring to Campbell, and we shall not go into it again now. As to the other charges, Mr. Foulke says:

The third charge is that one Bailey was promoted without examination, but the law in his case required no examination for promotion, and the promotion was clearly a proper one. Another charge is that one Mitchell failed in his examination, and that his papers were re-marked, and he was raised from the ineligible to the eligible list, but the Commissioners showed that he was required to pass a new examination. A large number of other charges were made, in regard to which Hatton and Ewart introduced no testimony whatever, but simply abandoned their own case. The specification upon which they seem to place the most reliance is that Roosevelt, on behalf of the Commission, secured the appointment of one Hamilton Shidy to a place in the Census Bureau, when it was known to the Commissioners that Shidy, as Secretary of the Board of Local Examiners of the Milwaukee Postoffice, had made false certifications and had not reported violations of the law of the Commission.

The facts are these: One Paul was Postmaster at Milwaukee. Johnson, Shidy and Fahsel, three of Paul's subordinates, who depended for a living upon the places which they held under him, constituted the Examining Board of the Postoffice. When Paul wanted to employ any particular man he simply appointed him, and directed the Examining Board to alter the certifications and, if necessary, re-mark the papers and doctor up the records. Shidy, as Secretary of the Board, did the work, the other members knowing it and consenting for fear of losing their heads.

The Commissioners went to Milwaukee in person to investigate. Shidy made a clean breast of it, and told them the details of these violations of the law and pointed out other sources of testimony, from which his statements were corroborated. Roosevelt agreed to protect him in making these disclosures. Paul turned Shidy out, but kept in his employment the two other members of the Examining Board, and one of them is in that Postoffice yet. Evidently Shidy was discharged because he had turned State's evidence, and the Commissioners, as honorable men, determined they would do what they could to protect him and to see that he did not suffer more than those who refused to disclose their guilt. So Lyman and Thompson went to the Postmaster-General and requested Shidy's reinstatement. Wanamaker refused. Then Mr. Roosevelt tries to get Shidy another place instead, and goes to Mr. Porter, of the Census Bureau, and solicits an appointment there. Roosevelt tells Porter that Shidy is a weak man and had been mixed up in some wrong-doing connected with the Milwaukee Postoffice, but that he had been of service to the Commissioners and he wanted a place for him. Porter suggested that, as Shidy had been in the postoffice, it would be proper to ask the Postmaster-General if there were any objections. So Roosevelt goes to Wanamaker and asks him if he objects. He does not. Shidy comes to Washington and Porter gives him the appointment.

The course taken by the Commissioners was right. If criminals who turned State's evidence could not be protected by the public prosecutor, many of the greatest crimes would go unpunished. It is not only the right but the duty of men who intend to enforce the law to protect subordinates who confess their guilt and furnish testimony leading to the conviction of the principal offender. It was the duty of the Commissioners to secure the dismissal of the greater offender, and their promise to protect Shidy was strictly in the line of that duty.

The prosecutors, Hatton and Ewart, realizing, no doubt, that they had a poor case under this state of facts, soon shifted their ground, and endeavored to show that the Commissioners got the place for Shidy in the Census Bureau by misrepresentations and by concealing the fact that he had been guilty of making false certifications and otherwise violating the law. Upon the face of it this proposition was rather absurd, for the Commission had made a report in the Milwaukee case, which was published everywhere, and several interviews also appeared in the newspapers, all showing the part which Shidy had taken in the illegal conduct of the office. The Commissioners would hardly misrepresent what was a matter of common knowledge. But, not daunted by such obstacles as these, the prosecutors called Mr. Porter, of the Census Bureau. Porter testified that Roosevelt never told him about Shidy's misdeeds when he requested the appointment, and that if he had known about them he (Porter) would not have appointed Shidy. He says: "I did not know that he had been mixed up in any wrong-doing. I did not realize that." But after his testimony had been completed and he had retired from the stand, he was recalled, and admitted that Roosevelt had told him that Shidy was a weak man who had been coerced into doing wrong.

The prosecution afterwards called Mr. Wanamaker. The purpose was to show that Roosevelt had induced him to consent to Shidy being employed in the Census Bureau upon false representations and a concealment of the facts. So, sure enough, Wanamaker testifies that when Roosevelt came to see him upon the subject he conveyed the impression that Shidy was "an excellent man, worthy of the interest he was feeling in him, and that he wanted, for the sake of encouraging other good men to aid the Commission in the exercise of their duty, not to allow a man to suffer who gave them information." Wanamaker says that if he had known the facts, he would not have entertained for a moment a request for his endorsement, but would have counted it his duty to have warned any head of a department against appointing such a man. This is pretty strong

evidence against Roosevelt. Mr. Wanamaker evidently makes it as strong as possible. He has no hesitation nor doubts of memory. But, in the course of the examination, he is asked *whether he had read, at the time of his interview with Roosevelt, the report of the Civil Service in regard to the Postoffice at Milwaukee.* He says: "*I had read it without reference to Mr. Shidy, but with reference to the Postmaster.*" Fortunately the means are at hand to determine exactly what Mr. Wanamaker has read. This report, signed by all the Commissioners, contains the following:

"We examined the Secretary of the Board, Hamilton Shidy, and the Chairman, J. S. Johnson. Shidy is admitted by all to have done the work of the Board. Shidy testified that he was *compelled by the Postmaster* to give the latter free access to the list of eligibles, although such access was, at that time, strictly forbidden, and he further testified that the Postmaster, knowing those that were eligible, as well as their standing, appointed whomsoever he chose, and then forced him (Shidy) to torture the list of eligibles and certification book, so as to produce a certification which should bear the appointee's name."

There is scarcely a paragraph in the report which does not contain the name of Shidy. Shidy was the man who, under Mr. Paul's direction, did the acts for which Mr. Paul was removed by Mr. Wanamaker, and yet Mr. Wanamaker makes the impossible statement that he had read this report *without reference to Mr. Shidy, but with reference to the Postmaster.* The report goes on:

"As for Shidy, he, equally with his colleagues, Johnson and Fahsel, was certainly guilty of grave misconduct in permitting the Board to become the tool of Mr. Paul, but he did it under fear of losing his place if he rebelled, being wholly in the power of Mr. Paul, and, unlike his colleagues, who were equally guilty with himself, he had the manliness to come forward and tell what had occurred when the chance was given him. It is manifestly unjust to visit him with any punishment not also inflicted on Johnson and Fahsel."

Yet Johnson, the other member of the Examining Board, guilty of the same act of which Shidy is guilty, *has still been retained in office in Mr. Wanamaker's Department.*

The report in another place shows the common guilt of all:

"Shidy and Johnson testified before us, in Mr. Paul's presence, that on one occasion he examined the papers of an applicant, which papers they had already marked, and forced them, against their own judgment, to re-mark them, giving them a lower grade."

Again, "Mr. Shidy testified that Mr. Paul made his appointment first, and then forced him (Shidy) to gerrymander the list of eligibles, so as to produce a stuffed certification which should contain the name of the already appointed man."

Can Mr. Wanamaker explain in what manner he divided these sentences so as to understand what was the nature of Paul's offence, and not understand what Shidy had done?

Now take the probabilities of the case. According to Wanamaker's testimony, Roosevelt represents Shidy as an excellent man at a time when Wanamaker had read the report made by Roosevelt and the other Commissioners, and published everywhere, showing him to be directly the reverse. But Mr. Wanamaker's memory, which is so facile in recollecting matters which would throw discredit upon Mr. Roosevelt, becomes suddenly paralyzed upon other matters. Lyman and Thompson had visited Wanamaker some time before the interview with Roosevelt, for the purpose of asking that Shidy should be reinstated. Lyman calls Wanamaker's attention to this interview in the following question: "Do you recollect that one afternoon Governor Thompson and myself called at your room and showed to you two telegrams that we brought concerning Shidy's dismissal from the Milwaukee Postoffice, and asking if anything could be done about it?" Mr. Wanamaker, after a long pause, answers, "It is possible that that may have occurred, but I cannot say that I remember it."

Possibly there may be some explanation of this interview, regarding which the clouds of forgetfulness descend over Mr. Wanamaker's mind. On that occasion Lyman and Thompson told him of the examination made by them of the Milwaukee Postoffice, that they had made their report and sent a copy of it to him. *Wanamaker found fault with them for investigating the conduct of his own subordinates.*

For Wanamaker to pretend, after the Commissioners had sent this report for the precise purpose of showing him the misdoings of

Shidy, Paul and Johnson, that Mr. Roosevelt had afterwards represented that Shidy was "an excellent man," would be something more than absurd. It would be impossible.

THE appointments thus far made by President Harrison to the chief Maryland offices are not such as to call for either especial praise or blame. Mr. Marine, the new Collector of the Port, has made but few appointments of subordinates as yet, but such as he has made seem to be creditable. The appointment of Mr. Henry Lingenfelder, in particular, is highly commendable, and Messrs. McComas and Stabler are also, as we learn, men of good character and approved capabilities. We are unable to say as much, however, about Postmaster Johnson's appointments. He apparently confines his favors entirely to the "Johnson wing" of the Republican party, and his choice within its ranks is not always happy. For the most important office in his gift he has chosen Jim Caulk. Caulk is a chronic officeholder. He is one of the class of low politicians who make a living by their skill in working "deals" between the opposing parties and in selling out or "knifing" candidates for a consideration. It was gratitude for favors of that sort done Mr. Rasin in past years that kept Caulk in his place in the Custom House during almost the whole of Mr. Cleveland's Administration. He is now put in charge of a large force of subordinates, and he will of course begin to make use of the patronage lying around. If he does not get his chief, Mr. Johnson, into serious violations of the Civil Service Law before long, it will be surprising. Some of the minor appointments are of men after Mr. Caulk's own heart. One is of a man who keeps a saloon at 4 South Frederick Street, a bad neighborhood; and another bearing the innocent-sounding name of Lamb has been sued for seduction and suffered a judgment for \$10,000 damages to be recovered against him. But not all of those put in by Mr. Johnson are like these. Mr. Schneeberger, the Cashier, and Mr. Kurtz, the Assistant Postmaster, seem to be good men; and Mr. Sulzer, who was put out of the postal service by Mr. Veazey for partisan reasons, had a record of creditable service to recommend him. It should be remembered, however, that nearly all the changes thus far made by Mr. Johnson are made purely for political reasons. If the Postoffice had been a private institution, many of the removals made by the new Postmaster, as well as by his predecessor, would never have occurred. The new men are mostly inexperienced, and the loss of efficiency in the postal service caused by the changes must be very considerable.

WE trust we shall not be considered as captious critics if we say of the election and registration bills passed by the Legislature, in the words of the *Sun*, that they "are not by any means all that the friends of the Australian system demanded." Nevertheless, with the introduction of the official ballot, with voting carried on in a room, with the use of the registration books at the polls, and with the registers as judges, much that the friends of ballot reform desired has been gained. We have been unable to obtain copies of the laws, however, in their final shape, and must defer any detailed criticism until next month.

THE TREASURY DEFALCATION.

CERTAINLY it will not be for want of frequent and sufficient warning, if the Democratic party of Maryland shall fail to see the necessity of a radical change in its managers

and management. If, in the crisis which confronts it, that party should fail to recognize its obligation, to itself and the people, to assert its independence and integrity, it will be more blind than any party that has heretofore rushed to destruction in this State. Without any change—certainly none for the worse—in its principles, or any diminution of their hold upon popular favor; with everything to encourage and stimulate its efforts and promote its success, so far as national politics are concerned, it has seen its majorities in Maryland wasting away year after year. It has become the prey of dangerous discontent and dissension, the justification for which no candid man pretends to deny. It has grown more and more exclusively a machine for the advancement of the most corrupt and sordid individual interests, and its control has fallen more visibly, every year, into the hands of the least worthy and most selfish and unscrupulous of its partisans. During the recent session of the Legislature, the controlling majority of its delegates, from time to time, submitted to the domination of a dishonest and purchased lobby, imposed with the most shameless disregard of parliamentary and public decency. Only the resolute and upright resistance of a small body of fearless and independent gentlemen, whom the Ring could not buy or use, united to the pressure of public opinion and indignation, brought to bear by personal effort and the more commanding and unceasing urgency of the better portion of the press, prevented the session from being disgraced, even more conspicuously than it was, by discreditable jobs and equally discreditable disregard of principles and pledges. As if this were not enough to force upon the party the absolute necessity for reconstruction and self-vindication, the defalcation of its Treasurer came, at the close, teaching its tremendous lesson.

There has been an attempt, natural and commendable, on the part of Mr. Archer's personal friends, to cover over his shame and crime by the expression of genuine and kindly sympathy. This disposition has already been taken advantage of, by the late Treasurer's political associates, in order to temper the feeling of general indignation and resentment, which they are aware has fallen and must rest upon them also, on account of the peculation from which the State is suffering. While, therefore, we are far from having the slightest disposition to assail a fallen man, or add to the mortification and sorrow of his family and friends, we feel it our duty to warn the people against the insidious influence of a sympathy with the individual transgressor, which, so far as the public is concerned, is simply maudlin. The late Treasurer is a public defaulter, neither more nor less, and he is to be dealt with as such, by public opinion as well as by the law. With his punishment, under the law, we have nothing to do. The responsibility of that is upon the proper and constituted authorities. With the offence itself and the lesson which it teaches, it is the duty of the press frankly to deal.

So far as we are aware, the crime of Mr. Archer has not been traced beyond the appropriation to himself of a large portion of the public securities belonging to the State Sinking Fund. Under a most unwise and very remarkable and exceptional statutory provision of 1884, a portion of those securities were coupon bonds, passing, by delivery, from hand to hand, like ordinary currency. They were without ear-mark of any kind, and were as absolutely subject to the Treasurer's disposition, at his pleasure, as if they were in his own safe and belonged to him. Why the law in question

was passed, without any accompanying safeguards to protect the State from the new and palpable risks which it created, it will perhaps not be easy now to show. Under the provisions of that law it became, for the first time, possible to invest the money of the State in bonds which, it is safe to say, would be regarded by nobody as first-class securities, and would hardly be accepted as such, by any court of equity directing the investment of trust funds. That two of the corporations whose bonds were selected were railroad companies, in which Mr. Gorman and his West Virginia associates and joint land-jobbers are largely interested, shows perhaps nothing more than the habitual good fortune which has attended our senior Senator, in his blended relation to politics and profits. But the bonds, of course, were valuable and belonged to the State, and Mr. Archer appropriated them to his own use. What he did with the proceeds of such appropriation is unknown, and will be very apt to remain so. He was needy and was tempted, and he yielded. The facilities and opportunities afforded him for yielding were exceptional, and, to a man in his financial embarrassment, almost irresistible. He had no official supervision, and he had nothing to do but to help himself. The Governor of the State, it is admitted on all hands, did not discharge the supervisory duty imposed upon him by the Constitution, although he appears not to have been free from uneasy doubts and a little anxiety. But the Governor, Comptroller and Treasurer were all fast political friends and comrades and members of the Democratic Central Committee, of which Mr. Archer is chairman. They were all Ring Democratic Central Committee office-holders, holding their places, one and all, from Mr. Gorman's gift, and committed, alike, to the Ring doctrine that all was right "inside the party," and nothing wrong except what was outside. Naturally, therefore, they trusted and were very polite and accommodating to each other. That Governor Jackson wilfully omitted to discharge his Constitutional duty we do not mean to intimate. Of that, however, we shall speak further on. The Comptroller is required by law to examine the money accounts and statements of the Treasurer, and, so far as yet appears, there is no error or deficiency in these, or any suggestion that he has failed to discharge his duty in that respect. Independently, however, of this provision of the Code, he is required, by the 2d Section of the 6th Article of the Constitution, to make "full reports" to the General Assembly of the "state of the Treasury Department," within ten days after the commencement of each session. How he could perform that duty, without informing himself as to the all-important item in the "state of the Treasury Department," which consists in the presence or absence of the Sinking Fund securities, is a question not likely to pass without some agitation.

We notice that the bondsmen of Mr. Archer are already said to be setting up the defence, that Mr. Baughman has not complied with the requirements of Article 95 of the Code, Section 23, which directs the Comptroller and Treasurer, within the first two weeks of January, April, July and October in every year, in the presence of the Governor, to count and cancel the bonds and certificates for stocks of the State purchased or obtained by the Treasurer for the use of the Sinking Fund, and requires that a statement of the bonds and certificates so counted and cancelled, signed by the Comptroller and Treasurer, and countersigned by the Governor, shall be filed in the office of the Comptroller. If, as is stated, a large amount of the Treasury Relief Loan has

been abstracted by Mr. Archer, and the requirement of the Code referred to has not been complied with, there has been undoubtedly a further grave violation of duty by the Governor and Comptroller as well as the Treasurer, for which they should be held to the strictest responsibility by the people. What effect such dereliction of duty might have upon the liability of the sureties is another and different question, which must be left to the courts.

But let us return to the Treasurer, whose blended official and political career furnishes matter for the most serious consideration of the community to which it has resulted in so much loss. How Mr. Archer came to be made Treasurer of the State, and, at the same time, Chairman of the Democratic State Central Committee, we need not go far to see. He certainly was not chosen for either position, because of his unimpeachable Democracy, or his fidelity to party nominations. Down to and through the year 1859, when the Democratic party of the State was in a life-and-death struggle with Know-Nothingism and thuggism, and when almost every conservative man of the old Whig party united himself with the Democracy as the only refuge of free suffrage, Mr. Archer was still a conspicuous and active Know-Nothing leader, in Harford County, as Mr. Freeman Rasin was a conspicuous Know-Nothing worker and club bully, in the city of Baltimore. Nothing, as is well known, prevented the noxious and desperate faction to which they belonged and clung, from crushing out the Democratic party from the State, except the fortunate election of a Democratic Legislature, outside of the city of Baltimore, and the consequent enactment of the reform measures of 1860, which re-established, for the time, the purity and freedom of elections in Baltimore and restored the reign of peace and law. Although no man in Maryland was of late more violent and virulent, in print, than Mr. Archer, as Chairman of the Central Committee (though he was the very reverse of violent and virulent in private life), in denouncing, all the time, the whole body of Independent Democrats and aspersing their motives, because of their refusal to accept and support the nominees of the Ring, commonly called the "candidates of the party," he had no hesitation whatever, a few years ago, when he wanted to go on the Bench, in offering himself as an Independent candidate, in opposition to the regularly nominated ticket, against which he made a vigorous and effective though unsuccessful canvass. But these facts—whatever might have been their effect in excluding his pretensions as a party officeholder or representative, if the Ring had been sincere in the assertion of its party fealty—were entirely overlooked by Mr. Gorman and his coadjutors, in view of the advantages upon which they calculated from Mr. Archer's co-operation with their Machine. He was a gentleman of the best social position, the heir of an honored name, and a member of a large and most influential and respectable family, in Harford County. He was a man of kindly feelings and amiable character, and had great personal popularity and political influence. He was an experienced professional politician and "knew the ropes," and, as we have seen, he was altogether a free-lance and not troubled with political scruples or squeamish as to methods. He was therefore not only most desirable, as a figurehead of undoubted respectability, but was eminently qualified for just such usefulness and uses, as the Ring required from its chief representative on the Central Committee. He was, at the same time, as is now apparent, in great pecuniary embarrassment, largely from fiduciary obligations, to which he could not respond. We

speak advisedly, when we say that the knowledge of this last fact was by no means confined to Mr. Archer's immediate friends and neighbors, and that any sufficient, or indeed partial, enquiry, such as the Legislature, in the discharge of its duty, and the party managers, if honest, were bound to make, would have disclosed the gross imprudence and risk, to call it nothing more, of entrusting the Treasury of the State to his keeping.

Nor were the functions of Mr. Archer, as Chairman of the Central Committee, in any way calculated to improve his morale. As is perfectly well known, those functions consisted in maintaining in control of the Democratic party and its patronage, the corrupt Ring of which Mr. Gorman was the head; in procuring the nomination and election of the candidates selected by the Bosses, for their own purposes; and, as far as possible, in perpetuating the domination of the Machine, on which the Treasurer himself was dependent for the official position and emoluments which his necessities made indispensable to him. How mere and superserviceable an instrument he permitted himself to be made, for the accomplishment of all Mr. Gorman's designs, and what clay he was in the potter's hands, no one who knows anything of our State and city politics requires to be told. We may be permitted to believe, and at all events to hope, that his "poverty and not his will consented," to this surrender of his conscience and his independence.

That such a position, thus surrounded and controlled, was a good school for a State Treasurer, the most inveterate of candid stalwarts will hardly, we presume, contend. Central Committees are to a certain extent a necessity, we suppose—a necessary evil, however, at the best, as they are now administered. They are practically National Committees in the little, with about the same objects and the same methods. The principal and recognized purpose of them all is to promote party success by all means, and chiefly by the use of money. In this there is no distinction of party. If the Democratic National Committee had been able to control as much money as the Republican Committee, it would have spent it quite as corruptly, and would have had its blocks of five as readily as Mr. Quay or Mr. Dudley. If Mr. Gorman did not invest \$100,000 in patriotism and Cabinet preferment, like Mr. Wanamaker, it was probably for no other reason than that he did not have the money, or was not certain of the investment. Assuredly the moral question would not have controlled him, any more than it controlled the devout philanthropist from Philadelphia. State Central Committees can of course only do a comparatively small business, but still it is a considerable business, and it is all in the same line. To get up platforms which will be attractive, though not intended to be followed; to engineer primaries in the interest and by the methods of the Machine; to nominate people who will make any number of pledges that may be required, and then encourage them in breaking those pledges when the time comes, and make them do as they are told; to assess officeholders, and gather funds everywhere else that they are to be had, and pay people therewith to "vote the ticket"—these are, in detail, a few of the interesting, but not very elevating, functions already indicated, which the executive head of a Central Committee has to exercise or to see exercised, under such a Ring as runs our State and City politics. All of these things are demoralizing enough and sufficiently inconsistent with the strict rules and unimaginative notions which ought particularly to characterize a custodian of public money. But the spoils system

and distribution of office as a reward for political services, and especially for personal services to party leaders, is more corrupt and demoralizing than all the other sources of political evil and official dishonesty put together. After all, as Mr. Bonaparte has very strikingly said, the question of spoils is a narrow question of the plainest morality. It is literally a question of *meum* and *tuum*. When Mr. Gorman rejoiced, not only in confessing, but proclaiming to the public, that he had Messrs. Eugene Higgins and Morris Thomas appointed to public office as a reward not only for what he called their "services to the party," but their services to himself personally, he announced a principle just as dishonest as the claim of a Treasury official to pocket the public funds. Public office and its emoluments belong to the State. They are public property. They are to be bestowed in consideration of the fitness of the person to whom they are given to serve the public, and for nothing else. He is to be paid, and can only honestly be paid, for service to the people, and to no individual or party. The salary which a public officer receives is public money. It comes out of the Treasury, like all other public disbursements. A politician, exercising political control in the dispensation of office, has no more right to apply that portion of the public moneys to the payment of his own political workers, for services rendered to him in the promotion of his political ambition or greed—he has no more right to pay his own debts, or what he chooses to call party debts, in that way, out of the Treasury which belongs to the whole people of all parties—than he has to go to the public safe and take bonds therefrom to meet the same obligations. There are differences in the process, but in either case the substance of the transaction is the use of public money for private and dishonest purposes. It is the use by a man, in both cases, of property which does not belong to him. Custom and long-recognized abuses may have so familiarized the people with the offence, in one of the cases, as to obliterate to the unreflecting the plain moral identity of the two. But it exists all the same, and no man can occupy a position which familiarizes him, all the time, with the prostitution of public patronage, and deal habitually with what belongs to the people, as his own, without a confusion of right and wrong which, in a moment of temptation, may be unfavorable to the security of coupon bonds in his hands. This view of the subject may perhaps be regarded as altogether visionary and romantic, by our distinguished senior Senator and those who think, with him, that a man is a "sentimentalist" who desires to prevent cheating at elections. We insist, however, that it is but a corollary of the great and simple commandment, "Thou shalt not steal."

Nor is it the distribution of the spoils, to others, that most corrupts. When a man takes them, himself, as pay for party or personal "work," it is still worse. It literally turns his ideas upside down. He regards his office as booty—as a prize won in battle—and, as it belongs to him, he naturally feels that he has the right to make the most that he can out of it. Indeed, he gets it for no other purpose. This notion is the parent of a whole brood of abuses—perquisites, illegal fees and commissions, etc., as recently exposed in New York. It puts a man, too, in a very perilous frame of mind, when there is only a lock between him and a convenient collateral, and he has the key in his pocket. There was never a more thorough and striking illustration of this, than the cheerful feeling of ownership, with which Mr. Archer regarded and treated the public strong-box. Indeed, after

knowing the astounding fact, that he actually took an unsuspecting bank officer to the Safe Deposit Company's office, and got the bonds that he pledged, out of his Treasury safe, it is difficult to realize that he had not acquired a certain sense of security and impunity, from his experience of the readiness and power of the Ring to shield its servants from the visitation of the law.

Much as we have extended this article, beyond our intention, we cannot conclude it, without some reference to the other and almost equally important political lesson which the recent financial catastrophe addresses to the people of Maryland. We allude, of course, to the glaring neglect of public duty by the officers charged with the supervision of the Treasurer's official conduct. This is none the less sternly to be visited upon them and the Machine which placed them in office, because of its being without any corrupt purpose or suspected connivance on their part. The clause of the Constitution (Art. 2, Sect. 18) which makes it "the duty of the Governor semi-annually (and oftener, if he deems it expedient) to examine, under oath, the Treasurer and Comptroller of the State, on all matters pertaining to their respective offices, and inspect and review their Bank and other Account Books," is a conspicuous paragraph, in large type, near the top of page 35 of the printed Constitution, and has a marginal note to attract attention to it, in these words: "Governor to examine Treasury Accounts." It is plainly indexed, on page 142, forming the second line of the page. The whole of Art. 2, assigning the duties and functions of the Executive department, covers only 8 pages in large type, and is composed of about two hundred and fifty lines. Certainly, to read, mark, and inwardly digest this brief summary of his functions and duties, should have been no great labor to Governor Jackson during a service of two years. It is, therefore, nothing less than bewildering that he should confess, that until his attention was called to the clause in question, at the time of Mr. Archer's defalcation, he had never been aware of its existence. Whether he was ignorant also, and whether the Comptroller was equally ignorant, of the joint duty imposed on the Governor, the Comptroller, and the Treasurer by Art. 95, Sec. 23 of the Code, already cited, to count and cancel the State securities belonging to the Sinking Fund, four times a year, we have not seen definitively stated, though it appears to be conceded on all hands that the duties enumerated were not performed. And it is these three gentlemen whom the Ring has put into the highest Executive offices of the State, and who constitute, together, its Treasury Department and its Board of Public Works! This is what Ring rule and Ring nominations have brought us to! This is the showing that the Democratic party has to make of itself to the world, in the way of official ability, and the faithful discharge of the highest duties of the State government! Depend upon it, there were no such oversights in the engineering and manipulation of the Canal Job! We have said what we had to say in regard to Mr. Archer. Clearly a want of capacity was not his defect. Mr. Baughman is only a young Demosthenes, and no great deal was to be expected from him—but "words, illusion, wind!" Governor Jackson, however, is the embodiment of the present fetish of the Machine—the Business Man. He never was anything else, and had no other claim upon the suffrages of the people. He was a quiet, estimable man in private life, who had made a great deal of money in the lumber trade, and had taken good care of it. According to the Business Men's faith, he was therefore qualified to administer public affairs, particu-

larly in finance, and he was set to doing it. The "so-called learned professions" had been tabooed by our statesmen, and a man who knew how to keep books and keep a large balance on his own side was just what we wanted. And so we have had him. He and his Treasury colleagues have been a happy family, living and loving together, and politely refraining from invading each other's sensibilities. It would never have occurred to Governor Jackson to let any one have the key of his own safe, where all his securities were, without occasionally asking for it and going over his box. But it did not occur to him, all the same, to visit the strong-box of the State. Clearly the business rule did not work, away from the shop, and humbly, sadly and in sackcloth we must fear, that the Business Man in politics, and especially in office, is a failure and, irreverently speaking, sometimes a humbug.

AROUND THE TROUGH.

POSTMASTER JOHNSON had his hands full attending to callers and office-seekers yesterday, although the time set for receiving delegations and applications has passed.

MR. WILLIAM M. MARINE, the newly appointed Collector of the port of Baltimore, was at the Capitol to-day to consult Mr. Stockbridge about the distribution of certain "patronage."

COLLECTOR MARINE held his first reception of office-seekers and their friends at 11 A. M. yesterday. The rooms recently occupied by the internal revenue office were used for the purpose, and long before the hour named a large crowd had collected. As soon as the Collector was ready to hear the petitioners, there was a pell-mell scramble for first position. Few of them seemed to be believers in the doctrine that the first shall be last and the last shall be first. Of the five hundred or more applicants on hand, each was anxious to reach the Collector first. Those who failed in this endeavor crowded the more successful in their anxiety to hear what was being said and what offices were sought. The Collector gave all a patient hearing and requested that the petitions be left with him. The papers were turned over to Private Secretary Smith, who, after indorsing them, dropped them into a large basket at his side. Fully two bushels were collected before the crowd dispersed. These public hearings will be continued from day to day until further notice.

THE Postmaster-General will take up the Cumberland Postoffice case in a short time, but it will not be disposed of until Mr. McComas makes a recommendation. It is generally supposed that the candidate receiving his indorsement will receive the appointment.

SENATOR WILSON remarked that the President had distributed the patronage, so far as these appointments are concerned, impartially throughout the State, recognizing the Eastern Shore, Western Maryland and Baltimore City.

It is said now that from the first the President was inclined to give the collectorship to Mr. Marine; that this was on account of his personal appreciation of the fact that Mr. Marine, at the last National Convention, was an original Harrison man. More than a week ago, as was intimated at the time in the *Sun*, the President was ready to send in the Baltimore nominations, with the name of Mr. Marine at the top. He delayed on account of the most earnest and urgent appeals made to him by the friends of the other candidates, but, after listening to all they said, he did not waver in his first choice. The appointment of Mr. Marine is his own personal act. It is said that up to this time the President has felt a delicacy in rewarding original Harrison men, but changed his mind in consequence of an argument lately made to him by Secretary Blaine that it was not the square thing to punish men who had been his friends when he needed them.

ATTORNEY-GENERAL MILLER had a number of callers to-day in the interest of several of the candidates for the Maryland district attorneyship and marshalship. Mr. John T. Ensor, one of the three candidates for the attorneyship, accompanied by a number of friends, called and filed additional papers, and then went to the White House and saw Mr. Halford. William F. Stone and James Johnson, both candidates for the marshalship, also called with small delegations. The Attorney-General said to a representative of the *Sun* that the people of Maryland seemed to be pretty well divided in their preferences for these offices. He had not yet had time to consider any of the applications.—*Baltimore Sun*.

FARMING OUT THE GARBAGE.

MAYOR DAVIDSON has received a petition signed by a number of residents of the Eighth Ward calling his attention to the fact that a number of men have garbage or street carts in their names on the city pay-rolls who do not

drive their carts themselves, but employ substitutes to do so, paying them less money than the city pays, and pocketing the difference. The men referred to are Timothy Brown, who, it is said, is interested in three beer saloons; George Wilson, who owns one beer saloon; Bernard Kernan, who drives a cab for the Pennsylvania Railroad Company; C. Dunn, who earns a salary of about fifteen dollars a week with P. T. George & Co.; Edward Hamilton and Frank Phillips, partners, each of whom drives a pop wagon; T. L. Maury, who is stable-boss for Henry McShane & Co.; James J. Dempsey, who owns twelve horses and twelve carts; Conrad Arbin, a butcher, who also has a stall in one of the markets; Frank Fallon, a contractor engaged in hauling for the Chesapeake and Potomac Telephone Company, and owns at least fifteen horses and carts.

The foregoing parties, says the petition, receive \$6 per week from the city for performing absolutely no duties whatever. The city pays \$18 per week for garbage carts, and \$15 for street carts; and of this, it is alleged, the owner of the horse and cart gets \$6.

Mayor Davidson sent for Street-Cleaning Commissioner Bart. E. Smith and showed him the petition. Mr. Smith assured the Mayor that while the statements contained in the paper are substantially true, yet there has been no violation of law, because there is no law or ordinance whatever on the subject.

Mayor Davidson replied: "Then I will have an ordinance prepared and introduced at the next meeting of the City Council, prohibiting all except owners of garbage and street carts from driving them."

To a *News* reporter Mr. Smith said: "It is true that there is a regulation, which says:

'All owners of garbage carts are required to drive their own carts, when on duty, unless otherwise allowed by special permission from the Commissioner of the Street-Cleaning Department, and for any violation in this respect, where damage to the credit and efficiency of the service follows, they will for the first offence be suspended, and for the second, either dismissed altogether, or taken from the garbage service and placed upon the street-cleaning service.'

"The regulation is, however, practically obsolete."

Mr. Smith said the same complaint as is made against the garbage and street-cart owners of the Eighth Ward will apply with equal force to every part of the city. Men who own carts will get the appointment of garbage-cart or street-cart drivers, and after serving for a longer or shorter time, will get some one to take their places.

WORDS OF ENCOURAGEMENT.

NEWBURYPORT, MASS., March 12th, 1890.

Editor of the CIVIL-SERVICE REFORMER:

Sir:—Please renew my subscription to your excellent and vigorous journal. I inclose one dollar. Very truly yours,

JAMES PARTON.

PRINCESS ANNE, MD., March 12th, 1890.

Editor of the CIVIL-SERVICE REFORMER:

Sir:—Enclosed find one dollar. The influence and effect of the REFORMER upon the conduct of affairs and political practices will work out good results. It may be slowly, but it will be surely in the end for good. I wish you all success. Respectfully,

JAMES U. DENNIS.

NEWBERRY, S. C., March 19th, 1890.

To the Editor of the CIVIL-SERVICE REFORMER:

Sir:—Enclosed find postal note for one dollar (\$1), the amount of my subscription for the CIVIL-SERVICE REFORMER for the current year. I take very great interest in the energetic fight the CIVIL-SERVICE REFORMER is waging against the all-corrupt and corrupting spoils system, both in the State of Maryland and the nation.

Very respectfully,

B. O. DUNCAN.

MR. HIGGINS'S "CAMPAIGN."

HARLEIGH, MD., March 24th, 1890.

To the Editor of the CIVIL-SERVICE REFORMER:

Sir:—In the interest of truth and fair play I think you should make some corrections in your editorial on Mr. M. M. Higgins published

in your last number, as it is incorrect in some of its statements and does Mr. Higgins an injustice in comparing him with the great and only original "Gene."

Regarding the "fight" you refer to, it took place in the summer of 1888, and had no direct bearing on politics, and, in the judgment of the court and most of the community, Mr. Higgins acted in self-defense. In his application for the Easton postoffice he did not begin his campaign till last November, and at no time asked for the removal of Mr. Covington (the present efficient incumbent) before the expiration of his term of office.

As I differ from Mr. Higgins on almost all political questions, and as he is a firm disbeliever in Civil Service Reform, I think it all the more important that, as far as is in my power, he should be fairly represented in your columns.

Respectfully yours,
PRESTON B. SPRING.

CONGRESS AND PATRONAGE

TO THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE OF THE
NATIONAL CIVIL SERVICE REFORM LEAGUE.

GENTLEMEN:—Your special committee appointed to inquire into the condition of the Federal civil service and the operation of the reform law would respectfully report—

That on the 15th of February, 1890, your committee had its first meeting, in Philadelphia, and outlined its general plan of work.

Among other things, it was determined to make inquiries, at as early a period as possible, in regard to the system of Congressional patronage, and ascertain to what extent appointments to office were still controlled by members of Congress, and to what degree this patronage interfered with their proper legislative duties. In regard to this branch of their investigation your committee is now prepared to make its report.

The chairman of your committee, on its behalf, addressed to each of the Republican members of the House of Representatives the following questions:

How many offices are there in your district or elsewhere where the appointments depend upon you?

How many applications for office have you received during the past year?

What is the average amount of correspondence which each of these applications requires on your part?

What amount of time, either your own or of your secretary or clerk, is required, as nearly as you can judge, for conducting this correspondence and for attending to appointments?

Have any elections been held in your district to determine who the appointees should be; and if so, in how many instances, where, and for what positions?

To these questions a number of responses were returned with the statement that the writers had not the data at hand to answer these inquiries, but some 24 answers were received, giving more or less completely the information asked for. A summary of these answers is as follows:—To the question "How many offices are there in your district or elsewhere where the appointments depend upon you?" the following answers have been received:

1. About one hundred and twenty postoffices in the district I represent.
2. One hundred and seventy-nine postoffices and about thirty other places; also one hundred and eight census enumerators, with an endless number of applicants.
3. About one hundred and forty.
4. About two hundred.
5. A hundred and twenty.
6. A hundred and forty-six postoffices in the district, and under the rule I am expected to recommend a postmaster for each.
7. The Federal offices are deemed of so much importance that the Senator and all the party representatives from the State insist upon making recommendations for appointments, and no appointment, therefore, depends upon me alone.
8. Two hundred postoffices and probably three or four others.
9. No answer.
10. There are two hundred and fifty offices in my district where the appointments depend upon myself.
11. Nearly fifty.
12. About one hundred and twenty.
13. Probably three hundred, or three hundred and fifty.
14. About six hundred and fifty, in which the two Senators often unite.
15. No answer.
16. About eight hundred.
17. Six hundred.

18. None but the postoffices; but a very general impression prevails that I can control others, which calls for many letters of reply.

19. About two hundred and fifty.

20. Cannot say.

21. Not given.

22. Perhaps one hundred and twenty-five.

23. Ten or fifteen fourth-class postmasters.

24. Perhaps two hundred.

An average of the above (omitting numbers 7, 9, 15, 18, 20 and 21, in which numerical estimates are not given) would give about two hundred and fifty appointments depending upon each of these Congressmen.

To the question "How many applications for office have you received during the past year?" the following answers were received:

1. I cannot give you the exact number, but I am quite sure the number of written applications must be at least eight or nine thousand, to say nothing of the verbal requests.

2. About three hundred, in addition to home postoffices; five thousand applications for them.

3. About five hundred.

4. About one thousand.

5. Sixty.

6. There are one hundred and forty-six postoffices in my district, and under the rule I am expected to recommend a postmaster for each. I think there has been, so far at least, on an average, five applicants for each vacancy. During the first year of the present Administration I was called on to recommend for office to the appointing power two hundred and forty-six applicants, exclusive of applicants for the position of postmaster. (This would make nine hundred and seventy-six in all.)

7. About two thousand.

8. Not far from one thousand.

9. Cannot tell; hundreds, if not thousands.

10. There have been about fifteen hundred applications for office received by me during the past year. In addition to the applications of those who want office for themselves, numerous letters and petitions are received, in nearly every case urging claims of those who are applicants.

11. About four hundred.

12. Impossible to tell; hundreds, perhaps one thousand.

13. I think I can modestly say two thousand. Where there are ten candidates for the office, each man thinks he is the one most entitled to it; and it is generally quite easy to disappoint nine of them.

14. Approximately, about five hundred.

15. The number of applications for office during the past year is something over eight hundred, as appears on my docket, yet there are only eleven fourth-class postoffices in the district and ten Presidential offices. The applications for these have been practically nothing. The great mass of applications are for positions in the unclassified service in the custom house, and every branch of the government service, and in the navy yard.

16. About two thousand; not less.

17. About two thousand.

18. About two hundred.

19. Could not guess; hundreds.

20. Something less than a million.

21. It is impossible for me to say how many applications for office I have received during the past twelve months, but they have been almost innumerable, and it has been impossible for me to favor a tenth of those who desire positions, and the most of the applicants I know to be worthy and deserving men, whom I would be glad to aid if it were possible for me to do so.

Taking an average of the above (omitting numbers 9, 19, 20 and 21), the number of applications made was something over 1700 to each member.

To the interrogatories "What is the average amount of correspondence which each of these applications requires on your part, and what amount of time, either of your own or of your secretary or clerk, is required, as nearly as you can judge, for conducting this correspondence and for attending to appointments?" your committee have received the following answers:

1. During the past year more than three-quarters of my time in the day was given to attending to appointments, and late every evening (except Sunday) was given to my correspondence, with the valuable assistance of a stenographer, and even then I found it impossible to answer more than half or two-thirds of my correspondence.

2. The amount of time is about one full day in each week.

3. About half the time of one man.

4. The probable average amount of correspondence is about five letters for each application, requiring about one-fourth, possibly one-third, of my entire time.

5. The average amount of correspondence is about six letters each; about two hours' time.

6. I think that attention to the demands of those applications consumes one-fourth of my working time.

7. About half of my time. Perhaps two letters each.
8. Could give no light upon it; but quite a burdensome correspondence.
9. One-third of time of self and clerk. Several letters each; some of them fifty or a hundred.
10. These applications will require, on an average, two letters each. I should think that at least two hours a day have been required for conducting this correspondence and attending to appointments.
11. Nearly two hours daily during last summer; not so much now, and I cannot easily give an estimate.
12. The average amount of correspondence which each of these applications requires is rarely less than two or three, sometimes ten. I have had cases of twenty. The amount of time required is more than any branch of my public duties since November, 1888.
13. Probably five letters each, all around. All the time I could get.
14. About four letters to each applicant. About one-tenth of my time.
15. A low estimate of the average amount of correspondence which each of these applications requires on my part would be five in each case, or between four and five thousand letters in all. If it were not for the distribution of these offices, it would be easy for me to conduct my official correspondence personally, but, as it is, a secretary is required, and the burden of the office greatly increased.
16. Eight to fifteen letters each; eight to ten hours per day.
17. An average of three letters each; one-half of my time.
18. About two letters each; about one hour each day.
19. About a dozen letters, on the average, to each; half of my time.
20. One prolonged and continuous correspondence; the constant and entire time of both myself and secretary would not suffice.
21. I think that during the last twelve months the lives of most of the Republican members of Congress have been made miserable by the postoffice controversies in their Congressional districts.
22. Each place filled on my recommendation has required probably twelve letters written.
23. Do not know what amount of time, but a good part of it.

It is not an extravagant estimate from the above answers to say that more than one-third of the entire time of these Congressmen (time which should properly be devoted to their legislative duties) is consumed in the distribution of offices.

The condition of affairs in this respect does not seem to have changed very greatly from the time when General Garfield, in his speech at Williams College, said: "One-third of the working hours of Senators and Representatives is hardly sufficient to meet the demands made upon them in reference to appointments for office." The number of places withdrawn from Congressional patronage by the Civil Service Law has been about 29,000, but this has been counterbalanced by the growth of the service.

Your committee then proceeded to inquire more particularly into the extent to which this patronage interfered with the proper performance of the legislative duties which the Constitution imposes upon members of Congress. Your committee examined the records of Congress, for the purpose of determining the relative number of measures which remain unconsidered at the end of each session from lack of time to give them proper consideration. Taking the last Congress as an illustration, your committee found that the number of bills and joint resolutions introduced was 17,078, to wit: House bills, 12,664; resolutions, 269; Senate bills, 400; resolutions, 145. Out of this total number of 17,078, your committee ascertained that the bills and resolutions passed were only 1,824, or a little more than ten per cent, leaving a balance of 15,254 measures introduced but not adopted. This, however, does not furnish a just criterion of the measures which Congress was unable to consider, since some of these measures were passed upon adversely. Your committee therefore examined the indexes of the last Congressional Record of both sessions, and found that, out of the 17,078 measures introduced, more than eleven thousand were referred to committees and never reported by the committees to which they were referred; that about fourteen hundred were introduced and reported by these committees, but never reached final consideration in the respective houses in which they were originally introduced; that something more than one thousand passed the house in which they were introduced, but never reached final consideration in the other branch of Congress, while less than thirty-five hundred were finally acted upon. Your committee included in the measures finally disposed of all bills and resolutions approved by the President; all which became laws without his approval; all which passed both houses and

were examined and approved, even though they finally failed to become laws through lack of proper submission to the executive; all measures which were vetoed by the President, whether afterwards considered by Congress or not; and all measures which were withdrawn, laid on the table, or indefinitely postponed in either house. It is evident, however, that many of these measures, including bills which were laid on the table (from which they might be taken at any time), were not intended to be definitely rejected.

Why is it that the committees to which this proposed legislation is referred have no time to sort out the good from the bad; no time to consider more than a small fraction of the measures submitted to them? Why is it that so many bills reported fail to receive consideration in the respective houses of Congress. Why is it that so many measures which finally pass are ill-digested and carelessly drawn and require expensive litigation to construe their meaning? It is not hard to find an answer when it is known that more than one-third of the working hours of the members belonging to the party which is responsible for the legislation of the country, is devoted to business entirely foreign to that legislation.

The system itself is inherently vicious. The union in a single person or body of men of different functions of government, which are distinct in their nature, is evidence of a low form of political organism. In a large community with complicated interests it is only where these functions are definitely distributed that we can expect to see them properly performed. It is just as inconsistent with good government for the legislators to appoint the officers who are to administer the laws as it would be for a judge to undertake personally the execution of the process which he issues, or as it would be for these lawmakers themselves to act as judges in administering and applying their own laws. It is only where the legislative, executive and judicial departments are kept distinct that we can expect efficient work from any of them. An encroachment by any of these departments upon the duties of the other is a manifest usurpation. The Federal Constitution has carefully distributed to each its own powers and duties. The duty of Congress is to make the laws. The Senate, as the adviser of the President, has a qualified right to pass upon his nominations for certain offices; but to the House of Representatives no such right is given in any form, and yet we find members of both houses, in violation of the purposes of the Constitution, controlling appointments in every branch of the public service, and demanding that their constituents and political friends shall receive situations, often as a reward for personal and political favors, and not on account of any qualifications for public office. So it has been common to find these appointees active in conventions, caucuses and primaries, working for the interests of the particular Congressman to whom they owe their appointments, and often without regard for the public welfare; and it is for this work, or with the hope of securing it in the future, that the appointment is often given as the reward or the incentive.

It is sometimes urged against Civil Service Reform that the head of each department and bureau ought to have the selection of his own subordinates; but under the patronage system he has no such selection at all. The men selected are chosen, not on account of the knowledge of their fitness possessed by the appointing officer, but because they are recommended by a certain Representative or Senator. The head of the department or bureau feels little responsibility for their acts. It often happens that he is not at liberty to discharge an inefficient man, lest he may offend the Congressman whose influence secured the appointment of that man. The Congressman, on the other hand, does not feel the responsibility for these appointments, for he is not nominally nor legally the appointing officer. In many cases it is not known on whose recommendation the appointment is made. This system "invades the independence of the executive and makes him less responsible for the character of his appointments. It impairs the efficiency of the legislator by diverting him from his proper sphere of duties and involving him in the intrigues of the aspirants for office." (Jas. A. Garfield, *Atlantic Monthly*, July, 1877.)

But not only does the patronage system impair the efficiency of the service, it actually weakens the party in power. As was said in one of the answers to the above questions, "where ten men apply for an office, it is easy to disappoint nine of them." The experience of the last Administration, as well as of the present one up to this time, clearly shows that this irregular and unconstitutional mode of distributing public offices serves only to cripple the members who make the appointments and the political party under which it is done. Members of Congress realize this embarrassment when they order an election or caucus among the voters of their own party in the respective neighborhoods where postoffices are to be filled. The effort in such cases is undoubtedly to cast from themselves the responsibility of making a choice, which is quite sure to engender dissension.

Such an expedient is not only unjust in itself, but it rarely affords the relief sought. It is manifestly unfair to make an appointment for postmaster in a certain town depend upon the votes of one political party only. These may be an actual minority among the patrons of that office. The service to be performed is public service, paid for without reference to the political affiliations of the patrons, and if the choice is to be made by the suffrages of those who are interested, it is not just that any should be disfranchised. The result of these elections often adds to the confusion and embarrassment which patronage entails, as your committee has learned in the course of its inquiries.

To our question, "Have any elections been held in your district to determine who the appointee should be; and if so, in how many instances, where, and for what positions?" the following answers have been received from Congressmen in whose districts such elections have been held:

4. In two instances, for postmasters, resulting in both cases in difficulty and dissatisfaction.

6. Elections have been held in eight places in my Congressional district for the selection of postmasters. No elections have been had for the purpose of designating any other appointment.

8. One election, to determine who should be the postoffice appointee; we let all parties vote and confined it to one town; would not hold another election for that purpose under any consideration.

9. One election was held so far, for postmaster, which was unsatisfactory on account of small attendance. There will be another on March 27th for postmaster.

11. In a few instances elections by petitions for the position of postmaster.

12. One last year for postmaster. The result increased strife.

13. None. At the solicitation of candidates and others I called three postoffice elections, and I got into hot water. The very persons who had asked for elections protested most loudly against them, and I then appointed the postmasters, or recommended them myself.

15. In case of every Presidential postoffice in the district where there has been a vacancy since the fourth of March, 1889, a caucus of Republican voters has been held to recommend the candidate for the office. These caucuses have been largely attended, and the result in every instance has been perfectly satisfactory, both in the character of the candidates elected, who have been, without exception, excellent men, and entirely removing the disputes and factious quarrels which arise from such appointments.

16. Two for postmasters.

17. Two for postoffices.

18. None. One was held without my knowledge, in which voters were excluded who had a right to be heard, and I paid no attention to the election.

21. I had a few postoffice elections in my Congressional district, but, as there is no law regulating such elections, they have resulted in bitterness and strife, and did more to engender animosities and ill-will between the patrons of the office than any other method I could have adopted for settling postoffice contentions, hence I have not favored them, and henceforth shall discourage them where I can.

22. Yes; I settled perhaps twenty postoffice contests by a caucus of Republican electors. It worked fairly well.

24. In one instance elected a postmaster.

The other answers state that no elections were held.

An amusing account of an election held in his district was given in an interview with one of the Representatives. He said: "I have held one election only under this Administration, and that had a most disastrous result. It resulted in several men losing their characters, one or two were turned out of church, and all was turmoil and confusion. Carriages were hired to bring voters 14 miles distant, and citizens of another State voted. The doors of the polling places were broken in. Democrats were allowed to vote. There were

no safeguards about the polls. No oaths were required, and there was no respect for the election. The judges certified the election of one man, but sent a statement with the certification that the election was carried by fraud, the same name appearing upon both papers. The consequence was, I went outside for the postmaster, and chose a man who had not voted and took no part in the fight. He moved into town and took the office (worth not more than \$150 per year); but they would have torn the election nominee to pieces if I had recommended him. I look upon these elections as a party disaster."

Other members, as well as some of the above, have expressed their opinion of the patronage system in no favorable terms. One says:—"This patronage business is a great nuisance." Another: "I gave two hours a day to candidates for office all last summer, throwing open a room to them six days out of the week. Of course it was an imposition, but I do not want to be put in the attitude of complaining of my constituents so long as the system exists." Another says that he regards appointments by Congressmen as injurious to the best performance of their legislative duties; but while the system exists, it is not possible for members of Congress to avoid the responsibility, and their duty is to make the best possible use of the patronage which custom imposes upon them.

Another objection to the patronage system is the secrecy by which it is surrounded. Recommendations and petitions, which are signed upon solicitation and which mean nothing; charges and counter-charges preferred in the dark; political influence, which is often really exerted in favor of one man while it appears to be exerted in favor of another; intrigues and defamation of character—all these things are only incidents to a system which produces and nourishes them.

Another consequence of this system of Congressional patronage has been the distribution of offices in many Congressional districts by the defeated candidates for Congress belonging to the party in power. This irresponsible and illegal apportionment of patronage has led to many scandals. In Missouri there are a number of instances in which these distributors of patronage have collected considerable sums of money from the men seeking their recommendations. These "donations or free gifts" (as they have been called by the recipients of them) are ostensibly made to cover "the expense attached to the proceedings" of recommending them, but it is evident that transactions of this character are essentially corrupt.

The object of your committee in laying these facts before the public is rather to expose the infirmities of the patronage system than to criticise the action of individual Congressmen or of the party in power. These evils have existed under both political parties, and so long as the present system exists, it is difficult for any individual Congressman to refuse to exercise that patronage which universal custom has thrust upon him, often without his consent or desire. The remedy lies in the adoption of general laws which shall remove these offices from Congressional interference. In this connection we desire to call to the attention of the League the provisions of a bill recently introduced into the House of Representatives by the Hon. Henry Cabot Lodge, of Massachusetts, in respect to fourth-class postmaster-ships, offices which at present constitute the bulk of those subject to Congressional patronage. This bill provides that the United States shall be divided by the Postmaster-General into postal districts, and that he shall designate for each district a postoffice inspector to act as examiner. (As these inspectors are now appointed in pursuance of the Civil Service Law, there is reason to believe that they will not be greatly subject to political influence.) The bill provides that whenever a fourth-class postmaster is to be appointed the inspector for the district shall post notices in conspicuous places in the vicinity, stating the place where the postoffice is situated, the compensation, the amount of bond, the place where application papers may be obtained, and to which they must be returned, and any other proper information. At least fourteen days' time is to be given for returning the application papers. The inspector must furnish all applicants with blank forms of certificates, in which the applicant, in his

own handwriting, shall state, upon oath, his name, residence, postoffice address, citizenship, time and place of birth, education, health and physical capacity for the service, previous employment in the military or naval service, business and residence for the previous five years, whether convicted or under indictment for any crime, and if so, what, and the particular building where the applicant proposes to establish the postoffice, and whether in connection with any other business. The candidate shall furnish a sworn certificate, signed by three reputable citizens, declaring their belief that he is a suitable person. No other recommendation shall be offered. No certificate shall be signed by any person holding office in the Federal or State government. No application shall call for or furnish any information concerning the politics of the applicant. At the expiration of the time for receiving application papers the inspector shall post a list of the applications in the vicinity, and visit the place and make such inquiries as shall enable him to form an intelligent judgment on the qualifications of the respective applicants. He shall then send to the Postmaster-General all the application papers, together with the report, in which he shall grade the applicants in the order of their relative fitness, according to his inquiries, and giving the reasons. These papers are to be preserved for five years, and upon them the Postmaster-General shall appoint one of the candidates whose names are reported and designated as fit to be appointed; but if he shall select any other than the one graded highest, he shall place his reasons upon record, and these shall be open to public inspection. No appointment shall be absolute until the appointee has served one year on probation. The Postmaster-General shall not appoint upon political grounds, nor the inspector recommend any candidate upon such grounds.

This bill is an entirely new measure and is largely tentative in its character, but it is progressive, it affords to the administration a means of appointing fourth-class postmasters without the necessity of consulting members of Congress, and it will help to remove this great mass of small offices from political control and restore to members of Congress the dignity which ought to belong to the lawmakers of the country. It will help to abolish a system of patronage which leads to endless contentions and bickerings in almost every community in the United States, which paralyzes the legislative power of Congress, and which holds these small prizes up as a reward for the lowest forms of political activity.

We would respectfully urge the League to take every measure possible to promote the favorable consideration and adoption of this or some other measure which seeks to substitute general rules for the individual discretion and self-interest of members of Congress and their political supporters. If the fourth-class postoffices can be removed from the field of political strife, the reform of the Federal Civil Service will be more than half accomplished.

(Mr. MacVeagh, being absent on account of illness, is unable to sign this report before its presentation to the Executive Committee.)

WM. D. FOULKE,
CHAS. J. BONAPARTE,
RICHARD H. DANA,
SHERMAN S. ROGERS,
By W. D. FOULKE, *Chairman.*

MR. LODGE'S BILL TO REGULATE THE APPOINTMENT OF FOURTH-CLASS POSTMASTERS.

BE it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That postmasters appointed by the Postmaster-General to fourth-class postoffices shall be selected by him as provided in this act, except in a case of emergency not permitting such selection; but in such case no appointment shall be made for a period longer than six months.

SEC. 2. That the United States, except the Territory of Alaska, shall be divided by the Postmaster-General into districts of suitable extent, to be known as postal districts,

which districts may be re-arranged by him from time to time if necessary.

SEC. 3. That the Postmaster-General shall designate for each postal district a postoffice inspector to act as examiner under this act for that district.

SEC. 4. That whenever a fourth-class postmaster is to be appointed within any postal district, the postoffice inspector for that district shall cause to be posted in three or more conspicuous places in the locality in which such postoffice is, or is to be, and also to be published in such other manner as he shall think best, notices stating:

- First. The place where the postoffice is, or is to be, situated.
- Second. The amount or rate of compensation which the postmaster is to receive.
- Third. The nature and amount of the bond, if any, which will be required.
- Fourth. The place within the postal district where application papers may be obtained.
- Fifth. The place within the postal district to which, and the time within which, application papers must be returned.
- Sixth. Any other appropriate information not inconsistent with the provisions of this act.

Sufficient time shall be given for obtaining and returning the application papers, not less in any case than fourteen days from the day on which the notices are posted.

SEC. 5. That the postoffice inspector for the district shall furnish to all applicants for the office, upon request, application papers, blank forms of certificates, and a statement explaining how the papers are to be filled out. The application paper shall be filled out by the applicant in his own handwriting, and shall give, upon his oath, full information upon the following subjects:

- First. Full name, residence, and postoffice address.
- Second. Citizenship; if a naturalized citizen, when and where naturalized.
- Third. Time and place of birth.
- Fourth. Education.
- Fifth. Health and physical capacity for the service.
- Sixth. Previous employment, if any, in the military, naval, or civil service of the United States.
- Seventh. Business or employment and residence for the previous five years.
- Eighth. Whether ever convicted of, or at the time under indictment for, any crime; and if so, what.
- Ninth. The particular building where the applicant proposes to establish the postoffice, and whether in connection with any other business; and if so, what.

The Postmaster-General may require other reasonable information not inconsistent with the provisions of this act regarding the applicant's qualifications.

SEC. 6. That each candidate shall furnish, in addition to his application paper, a certificate under oath, signed by three reputable citizens of the State or Territory in which the applicant has actually resided within one year, declaring their belief that the applicant is a suitable person for the office, and no other recommendation shall be offered.

No certificate shall be signed by any person holding any office or place in or under the Federal or any State government, and no application paper, notice, certificate, or inquiry shall call for or furnish any information concerning the political history, affiliations, or preferences of an applicant, and no paper or communication containing such information shall be considered or received.

SEC. 7. That at the expiration of the time for receiving application papers the postoffice inspector shall cause a list of the applicants to be posted in the locality where the postoffice is to be situated, and shall thereafter visit such locality and make such examination and inquiry as shall best enable him to form an intelligent judgment on the qualifications of the applicants.

SEC. 8. That as soon as practicable thereafter the postoffice inspector shall send to the Postmaster-General all the application papers and certificates received, together with a report in which he shall grade all the applicants in the order of their relative fitness for the office, according to the information obtained by him from the application papers and from his inquiries, designating such as he shall think fit to be appointed to the office and giving his reasons therefor.

Every postoffice inspector shall keep a record of his proceedings under this act.

All application papers, certificates, and reports shall be preserved for five years, and application papers, certificates, and a list of the applicants in order as graded by the inspector shall be open to public inspection.

SEC. 9. That upon receiving the papers and the report of the postoffice inspector thereon the Postmaster-General shall appoint to the office one of the candidates whose names are so reported and designated as fit to be appointed; but if in any case the Postmaster-General shall select for appointment any candidate other than the one graded highest by the inspector he shall place upon record in his office his reasons for passing over the respective names graded above that of the one appointed, and such record shall be open to public inspection.

SEC. 10. That the appointment of no fourth-class postmaster shall be absolute until he has served one year on probation.

SEC. 11. That the Postmaster-General shall not, for political reasons or upon political grounds, appoint, nor a post-office inspector recommend for appointment, any person to the office of postmaster of a fourth-class postoffice, and they shall prevent, so far as they are able, any person from disclosing the political connections or opinions of any applicant.

SEC. 12. That any false statement knowingly made or fraud perpetrated by any person in his application, and any connivance by him in any such fraud or in any false statement made in any certificate which may accompany his application, shall exclude him from the eligible list, or be regarded as good cause for his removal or discharge from office during probation or thereafter.

SEC. 13. That the Postmaster-General shall cause proper forms for notices, application papers, certificates, and explanation papers to be prepared, and may make such additional rules and regulations as he may approve not inconsistent with the provisions of this act.

SEC. 14. That this act shall take effect on the _____ day of _____, eighteen hundred and ninety.

A LESSON FROM AUSTRALIA.*

BALLOT REFORM AN AID TO CIVIL SERVICE REFORM.

MANY partisans, who are reluctantly forced by public opinion to vote for ballot reform, with blind inconsistency represent civil service reform as something very different in spirit and aim. The latter not being so easily understood by the people, by reason of its complicated relations to many matters, its progress has not been so rapid, and misrepresentations have been more successful.

It is interesting, therefore, to glance at Australia, where ballot reform originated, and read a lesson of its relations to the other great reform—a lesson well worthy the attention of those members of Congress who are urging a law for applying the Australian system in Congressional elections, at the same time that they are seeking some excuse for arresting the other reform, which so greatly limits their own precious patronage.

Ballot reform was established in the Australian colony of Victoria in 1856. It caused a great improvement in the elections and in the moral tone of party politics. It increased the numbers of able and honest men who came into leadership in public affairs and suppressed much of the old activity of mercenary voters and partisan schemers. It raised politics in public estimation and created a demand for a higher political literature. Still, grave abuses continued in the public administration. The pressure of members of the Colonial legislatures, greedy for patronage, crowded many supernumeraries upon the public pay rolls, much as the greed of our Congressmen has done the same thing in this country, and made them subservient tools of such members. The more enlightened public opinion, which the ballot law had reinforced, earnestly demanded a remedy for such abuses. It was ready to welcome all discussions of sound principles.

* From the New York Times.

When, in 1880, Harper & Brothers published a volume on "The British Civil Service," the leading daily paper at Melbourne, the capital of the colony, completely reproduced the work in its columns in a series of articles for popular reading. A movement was soon after organized for a civil service commission, which was established five or six years ago, in close analogy to our Civil Service Act of 1883.

Concerning the effects of this reform I quote the following language from page 121 of an interesting volume, "Problems of Greater Britain," by Sir Charles Wentworth Dilke, just published in London. He says: "The Victorian Civil Service Commission has met with success, and on the rare occasions when members of Parliament have hinted at a desire to revert to their old practices, the voice of the community has at once drowned the whisper of such a suggestion. The civil service, which was at one time a byword, is now a credit to the colony, and nothing can exceed the average capacity, industry and trustworthiness of its public servants."

He further says that the action of the commission resulted in a large diminution of the public servants, and that it is a characteristic of Victoria, as compared with other Australian colonies, that "there is a close and keen criticism of expenditures, of appointments, and of administrative acts"—plainly a most natural result when we consider that the patronage and spoils system gives the Congressmen a vicious interest in those extravagant salaries and inflated pay rolls which include the cousins and benchmen they have forced upon the departments, and that the bargains it causes take away half of that Congressional manhood and sense of duty which are essential for resisting either party pressure or executive abuses.

If it be possible to believe that the intelligent people of this country, within the lines of the dominant party, have not an outspoken courage and patriotism equal to those of an Australian colony—have not even the common instincts of self-preservation—for compelling their legislators to be faithful to such a reform, it is some consolation to feel sure that the leaders who shall suppress it, as they did under President Grant by a violation of deliberate pledges, will be taking the shortest and quickest road to the ruin of their party—will open wide the way for the triumph of their opponents.

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VOL. VI. — No. 5.

BALTIMORE, MAY, 1890.

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VOL. VI.—No. 5.

BALTIMORE, MAY, 1890.

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THE CIVIL-SERVICE REFORMER desires to learn regarding the so-called "resignations" of fourth-class postmasters: who has requested these resignations, by what agencies have they been effected, and in what instances have resignations been practically forced to prevent loss on the postoffice furniture by disposing of it to the would-be successor in office?

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THE MONTH.

MAYOR DAVIDSON can do a good thing by vetoing the C. Dodd McFarland codification job. The price, \$6000, is very excessive, and the whole thing has a flavor of the lobby about it.

WE have no opinion to express on the merits or demerits of the Belt Railroad ordinance, as it does not come within the scope of this journal. But we feel compelled to denounce the corrupt means by which a large lobby, composed of some of the worst of our city politicians, Mahon and Rasin included, have pressed the scheme upon the City Council. The *Sun*, which has ample means at its disposal, should track up some of the corruptionists who sell legislation in the City Council and Legislature, and send them to the penitentiary, as the independent press of New York did Jaehne, the "boodle alderman."

WHEN Mr. Archer's defalcation was exposed, many people suspected, and not without reason, in view of his position as chief of the Democratic Executive Committee, that he was not the only person prominent in the councils of the party whose reputation would suffer from a minute scrutiny of that discreditable episode. Mr. James Sloan, to say the least, can hardly afford to let matters rest as they are, if he values the good opinion of the community. It appears by the testimony of Mr. Hollins McKim and Mr. Ferguson, that Mr. Sloan sold Mr. Archer for the State Sinking Fund \$100,000 of B. & O. Car Trust Bonds, at a price five per cent above the highest market rate, and he has not improved his position by his explanation that the bonds cost more because, so to speak, they were bought at wholesale and not at retail. We learn that Mr. Sloan has been ill since this disclosure was made: it is charitable to hope that when he is himself again, he will have something

to say on the subject which may be, at least, not silly. If he has not, he will unquestionably lay himself open to the suspicion that he divided the profits of this transaction either with Mr. Archer the individual, or Mr. Archer the chairman. And Mr. Poe, unless he promptly investigates the other purchases of bonds made by Mr. Archer, and shows that they were bought at the market rates, will strengthen a pretty general suspicion that those transactions are discreditable both to the individuals concerned and to the Democratic party organization. In such matters as these, every fact concealed breeds several suspicions, each as damaging as the single fact.

"IN appointments to every grade and department, fitness, and not party service, should be the discriminating test," was one of the pledges upon which General Harrison based his appeal for election to the Presidency. But his last two important appointments in Maryland, those of Mr. W. F. Airey as United States Marshal, and Mr. John T. Ensor as District Attorney, must have been made as reward of party service. The appointment of Mr. Ensor is open to objection also on the ground that he has neither the character nor the legal acquirements to fit him for the responsible post which Mr. Blaine's influence is said to have procured for him. He is an unfortunate contrast to his predecessor, Mr. Hayes, whose earnest prosecution of ballot thieves we cannot hope to see Mr. Ensor emulate; for Mr. Ensor's associations in politics are mostly with that element in the Republican party which affiliates with Democratic rascals.

THE debate in the House on the appropriation for the expenses of the Civil Service Commission deserves attention. It was perhaps the most important reform battle of the session, and the reformers won, and obtained a substantial increase in the amount of the funds at the disposal of the Commission for necessary work. We print elsewhere the bold and honest speech made by Mr. McComas, of Maryland, and one of two admirable speeches by Mr. Lodge, of Massachusetts. Mr. Lodge led the fight. It was easy for the rest to follow when he had broken the way. When he made the assault, things looked very black. The tide had seemingly set strong against the reform and against granting any appropriation. There was urgent need for some one of the leaders of the majority carrying influence and weight in the House to make a bold and decided fight on behalf of reform, and Mr. Lodge did it. He deserves especial credit; but a great deal also belongs to Messrs. Greenhalge of Massachusetts, McComas of Maryland, Henderson of Iowa, Butterworth of Ohio, Hopkins of Illinois, Moore of New Hampshire, Cutcheon of Michigan, Lehlbach of New Jersey, Hill of Illinois, and McKinley of Ohio, Republicans; and also to Blount of Georgia, Tracey of New York, Dockery of Missouri, and Dargan and Hemphill of South Carolina, Democrats, who did the work of organizing their side. Against the bill the lead was taken by Messrs. Houk of Tennessee, Grosvenor of Ohio, Dunnell of Minnesota, and Coleman of Louisiana, Republicans; and Biggs of California, Stockdale of Mississippi, Spinola, Cummings and

Turner of New York, Democrats. Washington, of Tennessee, Cummings, of New York, and Grosvenor, of Ohio, attacked the Commission personally, using simply the stale assertions of the *Washington Post*. Mr. Grosvenor got caught in a bad misstatement. He stated that from his district there was not a man in the departmental classified service, whereas the records show that there are eight, while, if the apportionment were made by congressional districts, it would only be entitled to seven.

The result of the debate was satisfactory to the reformers, and those members who fought for the increase should be given full credit. Every South Carolinian and every Massachusetts man present voted for the increase. General Cogswell, of Massachusetts, did not vote. What the cause of his absence was we do not know.

ONLY a few months ago Mr. Windom, the Secretary of the Treasury, announced his belief in the necessity for relieving the important executive officers of the government from the distracting clamor of office-seekers. In the succeeding interval, Mr. Blaine, the high-priest of the spoilsmen, has become a convert to the same view. The *Baltimore Sun's* Washington correspondent, in a recent dispatch, says:

Secretary Blaine, while not himself putting it in that way, may be pronounced a thorough convert to the principle of civil service reform. Mr. Blaine has more personal friends and followers than any public man in America or in the world. Naturally, according to the run of American politics, he has been overwhelmed with appeals from these friends and followers, either for themselves or others, for place. It would simply be an impossibility for him, however well disposed, to gratify an infinitesimal fraction of those who appeal to him. A day or two since he remarked to an applicant for a consulate, who came with the highest recommendations, that this matter of office-seeking was becoming too grievous a burden to bear. He said the present Administration had been thoroughly conscientious in its course from the first moment of taking possession of the government. There was not a criticism which had been passed upon it but derived its foundation from dissatisfaction concerning the disposition of the offices. It would be imperatively necessary, he said, for some method to be adopted in the near future which would remove the offices from the arena of contention and discussion. Mr. Blaine's comments as to the experience of the Harrison Administration show an exact parallel to the experience of the Cleveland Administration. It is quite within bounds to say that nine-tenths of the hostility to Mr. Cleveland engendered in his own party was caused by the dissatisfaction of party hacks and rounders on account of disappointments in place-hunting. Mr. Blaine's views, coming from so practical a politician and so thorough a man of the world, are of exceeding value.

As to the conscientiousness of the Administration, Mr. Blaine is of course entitled to his own opinion; for ourselves, we agree with the campaign biography of General Harrison, which said that he "was as sincere as it was possible for his sincere nature to be." But on the other point, Mr. Blaine is unquestionably right in thinking that office-broking is becoming too grievous a burden. His utterance is highly suggestive, and it may perhaps mark the beginning of a new stage in the decay of the spoils system. It will be remembered that in Great Britain, because of the selfishness of members of Parliament, who peddled offices just as our Congressmen now do, the spoils system did not finally succumb until the Ministers themselves declared that they must be relieved, and set themselves to get relief. In 1853 Lord Aberdeen's government, without making any application to Parliament, undertook to reform the civil service as an administrative step. As a preliminary, Sir Stafford Northcote

and Sir Charles Trevelyan were directed to inquire into the condition of the service. In the course of an able report they said:

Admission into the civil service is indeed eagerly sought after, but it is for the unambitious and the indolent or incapable that it is chiefly desired. Those whose abilities do not warrant the expectation that they will succeed in the open professions, where they must encounter the competition of their contemporaries, and those whose indolence of temperament or physical infirmities unfit them for active exertions, are placed in the civil service. . . . Parents and friends of sickly youths endeavor to attain for them employment in the service of the government. . . . The character of the individual influences the mass, and it is thus that we often hear complaints of official delays, official evasions of difficulty, and official indisposition to improvement.

As a remedy they recommend a system of competitive examinations to test fitness, open to all persons of the requisite age and of good health and character. The selfish opposition of members of Parliament, however, retarded this progressive step until 1855, when Lord Palmerston, by an Order in Council, established the beginnings of the merit system. The declarations of Mr. Windom and Mr. Blaine indicate that they are fast reaching Lord Palmerston's state of mind. It will be a fortunate day for this country when our President and Cabinet shall become sincerely convinced that patronage is an intolerable nuisance. Mr. Clarkson, however, who doubtless stands as near the President as Mr. Blaine, is as much of a spoilsman as ever, and flouts his chief's declaration that:

In appointments to every grade and Department, fitness, and not party service, should be the discriminating test, and fidelity and efficiency be the only sure tenure of office, and only the interests of the public service should suggest removal from office.

In his Pittsburgh speech the other day, after completing some 35,000 removals, he said:

The American theory is for frequent changes in all public offices, and for every American boy to have an honest chance, whether he seeks it in politics or elsewhere. There is no American sympathy for a life-holding class in office, and no real American sympathy attends the present experiment of creating a profession of office-holders. The people do not believe in the English theory of superior classes and life-holding classes. Their own acts, and not the theory of reformers, constitute their own opinions. All officers under their own control they change every two years or four, whether in township, city, district, State or nation. Never anywhere have the American people made the least expression in favor of a life tenure in civil office. I believe that the claim of the mugwump, that the people favor a life-holding class in office, if submitted to the people themselves, would be rejected by ten millions of votes.

Mr. Clarkson has made himself notorious of late as a practical exemplar of the principles he thus professes; but the recent elections, both in his own State of Iowa and elsewhere, indicate that he knows very little about what the people desire and approve.

THE RING DEFALCATION.

THE Archer case has continued to occupy the public mind ever since our last issue, and, of course, very seriously. The enquiries of the Investigating Committee have resulted in the discovery of nothing to mitigate the grossness of the late Treasurer's offence, or in any way to excuse or palliate the extraordinary official delinquency and disregard of sworn obligation, on the part of the Governor and Comptroller, without which his peculations would have been to a great extent, if not altogether, impossible. The

strong public feeling which this state of affairs has excited is not likely to grow less as the matter goes on. It is announced, and we believe there is now no doubt, that the sureties of Mr. Archer propose to set up the criminal default of the Governor and Comptroller as part of their defence, in the suits brought by the State to enforce their liability. Whether they can do so successfully, or not, is a matter, as we said in our last, for the courts to determine. But, even if the proposed defence should turn out to be unsuccessful, the public intelligence will realize, nevertheless, that its failure to relieve Mr. Archer's bondsmen will be no merit on the part of the delinquent Governor and Comptroller. Everything that wholesale dereliction of official duty could do, to weaken the hold of the State upon the security which it supposed itself to possess, has been done by Messrs. Jackson and Baughman, and they certainly will not be entitled to consideration, merely because their misconduct may fail, in spite of them, to preclude the State from recovering its losses.

The Governor, however, has taken a decided step in the right direction, by appointing Mr. Brown in Archer's place, and we have no doubt that he will be fortified, hereafter, in the more careful and conscientious discharge of his own duties, by the presence and counsels of a gentleman of the new Treasurer's high character and superiority to corrupt or improper influences. In no event, however, can he entirely eradicate from the public mind the pervading conviction of his own demonstrated unfitness for the place which he occupies. Due allowance is of course to be made for the controlling influence of such a combination as that of Messrs. Baughman and Archer, with Mr. Gorman behind them, in misdirecting his official conduct. But the necessity of making such allowance only emphasizes the more, the obligation which the people owe to themselves, to select public servants, who not only are well meaning, but have some independent force and volition of their own, and can neither be bullied nor misled by party managers, to whom they owe exclusively their official elevation, if not their political existence. From Mr. Baughman we can hope nothing. During the remainder of the Governor's term, however, it may be possible for that gentleman to redeem himself, to a great extent, from the reproach which evil communications have mainly brought upon him. He has every inducement and, indeed, obligation to do this, not only on his own and the public account, but on that of the party which has been brought to shame under his administration. There is but one way, however, in which he can possibly do it, and that is by cutting himself absolutely loose from the unprincipled associations which have brought him to grief. When he shall have once demonstrated, by his future official conduct, that he is the faithful servant of the people of Maryland only, and no longer the puppet of Mr. Gorman and his confederates in corruption, he will have done as much for his own honor and redemption, as for the public service. If we are not mistaken, he has had sufficient personal experience of the selfishness and bad faith of the Ring and its chief, to be able to appreciate, now, if never before, their motives and purposes in their relation to their party and the public.

The manner in which Mr. Archer was allowed to "administer" the Treasury department of the State, without let or hindrance from the Comptroller or the Governor, affords a fair illustration of the way in which Ring government in Maryland practically works. The theory of the whole system being that of farming out offices, as if they

were private property, every man who is put into a place—and particularly a place which may specially "have money in it"—is left to cultivate his official lands and gather what crops he can. If the official estate is too large for one gentleman-farmer to monopolize, it is put under lease to two or three—one perhaps being the visible official tiller of the soil, and the others receiving their share, quietly, "in kind" or in cash, as the case may be. It is of course part and parcel of such a system that every gentleman shall be left to look after his own affairs, and shall abstain from any impertinent interference with the demesne of his neighbors. In the shape of a "royalty," of some sort, however, the head of the machine of course comes in for his "little perquisites," and these will take the form in which he desires particularly to have them—in patronage, all the time—perhaps in votes sometimes, or "support," or it may be in a more material guise. For the convenient practice of this agreeable system, the Constitution of our State Executive Department affords the most delightful facilities.

The Treasury is in the hands of the Governor, the Comptroller and the Treasurer. The Board of Public Works is composed of the same three officials and no more, two votes controlling in each case. Under the Board of Public Works is what is commonly called the "Oyster Navy," known to the Code by the more euphonious and impressive title of "The State Fishery Force." Under the same control is that well-known and historic booty, the Chesapeake and Ohio Canal. To control the entire and extensive patronage and outlay of these two most interesting institutions, it will therefore be seen that only two Executive votes are needed, and whoever controls these votes is of course master of all the "boodle" which they represent. We should speak of the Canal in the past and no longer in the present tense of plunder and corruption, if we did not remember that Governor Jackson had recommended, and the Ring Lobby had forced through the last Legislature, an audacious job for its future and indefinite spoliation, by Mr. Gorman and the West Virginia wreckers with whom he consorts. Apart, however, from this last onslaught on the public interests and morals, let the reader consider, for himself, the spectacle which the Board of Public Works has presented for years past, in its management of the Fishery Force and the Canal. It is as notorious as the existence of the Chesapeake Bay, that for all practical purposes Mr. Gorman has been as much the owner of them both as of the "democratic principles" which he claims to have come to him as a sacred inheritance. He has steadily controlled a majority, and, with occasional exceptions, the whole of the Board of Public Works. He has done so by the simple process of putting on the Board at every election at least two of his own henchmen. He has thus stuffed the Canal directorship with his own dependents year after year, and the whole line of the Canal has swarmed with his partisans at the primaries. True to his own household, as always to himself, he kept his brother-in-law, Mr. Gambrill, in the Presidency, till he could perform the funeral obsequies of the last borrowed dollar in the Canal Treasury, and then had him nominated (though happily not elected), by Canal appliances, for the Senatorship from his County. The Oyster Navy he has used for his own purposes as exclusively and as generously as the Canal. Picking up "Commodores" at the plough-tail, as the Romans did Cincinnatus, and manning his expensive but almost worthless flotilla with landlubbers, many of whom had scarcely ever seen tide-water before, he has made it a "snug harbor" for every kind of

broken-down political invalid of his, who needed a hospital. Every one knows how unsuccessful the whole scheme has been, for any purpose except that of bringing itself into contempt, and how it has been spending the money of the State for the support of the Gorman Machine, with little or no benefit whatever to the great interests which it was intended to protect. Only those who have taken the pains to inform themselves, in regard to these matters, can realize how difficult it would be to exaggerate their iniquity. The Canal and Fishery Force have been to Gormanism, in the State, what the old City Yard was to Rasinism in the City, and a study of the details of either is as interesting, to a curious observer, as a search after bacteria to a biologist.

To many easy-going persons, the question will naturally occur—How has it been possible for one man to gather all these reins of power into his single hand? No one, however, who has been a student of our politics, at any time during the past fifteen years, can have much difficulty in comprehending it. It is precisely the result of the Boss system everywhere, varying according to locality and circumstances, but substantially identical. To fill elective offices, by packing the primaries—where candidates are chosen in that way—to pack the nominating conventions where these are the source of nominations—is all the secret involved. How Mr. Gorman, Mr. Rasin and their associates have managed our primaries, for their purposes, and nominated their own candidates, at their own pleasure, for so many years, is known to almost every adult male in Baltimore. How, by the dexterous combination of local interests and individual aspirations and greed, the Democratic State Convention has always been so constituted as to nominate the candidates whom the Ring selected or accepted, is equally familiar to us all. The Jackson, Archer, and Baughman group is the product of the last “deal” in that game. The supine indifference of the great mass of the party and its culpable willingness to accept bad men, rather than take the trouble to compel proper nominations, is the simple solution of the mystery. Given, as fact, that the party is in the majority and that a party nomination, no matter how procured, is equivalent to election, and the rest follows, as a matter of course. One would have thought that the lesson of this evil—taught as often and as ruinously as it has been—would have produced its impression and a consequent reaction, long before this. At the last election it was not unheeded, and the people would have shown the Bosses how much they have learned from it, if the untoward intervention of the Business Men’s Democratic Association had not given them another short lease of life and a varnish of respectability. After our experience of the recent Legislature, there is not much ground for apprehension that this performance can be repeated, even if any one should be rash enough to attempt it. Everybody, we think, who cares to make up his mind, and has any mind to make up, must be sufficiently satisfied, by this time, that the only way of dealing with the Bosses is, in the vigorous language of Senator Wirt, to “smash” them. To bring this result about, must be the fixed determination of all who desire to place the Democratic party of the State in a position worthy of itself and the support of the people. As we endeavored to show, in our April number, Archerism comes from Bossism, in the strictest line of lineal descent. It is not an accident: it is a logical result. Those who wish to understand how it works, have only to picture to themselves an Archer, with his principles and practices, at the head of the Democratic State Central Committee, and

holding in his hands, at the same time, the balance of power in the Board of Public Works! Nobody surely can conceive that the late catastrophe in the Treasury would have been possible, if the Governor, the Comptroller, and the Treasurer had all been chosen, spontaneously and separately, by the people, on their merits, instead of being huddled in together as a unit, on Mr. Gorman’s dictation, to do his work and perpetuate his ascendancy.

We had proposed saying something in regard to the criminal aspect of the late Treasurer’s case. Inasmuch, however, as his trial, upon indictments found, is now approaching, we deem it more proper to leave that matter entirely to the constituted tribunals. We cannot, however, avoid commenting upon the extraordinary spectacle recently presented, of a Judge of the Circuit Court, at Belair, so far forgetting what was due to his official character and position, as to rush eagerly and effusively into the country, to a considerable distance, for the purpose of relieving the despoiler of the Treasury from the mere “unpleasantness” of being under technical arrest, with detectives in his house. It is generally understood that the purpose of the habeas corpus is to bring the prisoner before the Court. Judge Watters appears to be under the impression, that its proper object is to carry the Court before the prisoner.

There is nothing to be gained, of course, by the needless humiliation of a fallen man, but really something is due to the majesty of Justice, the decency of its administration, and the equality of all men, and especially all criminals, before the law.

THE TREASURER’S BOND.

SINCE the above was written, the Legislative Committee, with the help of the counsel for Mr. Archer’s bondsmen, have unearthed a state of affairs in the Executive Department at Annapolis, which will astound even those who had supposed that they were past being astonished by anything from that quarter.

Under the Constitution and the Code, the Treasurer is required to qualify, by taking certain prescribed oaths and filing a bond, to be approved by the Governor, within a month after his election by the General Assembly. Should he refuse or fail to do so, the 7th Section of Article 1 of the Constitution expressly declares that he shall “be considered as having refused to accept the said office, and a new election or appointment shall be made, as in case of refusal to accept or resignation of an office.” Archer was elected in January, 1888. Unless, therefore, he bonded and took the oath prescribed, within a month, his appointment was a nullity, and it was the duty of the Governor, under Article 6, Section 1, of the Constitution, to treat the office as vacant, and fill the vacancy at once, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, by an appointment to continue until the Legislature should choose a new Treasurer, and the latter should qualify.

These being the plain, familiar, patent requirements of the Constitution and laws, it is amazing to learn, from the sworn testimony of Mr. Lecompte, Governor Jackson’s Secretary of State, not only that Archer failed to take the official oath and file his bond within the month prescribed by the Constitution, but that he was allowed to remain in the Treasury, and plunder it at his pleasure, without oath, or bond, or supervision, from January, 1888, till the middle of November, 1889! His bond, now on record in the office of the Clerk of the Court of Appeals, was not filed until the 18th

of November, 1889, nor did he ever qualify before that day! *For about twenty-two months, under the Governor's eyes, he was in possession of the Treasurer's office, without being Treasurer, except as holding over from his previous tenure, and with no more right to be there than the President of the Canal, or the Commodore of the Oyster Navy.* Nobody looked after him, or his oath, or his bond, any more than after the State's securities in his possession, and he might have gone on rejoicing, if Mr. Lecompte—"suddenly" as he says—had not found out (he does not tell how), at the end of some twenty-two months, that the oath and the bond were both missing. When this "sudden" discovery was made, one would have supposed that Mr. Lecompte or the Governor would, at least, have hurried to see that Archer was summoned to Annapolis, post haste, to explain, and repair damages if he could. But Mr. Lecompte tells us that it was not until "a few days afterwards," when "he met Archer on the train," that he "called his attention to the fact." The delinquent, of course, said it was "a mistake," and that he had certainly bonded and qualified; but, when it was shown that this was not true, he said "he might have overlooked it," and he finally produced the bond, which he said he had "found, in a drawer of his desk at home." Mr. Lecompte admitted that both he and the Governor knew all the requirements of the law in the premises, and confessed the startling fact, that no action other than has been stated was taken by the Governor, in consequence of the discovery. The Attorney-General was not consulted about it, and Archer was allowed to be re-elected, as if nothing had happened. The whole thing was kept a dead secret, and probably would have remained such, if the subsequent exposure of Archer's embezzlement, and the consequent investigations, had not forced it into light.

But all this, bad as it is, is not the worst. When Archer finally took the oath and filed the bond, on the 18th of November, 1889, he coolly "suggested" to Mr. Lecompte, that the noting of the oath on the test book and the Governor's approval of the bond, though neither of them took place till the last mentioned date, should be dated back to January 28th, 1888, which was about the time of his election—in other words, that the record should be deliberately falsified, for his benefit. Mr. Lecompte incomprehensibly consented, and wrote the false date on both the test book and the bond. A few days afterwards, "reflecting upon its seriousness," he as deliberately erased the false date from the test book and substituted the true date. He had also intended, he says, to erase the date of the Governor's approval on the bond, but it "escaped his memory"! He probably would have remembered it, we fancy, if he had applied to the gentleman who so worthily fills the place of Clerk of the Court of Appeals, for permission to mutilate one of the public records in his custody. Under what color of right he assumed to alter the test book we have yet to learn.

We have not room or time to comment on these extraordinary facts. Indeed, unless the people of the State of Maryland have forgotten what indignation means, comment must be needless. Whether so disgraceful, wholesale, deliberate and barefaced a dereliction of public duty is to be ascribed to ignorance, or stupidity, or recklessness, or worse, we leave to our readers to determine for themselves. Whatever it be, it is a reduction to an offensive and frightful absurdity of the methods which, for so many years, have made the ruling political management of Maryland a shame and a scourge. It turns the Ring inside out, at last, before the public gaze,

and, if we mistake not, there is a good deal more of it yet to come. It is for denouncing just such methods, and just such men as have practiced them, that a large number of the best Democrats of Maryland have been stigmatized, year after year, as "traitors" to their party and recreant to their principles.

A REPUBLICAN ARCHER.

IT may hurt the feelings of some worthy people to say so, but there can be no doubt of the fact that the Democratic party of Maryland is responsible for Mr. Stevenson Archer's misdoings. Not only was he its "regular" nominee for Treasurer at each of his successive elections, but his choice was undisguisedly a measure of party policy and a reward for party services. Moreover, he was the first executive officer of the party organization, recommended, so far as its endorsement could recommend any one, to the confidence of his fellow-citizens; for how could it more unequivocally hold him out as a man worthy of trust than by trusting him unreservedly itself? If a party can be estopped to deny anything, the Democratic party of Maryland is estopped to deny that it has caused the loss and disgrace to the community for which the Chairman of its Central Committee, the State Treasurer whom it thrice nominated and elected, will within a twelvemonth become an inmate of the penitentiary, unless our criminal laws have been so defectively framed by Democratic Legislatures or shall be so imperfectly enforced by Democratic officers that the able counsel retained to defend him may succeed in cheating justice of her due.

Nor do we consider this responsibility limited to those who actually planned or even desired his selection, whether as Chairman or Treasurer: it is shared by every one who has either actively or passively aided to keep these men in control of the party organization, and through it of the State government. No doubt if such people as Gorman, and Rasin, and "Hack" Quinn, and "Jim" Busey had not thought and spoken for the Democratic party, the Central Committee would have had a different presiding officer and the State's funds a different custodian; but these worthies think and speak for the Democratic party only by the help of every man who refuses to vote against their nominees. As things are, they and their like may say with truth "l'état c'est nous," but things are as they are only because so many members of the dominant party are too indolent, or stupid, or prejudiced to make them otherwise. The Democrat who boasts that he "never scratched a ticket" may now think with a just pride that he and other enlightened and patriotic citizens like-minded with him have put the people's money in the hands of a thief.

And they have not done this through ignorance or mere error of judgment. The Senators and Delegates who re-elected Mr. Archer every two years in docile obedience to the decrees of the Ring did not know, probably for the most part did not suspect, that he had appropriated to his own use more than a hundred thousand dollars of trust funds when he was first chosen, or that his official career would be one of systematic plunder. But they knew, and their constituents, unless wilfully blind, knew also, that he was selected at the bidding of unscrupulous men to repay him for service in a post which an honorable man could not be trusted to fill. Whoever voted for him, or for those who had voted and were expected to vote for him, knowing his record and his backing, took all the risks. Sheriff Flack's political sponsors may not have expected that he would conspire to obtain a fraudulent divorce, but they knew his antecedents and surroundings and habits: this knowledge was enough to show them their duty. And yet, when all this has been said, we know no reason why the Democratic party should lose, or, at all events, why its only rival should gain, a single vote because of all this scandal and disaster. For an intelligent and patriotic citizen to forsake his party he must feel not only that it has done wrong, but that some possible substitute has done or may be reasonably expected to do better. If nothing can be gained by a change, he will stay where he is, even if he does so merely from the force of

sentiment and habit. And if a party which needs an Archer, until he is found out, to be Chairman of its State Committee is a poor sort of a party for honest men to belong to, will these feel more at home in a party which keeps an Archer on a larger scale as Chairman of its National Committee even after he has been found out? For, after all, to do the Ring justice, they recognize that Archer's exposure has destroyed his political utility; they have at least the Spartan's severity for detection, even if they share his indulgence towards guilt. But, to all appearance, neither Senator Quay himself nor the Republican managers see anything in his record to affect his "claims" on the party: they are, or, at all events, they seem, perfectly contented with his past career and present reputation. Archer is a ruined man—removed from his office, already indicted, about to be tried, his bondsmen sued, his property assigned, every prospect of honorable employment, even of useful labor, closed to him. Quay is prosperous and influential, omnipotent in patronage, a recognized leader of the party, an accepted mentor of the Administration, a confidential adviser of the President himself. To say the least, this contrast is not to the advantage of "the party of great moral ideas," and it is heightened by the fact that there is no Democratic "Wannie" to "run the Sunday school" put in a place such as "Wannie's" by a man whose life has been such as Quay's. A ghastly farce of pseudo-piety patronized by brazen dishonesty and flagrant libertinism may be attractive to those accepting Mr. Pecksniff as an ideal character, but we do not believe that these constitute any considerable portion of the American people.

In comparing Senator Quay to Mr. Archer, we are, of course, perfectly well aware that, so far as is known, the misuse of public funds, with which the former is charged, resulted in no loss to the State; but we deem this wholly irrelevant. If Mr. Archer had speculated in gas stock so fortunately that he could replace the moneys he had used and redeem the bonds he had pawned, he would have been no better man than he is. Or if he had found personal or political friends at once able and willing to furnish means wherewith he could return what he had taken, and thus prevent or delay the discovery of his guilt, this would have made him no more worthy than at present of esteem or confidence. If it be true that Senator Cameron made good to the treasury of Pennsylvania what Treasurer Noyes had permitted Quay to misappropriate, honest men may indeed differ in opinion as to the merits of Cameron's conduct, but not of Noyes' or Quay's. To the Congressman who so indignantly denied in debate that Mr. Quay had been himself a defaulter when State Treasurer, however much he might have instigated or profited by the defalcations of his predecessors or successors, the distinction was no doubt important, since, as he said, he was a surety on Quay's official bond; but this can make no difference to any one not required to make up the loss. Fagin was certainly no more estimable a character than those he taught to steal for his benefit.

It is indeed right to note that while no one doubts or seriously pretends to doubt Archer's guilt, thoroughgoing partisans may disbelieve or affect to disbelieve the charges made against Quay; but, while the truth of these charges remains unchallenged by a judicial inquiry, only thoroughgoing partisans will complain if they are universally assumed to be true. When papers such as the *World* and *Post* publish what these have published about Quay, when a man like Henry C. Lea writes a letter like that he has written to the President, silence and apparent indifference constitute a virtual confession—no man thus accused would say nothing if he had anything that would help him to say. And if he says only that these are stories gotten up against him by "free-traders" and paid for by the English Government or the Cobden Club, for sane adults he says nothing and must accept the consequences of silence.

AN OPEN LETTER TO PRESIDENT HARRISON.

TO THE PRESIDENT—

Sir:—No graver scandal has darkened our political history than the charges brought against Senator Quay by the

New York *World*, in its issues of February 10th and March 3d. It would be useless here to recapitulate them further than to say that, with full details of names and places and dates, the *World* asserts him to be a man whose political career has been a succession of flagrantly dishonest acts, including the temporary abstraction from the State Treasury of \$260,000 in one instance, and of \$400,000 in another.

No such accusations, involving iniquity so varied and so continuous, and supported by such an array of minute detail, have ever before, I believe, been brought against a politician so conspicuous. If they are true, Senator Quay ought to be in the penitentiary. If they are false, he is a cruelly libelled man; his accuser is a journal of the highest financial standing, and no jury of his countrymen would refuse him exemplary damages that would put him beyond all future reach of want. Vindication and profit both await him as an incentive to prove his innocence, but, although two months have elapsed since the gravest of the charges were made public, neither solicitude for his character nor desire of gain has prompted him to break silence. It is his own fault if the public should regard him as acquiescing in the truth of the charges.

It is true that the crimes alleged against Senator Quay are connected only with his career as a Pennsylvania boss, but your close connection with him has rendered the scandal national. You were duly warned in advance from a friendly source of the dangers of such an alliance, yet by accepting his man, Mr. Wanamaker, as a member of your Cabinet, you assumed responsibility for both of them. In pursuance of this alliance, you have enlarged Mr. Quay's importance by virtually giving him control of the Federal patronage in Pennsylvania, thus rendering him the dictator of the Republican party in the State. He boasted of your subserviency to him when, in explaining his triumph over Representative Dalzell in the struggle for the Pittsburg post-office, he publicly said that "the President, though very anxious to gratify Mr. Dalzell, for whom he has a high esteem, could not, under all the circumstances, well avoid complying with my wishes." Even Mr. Quay's remarkable silence under the accusations of the *World* does not seem to have lessened his influence over you. He signalized his return from Florida a week or two since, by capturing the Pittsburg surveyorship of customs against candidates urged respectively by Secretary Blaine and Representative Dalzell. Indeed, his power would seem to be as great in Washington as in this State, for the party organs now tell us that he has been endeavoring to buy off a superfluous candidate for the governorship with an assistant secretaryship of war. In thus entering into a political partnership with Mr. Quay, you must share the losses as well as the gains of the venture. It is not Pennsylvania alone, nor even the Republican party only, that has a right to protest: every citizen of the land must feel humiliation at the smirch thus inflicted on the Chief Magistracy of the nation.

As a Republican by conviction, ardently desiring the success of the party so long as it deserves success, let me request you, Mr. President, to take a calm survey of the situation and render to yourself an account of your stewardship. Thirteen months ago you entered upon the duties of the highest office which the world has to bestow; your party was supreme in the control of both Houses of Congress and of the Executive; everything promised a prosperous and useful administration, in which you, by simply adhering to the pledges under which you were elected, might earn another term from the confidence and gratitude of the people. The only cloud upon the political horizon was your acceptance of a Postmaster-General at Mr. Quay's dictation, ostensibly as a reward for certain services performed during the canvass. That cloud, then no larger than a man's hand, has spread till it covers the firmament. Look back now and reflect upon your work. You have sedulously devoted yourself to the distribution of "patronage"; you have turned out nearly forty thousand Democratic officeholders, and in this ignoble business you have filled vacancies thus made by giving "recognition" to the worst elements in the party. You have thus degraded it to the lowest level, till it no longer deserves or enjoys the public confidence, and its

interest, as well as that of the nation, demands its purification by defeat. You have earned for it the denunciation of the Hebrew prophet:

"The heads thereof judge for reward, and the priests thereof teach for hire, and the prophets thereof divine for money; yet will they lean upon the Lord and say, Is not the Lord among us? none evil can come among us. Therefore shall Zion for your sake be plowed as a field, and Jerusalem shall become heaps."

But it needs no prophet to foretell the result. The elections of last November were a warning that the people would not tolerate your methods. You have refused to heed the lesson, and the elections of next November will emphasize it. The narrow Republican majority in the lower House will be swept away, and your path for the latter half of your administration will be a path of thorns. You have rewarded the magnificent majority of 80,000 given to you by Pennsylvania by riveting upon her the chains of Quayism: you need not wonder that disaffection is spreading rapidly throughout her borders in a manner that may render even her allegiance doubtful. The outlook for 1892 is even darker. Were the Presidential election to take place to-morrow, there could scarce be doubt of Democratic success. Let me counsel you, Mr. President, as a friend, to reflect that this has been your work in one short year of misused power.

If this retrospection should bring with it repentance and amendment, you still have before you three years which may be fruitful for good. Bear in mind that "faithful are the wounds of a friend, but the kisses of an enemy are deceitful." Discard the advisers who are luring you to your downfall. Recognize that the truest political expediency lies in the application of conscience to public affairs, and that you can serve your party best by stimulating the nobler aspirations of the nation, rather than by pandering to the baser appetites of spoilsmen. Cease to expect to gather figs of thistles, or to touch pitch without defilement. Apply to your public duties the high standard of morality to which you adhere in your private life. Remember that evil can give birth only to evil, and that you, as Chief Magistrate of sixty-five millions of freemen, have on your soul a charge for which you must reckon to posterity and to God.

I am, Mr. President, your obedient servant,
HENRY CHARLES LEA.

PHILADELPHIA, April 8, 1890.

COMMENT ON MR. LEA'S LETTER.

THE letter of Mr. Henry C. Lea to the President is but the outward expression of a widespread indignation which among a large class has been smoldering and gathering force. The matter is not, as the *Indianapolis Journal* seems to think, an attempt to hold the President for the election of Quay to the Senate or for his getting the Pennsylvania Republican machine under his absolute control. The point is that the President is giving the distribution of the Federal offices of that State into the hands of a man who stands silent when charged by a financially responsible newspaper with being a briber, a political corruptionist of the worst kind, and a colossal thief. The President is thus enabling Quay to distribute among his friends some millions a year and thus perpetuate his own power. And when Quay says that the President cannot avoid complying with his wishes, and when the President says, as he does, according to the *Philadelphia Inquirer*, that on account of his obligations to Quay he cannot decline any request the latter may make, both of them put into words the President's humiliating position.

There is a striking analogy between this case and President Cleveland's subjection to Gorman. The latter was also the ruling spirit of his national party committee which managed the successful campaign. President Cleveland was also warned against Gorman by Democrats whose word was not to be disputed. Yet to the end of that Presidential term Gorman, by having control of the Federal offices, practically deprived Maryland of free government. This was one of the potent influences which led to the defeat of Mr. Cleveland. Quay's nearly absolute influence is shown by the fact that

only two Philadelphia daily papers, the *Times* and the *Telegraph*, dare publish Mr. Lea's letter. If continued in control of the offices, his hand will for some time be higher than ever. Gorman's was to the very end, and even during the elections after Mr. Cleveland's renomination. Deprived of his patronage after he has nearly made Maryland a Republican State, Gorman can now probably be driven out of public life, and the people of Pennsylvania will sooner or later bring down Quay. The President, by continuing him in control of the patronage, may delay the day, and they may both fall together.—*Civil Service Chronicle*.

MR. McCOMAS ON THE REFORM.

THIS is a cowardly attempt to nullify the existing law. Why do I say it is cowardly? The Republican party are not ordinarily nullifiers. If we face something as a party, we march forward, take our ground, and stand upon it. But this back-door way of attacking the Civil Service Commission now established by law, by attempting to starve it out, is dishonorable and unworthy of a great party that won a glorious victory on a dozen pledges, in the front of which it put its solemnly repeated pledge that it would stand by this reform when the Democratic party failed to stand by its pledge for civil service reform.

What is the result of this proposition? For seven years under the existing law and by its invitation you have sent a hundred thousand men and women and young girls from the farms and villages up to the cities of the country where you have held your examinations; and they have been placed on the eligible list—one hundred thousand of them last year—many of them poor. They are hoping that you meant what you said when they went to be examined. They found that 22 per cent of those examined had been placed on the rolls of government employment last year, and they thought that they had one chance out of four this year of appointment if you should keep your pledge. They are relying on your honor, your party's honor, to give them the opportunity which was promised them under the law. Now you propose to say, "We will starve out the Commission." These people have spent their money, their toil; they have stood their examinations in vain, because the government is going to repudiate its pledge. If you now strike out this appropriation you practically abolish the law; and none of these people can get in. You do not leave one opening by which a single person not now in the service, although eligible, can enter it under this law. Striking out the appropriation will not open a single office to applicants outside to enter the classified service. As to all those men who otherwise might get in, the women and girls who might get in, the soldiers to whom preference is given by the law, a preference which can be enlarged by law, when they pass the examination with equal rank, you propose to say, "We repudiate our pledge."

Now, Mr. Chairman, I want to read that pledge, and if I have not time I want to ask the indulgence of my friend to yield me a minute or two longer.

Mr. Boutelle.—Would not my friend be good enough to mention in this connection, or to give an estimate of the number of people he has employed in the government who did not pass the examination? [Laughter.]

Mr. McComas.—I am sure I have not a tithe of the number that the gentleman himself has.

Mr. Boutelle.—I would be very glad to institute a comparison in that regard.

Mr. McComas.—No, Mr. Chairman, I have not yet and will not hereafter ask any man to violate the civil service law and the pledges of my party to give an office to any man. [Applause.] That is the kind of a Republican that I am. I stand by the law because it is honest and honorable, and my party stands by the law for the same reason. If you are going to attack the law, let it be done openly and not secretly and covertly.

What did we pledge in the past? I do not fear that we will be found wanting. We will not fail to keep our pledges made to the people on two occasions. They are still exist-

ing, and in good faith we are bound to observe them. Let me read it from the platform of 1888:

"We will not fail to keep our pledges, because they have broken theirs. . . .

"We therefore repeat our declaration of 1884, to wit, the reform of the civil service, auspiciously begun under Republican administration."

Yes, legislation passed by the Republican Senate, signed by a Republican President, legislation which was boasted of in two platforms of the Republican party.

"The reform should be completed by the further extension of the reform system already established by law."

[Here the hammer fell.]

The Chairman.—The time of the gentleman has expired.

Mr. McComas.—Yield me just two minutes longer.

Mr. Butterworth.—I will yield to the gentleman two minutes only.

Mr. McComas.—These are the words:

"By the further extension of the reform system already established by law."

We in terms pledged our faith to this system. We said it was our system, that it was our law, and that we would stand by it and extend it. Now, as honest and honorable men, we as Republicans should keep our pledges, and as honest and as honorable men we should do as well as the Democrats did. Last year I find, when the effort was made to strike this out of the bill, as it has been done frequently, the vote was 97 in favor and 14 against the system, and on every occasion when the Democrats were in power they and we together voted down this same motion overwhelmingly.

I now say, Mr. Chairman, that we as the Republican party, on that distinct and unequivocal pledge, the most distinct and explicit that ever was made by any party, would stultify our party and humiliate ourselves if we dared to attempt in any such manner to sneakily try to evade the responsibility of the law. [Applause.] We dare not. This system has come to stay, and ours it is to faithfully administer it.

Over and above the clamor here, over and above the desire for office that many men have, over and above the natural desire I have in common with other men in behalf of the aspirations of men who are good and true, I say when it comes to forfeiting my honor and that of my party I would rather leave public life and be a decent private citizen than to surrender that over and despoil my party and its pledges made twice in the terms I read. I had rather go home and preserve my self-respect than to undertake to repudiate those pledges by accepting the proposition made here and vote out of this bill an appropriation which we are in honor bound to sustain. [Applause.]

MR. LODGE ON THE REFORM.

MR. CHAIRMAN, I had no intention of delaying the House by saying anything in this general debate, but I for one object to being classified, if my silence is to be interpreted as assent, as one of those opposed to what is known as civil service reform, and in favor of the old system of patronage. I believe in the reform law, and am utterly opposed to political or other patronage in the distribution of the public offices, which belong to the people of the United States, and not to any man or body of men, no matter what their position.

Every spring we have an annual performance on the matter of civil service reform, and it is extremely refreshing to me to see the honest and manly indignation which is manifested by gentlemen upon this floor in regard to what they call a humbug and a fraud.

Mr. Outhwaite.—When the other party is in power.

Mr. Lodge.—I am not going to bandy words as to which party is the worse or better. I think the interesting thing is that in this body of all others, where nobody speaks for effect, nor avers anything but his honest convictions, whenever anything comes up that seems to have any appearance of fraud or humbug or sham about it, we should warmly resent it.

A member.—Right you are.

Mr. Lodge.—The first proposition I desire to combat is that this system of appointing the routine officers by a mechanical arrangement (which at least must be considered as disinterested and impersonal) is un-American and un-republican. Now, Mr. Chairman, what is really an un-American and un-republican are the favoritism and the nepotism of the patronage system, which must be destroyed by some such means as this law, if by no other way.

I think it is un-American to see the Representatives of the American people hunting up and down the corridors of the department to obtain an office for some friend. But they are obliged to do it. We are obliged to do it, one and all, without exception. Gentlemen, under the patronage system, are compelled to take care of the interests of their constituents and to see that they have at least a fair chance. They cannot avoid it if they would. It is this which is not American or anything else that is respectable or decent or manly—this practice which compels the great officers of the government to give hours and days, when a new administration comes in, to personal appeals and everything of that sort, and which makes Senators and Representatives wait hour after hour in the hope of picking up a clerkship or messengership for somebody.

Mr. Chairman, the patronage and spoils system is an un-American system. It is a system that was practiced by Sir Robert Walpole one hundred and fifty years ago and carried by him to the highest point of perfection. It was the system by which the French monarchy sucked the life-blood of the people of France. There is nothing American about it. There is nothing American or republican in a thing which is all favoritism and personal influence. What is American is fair play and an open field. I do not mean to say that the system that we have substituted is perfect. I have no doubt it has many imperfections—most things have. But it is infinitely better, in my opinion, than the system which it has replaced. We hear in private on every side complaints from gentlemen who belong to the party in power of the way in which their time is taken up, and of the quarrels with which their districts are filled on account of the distribution of offices. Patronage never benefited any man or any party.

As I said in the last Congress, your side of the House had the patronage in the last election and there is no evidence that it helped you very much. We had it in the election before. There is no evidence that it helped us then. We have had it since the last election. How much has it helped us since that time? [Laughter.] We have been distributing the patronage of office with a free hand. How much good has it done us? Talk about humbug and fraud! I will tell you, Mr. Chairman, where the humbug and fraud come in. They come in in the party conventions which meet and resolve one thing, meaning another. Gentlemen go there and never lift their voices against those fair-seeming resolutions; they do not strike them down in the party conventions or protest against them then and there like honest men. They take them to the people of the United States to build upon and to ask votes upon, because they know that down at the bottom the masses of the people, without going into any great detail as to how it is done, approve civil service reform and dislike these revolutions in office. They know that the people dislike to have the offices made the spoil of party victory.

The people are not greedy for changes in office, and the clamor in your ears is that of the few and not of the many. So we go out of our party conventions and we make promises, all of us do, upon both sides, on the stump, and we compare each other's party records, as has been done here to-day, and say to each other, "You are not a good reformer." Gentlemen do all that for effect in public, and then go around in private and say that civil service reform is a humbug and a sham. [Laughter.] I think, Mr. Chairman, that the humbug and the sham lie back in the party conventions which pass these resolutions unless they mean them and intend to stand by them. I accepted my party platform in good faith. I accepted that pledge about the civil service law, as I did others. I do not think it is a sham or a fraud for a party to undertake to uphold that which it has solemnly pledged itself to uphold. [Applause.]

Mr. Chairman, the President of the United States, in his message, asked increased appropriations for the purpose of carrying out the civil service law. The gentleman who has stood twice at the head of the Democratic ticket as their candidate for the presidency said in a speech in Boston not three months ago that in his judgment the civil service law was all that stood between the civil service of the government and political degradation. Those are the opinions of the two leaders of the two great parties. The platforms of those parties are before you. The fair and honest thing to do is not to stand here and bicker as to who has lived nearest to the law, but to try and make that law better if possible, to try and put these offices on some better footing, upon something more American than a system of back-stairs influence and political intrigue.

One other point. The argument is made over and over again with reference to what is done with the offices which are not under the law but which are filled by patronage, as if that had anything to do with civil service reform. It has nothing in the world to do with it. As to the offices that are filled by political patronage, whether their occupants are turned out and men of a different political faith take their places in one year or in three years makes no difference. It is going to be done on a change of parties. We all know it is going to be done. You did it. We have done it. You cannot help it nor can we, for we are bound hand and foot by a vicious system. The only way is to take offices and by law put them out of the reach of patronage. When you talk about the people who are excluded from office by the civil service law, I answer that one in three of the list of eligibles reaches appointment. Now compare that with the old method.

Before the railway mail service went under the civil service law I had sixty applicants from my district for clerkships. Neither I nor any other Congressman could have got over five of those places. That is one in twelve. The number of people who get office does not depend on the method by which they are selected. It depends on the proportion between the number of places and the number of applicants. With the law you reduce somewhat the number of applicants. With patronage you multiply them. Under the law you cause less of the waiting that maketh the heart sick. You are fairer at least to the people who come here seeking offices, and you have a system which, whatever may be its defects, is, in my judgment, more manly, more honest, more respectable and more American than hanging about and begging for offices as a personal favor from those who for the moment are supposed to hold them in their gift.

CORRESPONDENCE.

AN APPRECIATIVE READER.

CINCINNATI, April 14, 1890.

Editor of the CIVIL-SERVICE REFORMER.

Sir:—Enclosed find one dollar in payment of subscription to the CIVIL-SERVICE REFORMER for one year. I hardly know whether I am more attracted by the skill with which the REFORMER enforces its principles, or by the excellent literary quality of its contents.

I am, etc.,

J. H. WINSLOW.

REMOVALS BY CLEVELAND AND BY HARRISON.

STRAWBERRY POINT, IOWA, April 24, 1890.

Editor of the CIVIL-SERVICE REFORMER.

Sir:—Some two or three months ago you printed an address by Mr. Salter, of, or at, Chicago, in which he stated that during Mr. Cleveland's Administration there were removed 42,000 out of a possible 56,000 in the first two years. I have not the address at hand, but I think that the above were the figures. I did not think that President Cleveland removed so many in the first two years of his Administration. Will you kindly inform me, either through the REFORMER or by private letter, as to the number removed by Cleveland and by Harrison during six months periods. Of course we must not think of the two administrations as being this one better and that one worse, but rather compare each with the true standards, and with its own pledges; but, still, I very much wish to know just how the two do stand, that I may be able to answer each sort of partisan according to his needs.

Very truly,

W. H. KAUFMAN.

[We are unable to give our correspondent the authority upon which Mr. Salter made the statement referred to. A committee of the National League reported in March, 1887: "On the 30th of June, 1886, the whole number of postoffices was 53,614, of which 2265 were filled by appointment of the President. Besides this number of postmasters there are about 23,000 persons employed in the postal service, of which 6000 are included in the classified service. Within the one year and four months of this Administration ending on the 30th of June, it would appear that the new appointments in the postoffice had been probably a little more than 50 per cent. At that date the postoffices, which compose the largest and most important branch of the public service, were about equally divided between old and new incumbents. Many of these changes have merely substituted offensive partisans of one party for offensive partisans of another." In the April number of the CIVIL-SERVICE REFORMER (Vol. VI, p. 37), we quoted from the New York Times a statement that in the twelve months between March 4, 1889, and March 4, 1890, the number of Democratic postmasters below the Presidential grade replaced by Republicans was 33,000. In the first twelve months of Mr. Cleveland's Administration the corresponding changes numbered 18,700.—EDITOR CIVIL-SERVICE REFORMER.]

A REMARKABLE PETITION.

WE have received from Mr. J. G. Thorp, Jr., Secretary of the Massachusetts Civil Service Reform League, a copy of the petition recently sent by that body to Congress, asking for an increased appropriation for the U. S. Civil Service Commission. The petition was signed by the following, besides hundreds of other well-known men:

- The Governor, and the Democratic candidate for Governor.
- The Lieut.-Governor and the Democratic candidate for Lieut.-Governor.
- Five Ex-Governors.
- The Secretary of State.
- The State Treasurer.
- The State Auditor and the Democratic candidate for State Auditor.
- Six of the eight members of the Governor's Council.
- The President of the State Senate and all the Senators.
- Five Ex-Presidents of the Senate.
- The Speaker, and one hundred and twenty members of the House of Representatives.
- The Chairman and Secretary, and nineteen members of the Republican State Committee.
- The Chairman and Secretary, and eighteen members of the Democratic State Central Committee.
- The U. S. Collector of the Port of Boston, and the Ex-Collector.
- Twelve Ex-Members of Congress.
- The Ex-Secretary of War of the United States.
- The Ex-District Attorney of the United States.
- The Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of the State.

All the cities of the State and 171 towns are represented on the petition.

140 cities and towns are represented by officers of the local party committees; 80, by officers of both local party committees; 38 additional, by officers of the local Republican committees, and 22 additional, by officers of the local Democratic committees. This result is especially satisfactory, as the petition was sent for signature to officers of the local party committees of only 158 cities and towns.

There are twelve hundred and eighty-seven names on the petition, of which over eleven hundred have been received by mail in response to the eighteen hundred copies of the petition sent out for signature. The petition was not sent to civil service reformers as such, and in most cases was sent without reference to or knowledge of the person's willingness to sign it. No attempt has been made to get a large number of names; but only those which would fairly represent the prevailing feeling on this question among leading men in public and private life. No one who knows Massachusetts men can question the broadly representative character of this petition.

COMPETITIVE TESTS ILLUSTRATED.

II.

BOSTON POLICE.

BEFORE explaining the competitive tests for policemen, we should see what duties they are required to perform and what qualities and knowledge they should possess. First of all, character is of the greatest importance for policemen. Next in importance come good health, strong physique, good eyesight and hearing, endurance, and power to run well. Besides this, it is absolutely necessary that a policeman be able to read and write well and to express himself clearly. Many of his orders are given him in print or writing, he has to serve warrants, and for numerous purposes he must read well. As to writing and expressing himself clearly, it must be remembered that each policeman has to keep a private record-book in which he is to enter every day everything he does in the line of his duties and everything of importance which he observes. He has to make official reports in writing—*e. g.*, as to street and sidewalk obstructions, as to the character of applicants for liquor licenses, etc. He has to fill up his returns on warrants, and, besides his duty as patrolman, it must be borne in mind that the higher positions of sergeants, lieutenants, inspectors, and captains are filled by promotion from the lower grades, so that it is doubly important that those who enter should at least be able to read and write well and do simple arithmetic.

In addition to this, each policeman, in order to be of any use, must know a large number of regulations of the department and many laws which he is to enforce, and the chief powers and duties of policemen. It is well enough to pass laws and ordinances, but if the police do not understand them or fail to know how to enforce them, the laws are dead letters.

The tests for the police force naturally divide themselves into four parts: first, the application paper, with its accompanying certificates of character; second, the educational examination; third, the medical examination; and, fourth, the competitive physical tests.

The application is made out on blanks to be obtained at the office of the commission at 5 Pemberton Square, Boston. The application paper has to be filled out in handwriting of the applicant and sworn to by him. Besides the usual facts as to age, place of residence, etc., the applicant, in order to be received, must state that he is a person of good moral character, that he does not habitually use intoxicating beverages to excess, that he is not a vender of intoxicating liquors, has not been convicted of any crime in the past year, that he is of good health, and what his occupation is and has been for the last five calendar years. With this must be filed from three to five certificates of character and capacity signed by reputable citizens, one of whom should be a physician, as the printed form suggests. These certificates must be on the regulation blanks and in answer to direct questions, which is a great advantage over the general recommendations to office, which so often pass over the weak points of the applicant. Besides this advantage, there is another worthy of note. The usual recommendations to office are considered as private, and any false statements or recommendations of unworthy persons will escape public notice. With the civil service certificates of character and ability, this is not the case. At the head of these certificates is printed in full-face type in red ink the following:—

The persons who sign the following vouchers are notified that they may be called upon to furnish further information concerning

their knowledge of the applicant or to have the certificates published for public information.

This is no mere form. Several persons accustomed to the loose method of signing petitions for appointment to public offices have been somewhat astonished to be called on by the secretary of the commission for further statements as to their knowledge of the applicants. Such additional information is continually being asked for, and the public is becoming more careful in filling up and signing the certificates of character.

Though for clerkships and some other positions this inquiry into character is considered sufficient, yet, in the case of applicants for the police the commission go further. They require, through the police department, that each applicant shall be looked up, inquiry made in his neighborhood, and a private report in writing be made as to his "occupation, character, habits, associates and reputation." In case the report is unfavorable, the applicant is notified, and given a chance to explain and allowed to bring witnesses.

On filing his application paper, the applicant is given a small pamphlet of twenty-one pages containing selections from the regulations of the police department. The pamphlet begins with this notice:—

"You will be examined to ascertain your knowledge of such of the duties of a police officer as may be learned from this pamphlet.

"You must therefore study it carefully, and be prepared to answer questions relating to such duties; but you will not be expected to repeat the actual words of the rules."

This manual contains a description of the chief powers and duties; as, for example, "Patrolmen must not walk together or talk with each other or with any other person on their routes while on duty, unless it be to communicate information pertaining to the department or in the line of their duty; and such communication must be as brief as possible." And, again, "As, by virtue of his appointment, he can act officially in criminal matters only, he will not render assistance in any civil case whatever, except to prevent a breach of the peace, or to suppress a disturbance actually commenced." It contains information as to when they have power to make arrests, and when only to report offences, as to what to do in case of obstructions on streets and sidewalks, cases of drowning, illness, cruelty to animals, begging, as to interference in civil cases, etc.

When the time has arrived for holding the educational examination, the applicants are notified to appear. The first thing done is to fill out a "declaration," giving name and address, and to seal it up in a numbered envelope. During the examination, all the several papers are signed by these numbers, and not by the names of the candidates, and the envelopes are not opened till after the papers are all marked, so that the examiners do not know whose papers they are marking. After the papers are marked, they are preserved on file, subject to inspection by the candidates or their agents authorized in writing, so that unfair marking is made practically impossible.

The questions are all in print, with sufficient space between the questions to allow for the answers in full.

The *first subject* in the educational examination is copying, to test reading, handwriting, and accuracy in copying.

The handwriting for the police is not marked so strictly as for clerks. The maximum mark of 100 is given if the writing is perfectly legible and the hand fair.

The following illustrations are taken from the last examination, held Jan. 21, 1890:—

10TH SERIES. 9, 1, '89.

MARKINGS.	
Penmanship, . . .	.....
Copying, . . .	.....

SCHEDULE B. CLASS 4.

FIRST SUBJECT.

Copy the following accurately:

RULE 43.

OF FIRES.

SHEET 1.

EXAMINATION No.		
Begun	o'clock	minutes.
Ended	o'clock	minutes.

1. When a Police Officer discovers a fire he shall first ascertain if it can be extinguished without alarm; if not, he shall at once proceed to the nearest signal-box and give the alarm. When he gives the alarm he shall remain awhile near the box to direct firemen when they arrive. He shall note the time and his position, when he gives an alarm or hears one, and any circumstances connected therewith which may seem to be of importance.

2. When a fire occurs in a city, the officer in charge at the station-house shall immediately dispatch to the fire such police force as may be necessary; and if the fire is of such magnitude as to require it, the streets will be at once roped off and kept free from teams and people, so that the firemen shall not be obstructed in their work.

The first specimen was marked 100 in handwriting. There were several that were better from the point of view of a clerical hand, but they got no higher mark. The chief examiner tells us that for a clerkship this would be marked only

75 or 80. This applicant was educated in the national schools in Ireland. In accuracy of copying he got 98.5, as he made only one mistake, and that in punctuation.

Rule 43. of fires

1. When a Police Officer discovers a fire he shall first ascertain if it can be extinguished without alarm; if not, he shall at once proceed to the nearest signal-box and give the alarm. When he gives the alarm he shall remain awhile near the box to direct firemen when they arrive. He shall

The next illustration of copying from the same printed statement is taken from the paper of an applicant who failed to pass. He got on an average only 32.13 per cent, while 65 is required. The handwriting, which would be marked

zero for a clerkship, was marked 20; but the copying was so inaccurate that that was marked zero. There were 19 omissions, 8 additions, 9 mistakes in spelling, and 10 in punctuation and use of capitals.

When a Police Officer he shall first ascertain
When Police he shall ring or ring alarm
If not he shall at once proceed to the
Signal Box and give signal when he give
alarm he shall remain awhile near the box to
direct fireman when they arrive he shall note
the time and his position when he give an

The second subject is a statement by the applicant of his occupation since he began to earn a living, and the experience he possesses that would be of use in the police service. This is marked for EXPERIENCE and CLEARNESS AND CORRECTNESS OF STATEMENT. The applicant whose copying is illustrated first got 80 per cent on clearness and correctness of statement, while the second got zero; for it is evident to any one looking at his statement that he would fail utterly to make such clear and intelligible reports as are absolutely required for performing the duties of policeman.

The third subject is arithmetic. There are 7 questions in arithmetic. The most difficult is the following: "If you buy 144 peaches for \$4.80, and sell them for 50 cents a dozen, how much will you make?" The easiest question is, "Write in figures the following number: Two hundred three thousand six hundred ten." Several applicants got every answer perfect. The man first illustrated above got 96.4, making only one mistake; while the second one did not answer a single question right. He even wrote the number wrong, putting it 23610 instead of 203,610.

The fourth and last subject consists of 15 questions on the duties of policemen. It would be very unfair to ask such questions, were not each applicant given an equal chance to

learn such duties from the manual presented to him on filing his application paper.

The eighth and fifteenth questions may be taken as fair samples of those asked at the examination held last January. The eighth is, "What is the duty of an officer when he finds a person begging in the streets or soliciting alms from door to door?" For such cases, the rules of the department state that "it shall be the duty of the officer to inquire the name and abode of such person, note the same for record, and direct such person, if in distress, to the Charity Bureau in Chardon Street, or to any charitable association affording relief in similar cases."

One applicant answered, "He should take them to the house," (?) "and report them as vagrant." Another said, "It is his duty to arrest the offender." Another answered, "He to arrest him on charge of Vagrant"; and another, "Take him to the station," and so on.

The fifteenth question is, "Under what circumstances can a police officer render assistance in a civil case?"

The following are some samples of wrong answers given: "By not deciding in any on favor"; "Don't know. Decline this"; "To be on hand when wanted"; and "When they request."

Some of the applicants, however, showed a remarkably clear understanding of the police powers and duties. For example, the candidate first illustrated got 98.3, making but one partial mistake in answering fifteen questions. Several got 100, answering everything perfectly.

It is quite instructive to notice that a very large proportion of those who fail to attain the necessary 65 per cent fail in answering the questions as to practical duties.

Under the old system, before the civil service examinations were introduced, it was the rule to send the newly appointed police to a special school, where they were instructed in the rules of the department before they were allowed to act. There was no examination and no way provided for telling how well they learned their duties. In the first police examination ever held in Boston, which was one for promotion from sergeant to lieutenant, though the sergeants were a grade above the patrolmen and had all been in the service for a considerable time, they showed so much misunderstanding of their duties and powers as to mortify the police commissioners and to give a strong argument for competitive examinations. Under the reformed system, any man who passes must know the rules fairly well; and, to stand near the head and get a good chance for appointment, he must know them *very* well. The answers are not to be conned by rote, but the questions are so framed that it must require an intelligent understanding of the rules to be able to answer correctly.

There are no other subjects for the educational examination. We cannot gratify the New York *Sun*, Senator Gorman, and others, by discovering any questions as to the distance of the moon from the earth, or the most direct route from Baltimore to Japan, or the climatic conditions of Africa.

In our next number, we hope to be able to illustrate the medical examination and the physical competitive tests, which will complete the story of testing the candidates for the Boston Police Force.—*Civil Service Record*.

THE OLD ENGLISH SYSTEM.

THE New York *Sun* and the Gorman men like to call the spoils system the "American system." It is well to remind them every now and then that the spoils system was rank in Great Britain at the outbreak of our Revolution. The overthrow of the British spoils system is described in Mr. Dorman B. Eaton's valuable work on the Civil Service in Great Britain. From another source, however, we obtain the following account of a piece of spoilsmongering by a last-century English Duke, which is fit to go alongside of the recent attempt to displace the head of the Maryland Agricultural College because of his opinions on the tariff. The victim was Blackstone, the author of the famous commentaries.

In the early part of Blackstone's professional life, upon a vacancy of the Civil Law Professorship in the University of Oxford, Mr. Murray, afterward Earl Mansfield, took occasion to expostulate with the Duke of Newcastle, then Chancellor of the University of Cambridge, on the appointment of a successor. Mr. Murray lamented that at Oxford the civil law lectures, and the opportunities of gaining legal knowledge through that channel, were, when contrasted with the sister university, in a most degraded and unworthy situation, and expressed a wish that an able professor might be invited to fill the vacant seat. Though Dr. Jenner was the person thought of by the Duke, yet he asked Mr. Murray if he could recommend him a gentleman who would fill it with greater ability. Mr. Murray shortly afterward introduced and warmly recommended Mr. Blackstone. The Duke of Newcastle, in order to ascertain the political bias of the new candidate, addressed him thus: "Sir, I can rely upon the judgment of your friend, Mr. Murray, as to your giving law lectures in a style most beneficial to the students; and, I dare say, I may safely rely on you, whenever anything in the political hemisphere is agitated in the University, that you will exert yourself in *our* behalf." The answer was, "Your Grace may be assured that I will discharge my duty in giving law lectures to the best of my

poor ability." "Ay, ay," replied the Duke, "and your duty in the other branch too?" Mr. Blackstone only bowed, and a few days afterward Dr. Jenner was appointed a civil law professor.

PERSECUTION FOR OPINION.

WHAT can be less democratic, less American, than persecution for opinion's sake? Yet this is the very essence of the spoils system, its guiding spirit and its crowning infamy. If this assertion need further explication, it may be found in a recital of what takes place in this country when one party succeeds another in the control of the government. The newly elected president goes (by deputy) through all the departments, and may be supposed to interview each clerk in a conversation of which the following is typical:

President. Whom did you vote for at the last election?

Clerk. That does not concern you. I am an American citizen, and have the right to vote for whomsoever I please, without being subjected afterwards to a governmental inquisition by you or any other man.

President. I asked the question in conformity with a time-honored practice, and shall insist upon an answer.

Clerk. Very well; I will answer the question, not because of your menaces, but because I do not hold my political opinions covertly. I voted for your opponent.

President. Then you must vacate this office.

Clerk. If you can show that I have not performed my duties properly, or that I have neglected them for politics or any other reasons, I am willing to go.

President. I have not looked into that; it is immaterial, any way. I want your place for some one else.

Clerk. For one of your partisan "workers," perhaps, whose qualifications you have also not looked into?

President. Possibly.

Clerk. By what right do you proscribe me, then? You are merely a trustee; these offices do not belong to you.

President. You are the victim of an illusion. These offices do belong to me. They are my personal patronage and plunder, to do with whatsoever I will. If you refuse to resign, I will remove you.

Clerk. Very well; I will yield the place as I would my purse to a highwayman who puts a pistol to my head. Nevertheless, I denounce your action as an outrage upon my rights as an American citizen.—*O. P. Morton in Atlantic Monthly*.

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OFFICE, 56 WALL STREET.

NEW YORK, April 28, 1890.

I beg leave to inform the public that the subscriptions received in response to the call issued by this Committee have been sufficient to warrant it in proceeding with the work entrusted to it. A contract has been closed with Mr. DANIEL C. FRENCH of this city, for an heroic bronze bust, to be placed upon a column of rich Swedish granite. Mr. FRENCH's "Minute Man" at Concord, Mass., his "Thomas Starr King," just completed for the City of San Francisco, and his bust of "Emerson," are generally accepted as among the best works of this kind which have been produced in this country. The location of the monument cannot be determined upon until the model shall have been completed.

A small additional sum is desired to defray the expenses of the ceremonies of unveiling, etc., and subscriptions will still be received by the undersigned.

WILLIAM POTTS,
Sec'y and Treas.

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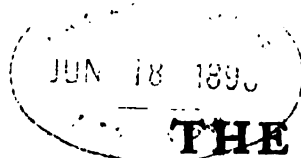
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Civil-Service Reformer.

VOL. VI. — No. 6.

BALTIMORE, JUNE, 1890.

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VOL. VI.—No. 6.

BALTIMORE, JUNE, 1890.

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THE MONTH.

SOME information was recently sent to the editor of THE CIVIL-SERVICE REFORMER indicating that irregularities existed in the official bond of Comptroller Baughman. Accordingly, the bond was examined in the office of the Clerk of the Court of Appeals at Annapolis, and several singular facts were discovered. The present Code of Maryland requires that the Comptroller "*shall file his bond and qualify by making the declarations and taking the oaths required by the Constitution and laws, before the Governor, on or before the second Wednesday of January next ensuing his election.*"—Art. 19, §1. The second Wednesday of January after Mr. Baughman's election was January 8, 1890, but the endorsement of the Clerk of the Court of Appeals shows that Mr. Baughman's bond was not filed until February 12, 1890, or one month and four days later than required by the Code.

There is also a curious series of erasures in the bond. It purports to have been acknowledged before Thomas Turner, justice of the peace, in Frederick, the seventh day of January, 1890. The figure 7 is written very large, and is much blotted, as are the letters *th*, forming the word *seventh*. But when held up to the light and carefully examined, the figure 1 and the letters *st*, forming the abbreviation for the word *first*, can be readily discerned under the figure *seven*. The word *January* has also been written over the word *February*, and as originally written there can be no doubt that the date of the acknowledgment of the bond was the *first of February*, 1890. A similar erasure appears in the date written in the body of the bond, but the figure 7 is so heavily blotted that nothing can be seen under it, though the alteration from February to January is quite evident. The certificate of the Governor's approval is dated January 7, 1890.

We state these facts as matters of great public interest, and especially so at a time when the gross carelessness of the Governor and Comptroller in the conduct of their offices has excited grave reprehension. What their import may be we do not know. At first glance it would appear that Mr. Baughman's bond was executed on the 1st of February, 1890, and that when the fact was brought to his attention that this was more than three weeks later than the last date allowed him by the Code, he made or procured to be made an alteration in the date. This suspicion receives color from the indisputable fact that the bond was not filed until February the 12th. If such an alteration was made, a very grave question might perhaps arise as to the liability of the sureties in an altered bond. The Governor too would have to explain why he signed a certificate stating that he approved the bond three weeks before its execution. We shall look with interest for an explanation from both Messrs. Jackson and Baughman.

A RECENT number of our vigilant contemporary, the Hagerstown *Mail*, calls attention to a startling disclosure in the Archer investigation to which the press of this city has not given the attention demanded by its importance.

It seems that the Mutual Fire Insurance Company of

Harford County held \$10,000 of Treasury Relief bonds. Mr. Archer desired to purchase them for the sinking fund. He first thought the amount was \$8000. He drew up a check for that amount, which he got the Comptroller to countersign. After finding that the amount was \$10,000, he drew another check for something over \$2000.

But instead of paying for the bonds with these checks, he abstracted B. & O. Car Trust bonds from the State's strong-box, and paid for the bonds he had bought with them. Then he asked Mr. Cairnes, the secretary of the insurance company, to endorse the checks, "in order to keep his accounts straight."

The checks thus endorsed were in Mr. Archer's hands available as cash. *This transaction took place during the last campaign, and one of the checks bears the endorsement of the Treasurer of the State Central Committee, Mr. Murray Vandiver.*

Mr. Vandiver's explanation is that he was merely Mr. Archer's tool in collecting the money from the bank, and that his endorsement was required before the bank would pay over the money to him.

Up to this time there has been no explanation of how Mr. Archer spent so much money. The *Mail* adds on this point:

The attempt to attribute it in any degree to an extravagant family does gross injustice to a noble woman, whose entire patrimony, we learn, is swept away in the general ruin. We can hear of no speculating, no gambling, no extravagant habits, no payment of old debts, except the appropriation of one trust fund to make another good.

The Republicans do not hesitate to charge that the money went into the Democratic campaign fund in Baltimore City, and the facts we have already given, and the further fact that the disclosure of the embezzlement was made just after and not until the failure to realize anything from the lobby, gives some coloring to the charge.

The Democratic party should not rest day nor night until the matter is thoroughly investigated, and if it is, unhappily, true, then punish the rascals. If the money was used for that purpose, others besides Archer must be implicated in it or have been privy to it.

If they are, the welfare of the party demands their punishment and disgrace.

WE learn from the newspapers that Mr. "Barney" Compton is to appear in a new rôle. He is to become a professor of practical and theoretical agriculture. A few years ago the Maryland Agricultural College was put in charge of Major Alvord. As far as we have heard he has discharged his duties with great fidelity and efficiency. But when Mr. Compton, one of Mr. Gorman's most useful followers, was ousted from his seat in Congress and thus deprived of his means of support, Mr. Gorman, whose practice exemplifies Senator Ingalls' principle that favors shown to himself should be paid for by the public, determined to remove Major Alvord and put Mr. Compton in his place. Even Mr. Compton himself, who may be safely credited with a higher idea of his own capabilities than that held by any one else, can scarcely entertain a transient suspicion that he can be a successful teacher. But, being a friend of Mr. Gorman's, he must be provided for at whatever sacrifice of the public interest or of a faithful public official. In truth, the bosses seem determined now to go to any length in defiance of public sentiment. This spoliation of the Agricultural College is only of a piece with the foisting of Mr. "Free"

Rasin's deputy, Mr. Prettyman, into the State Normal School. Mr. Prettyman has been a chronic office-seeker and office-holder for thirty years. His school has been the caucus, and the branch of science to which he has devoted himself is petty political intrigue. It is astounding that the people of Maryland should think so little of their sons and daughters as to entrust their education to two hack politicians like Prettyman and Compton.

At the annual meeting of the Civil Service Reform Association of Maryland, a resolution was adopted, calling the attention of the Civil Service Commissioners and the President to the part taken in the recent Republican primaries in Baltimore by Federal officials. Such activity may be fairly characterized as offensive partisanship, and met with rebuke at the hands of President Hayes and President Cleveland, both of whom issued executive orders in which the practice was forbidden. There are various degrees of such activity, of course, all of which seem to have been exemplified in the recent primary. Messrs. Hill and Marine, as far as we are informed, took no personal share in the conduct of the election, and their subordinates were found aiding either side, as their personal preferences dictated. Mr. Johnson, however, was the recognized leader of one faction, in aid of which his subordinates were actively at work, and himself called one of the conventions to order. We have the names of watchmen, elevator-men, clerks, bag repairers, engineers, time-keepers, and letter-carriers who were active participants in a primary which seems from all accounts to have been disgracefully fraudulent. Where, as in this case, large numbers of public officials are found in active co-operation with their superior officer in carrying an election, there seems to us to be clearly a violation of the Civil Service Law and Regulations.

If there be any among our readers disposed to take a gloomy view of our political condition, they may draw some encouragement from the high degree of intelligent interest in reform displayed at the recent gatherings of Reformers in New York, Indiana and Maryland. Another cause for hope is the substantial progress of public sentiment noted in the eloquent and witty address of Mr. Geo. Wm. Curtis before the New York Association:—

"When Mr. Jenckes, a score of years ago," said Mr. Curtis, "began in Congress the agitation of civil service reform, nothing could have seemed more whimsical folly to the veteran of the Jackson campaign of 1828 and 1832, and the Harrison campaign of 1840, and of all succeeding campaigns, than the assertion that there was no better reason for a rotation of postmasters every four years than for a rotation of the subordinate officers in the army and navy. That Mr. Jenckes's principle would ever be adopted by his own party or any other, seemed at that time to be the idlest of vagaries. But it is still the unforeseen that happens. Within a few months the inevitable candidate of one of the great national parties for the next term of the Presidency declared civil service reform to be 'the greatest safeguard against the complete and disgraceful degradation of the public service,' and within a few days the leader of the majority of the other party in the House of Representatives asserted that if his party is pledged to one single thing more than another, it is to the civil service reform law, which, he declared, 'is sustained by the best sentiment of the whole country, Republicans and Democrats alike.' Whoever, in view of such facts, insists upon being discouraged because the Assistant Postmaster General spurns his party platform and arbitrarily removes more postmasters than have been ever removed within the same time, and talks of civil service reform as an English theory of superior classes and a life-tenure in office, must be of a complexion which would grow despondent because a distin-

guished Western editor recently remarked that reform is incompatible with representative government based upon party responsibility. The distinguished gentleman is like the eminent Dr. Dionysius Lardner, who was busily engaged in demonstrating scientifically that a steamer could never cross the Atlantic, when a steamer did cross. The practicability and the benefit of civil service reform to the country and to American politics are no more a subject of controversy than any other settled question. The steamer has arrived, and the sneer of Senators, the scepticism of editors, and the removals of the Assistant Postmaster General no more affect the demonstration and the public mind than Dr. Lardner's arguments arrested ocean steam navigation.

CRIME AND IMPUNITY.

HIS Honor Judge Stewart, of the Supreme Bench of this city, does not dedicate himself, entirely, to rendering the administration of justice amusing. He occasionally speaks out, in the other direction, and, when he does so, does it quite vigorously. We see from a recent newspaper report that he was moved to considerable indignation, by the presentation of a case sent up by the grand jury which turned out to be very frivolous. "Who is responsible," he said, "for sending such cases to court? There ought to be some way of punishing the person who does so. The thing is ridiculous." It was doubtless not within the province of the court to go beyond the facts then before it, but we cannot help believing that if it had been, Judge Stewart, with his usual frankness, would have felt bound to say, that the responsibility for sending up trifling cases is ten times less, at the worst, than that incurred by not sending up so large a number of cases, vastly more important and more deserving of judicial enquiry and indignation. The trouble is, not that too many men are indicted, but that far too few are brought to justice. When we consider how many offences against the law are perpetrated, every day, within gun-shot of the Criminal Court, without ever appearing upon its records, and how large a number of the cases which are presented die of inanition, under the influence of *nolle prosequi* and *stets*, or are done to death by pardons, it strikes us that the community has far more to stagger under, in the way of unpunished crime, than from the occasional waste of time and money in the investigation of frivolous charges.

There is a growing and already viciously established idea, that the wishes of prosecuting witnesses are entitled to consideration in the dealing of the State with offenders. There is a wise provision, in the Code, that cases of simple assault and battery, where no presentment or indictment has been found, may be compromised on the motion of the State's Attorney, if the courts shall consider it proper, on payment of costs, with the consent of the parties injured and accused. There possibly may be a common law principle, besides, under which trifling misdemeanors, of a personal sort, may be lawfully compounded between the parties. Beyond this, there is no authority whatsoever vested in the courts, to listen to any wishes or suggestions by which private individuals may seek to interrupt the stern and impartial course of public justice. Crime is an offence against the State, in which all offence against individuals is merged, and the courts have no more right to listen to the desires of private citizens in obstruction of justice, than to place themselves, in its administration, under the influence of private interests or malice. There is no lawyer, in ordinary practice, who does not know that this fundamental and vital rule is constantly violated, especially in cases of fiduciary defalcation, where individuals or corporations have been plundered,

and where, under the pressure of an indictment for felony, the relatives and friends of the criminal are so often induced to save him from the penitentiary, and themselves from public shame, by compromising with the parties whom he has robbed. Indeed it would be far from difficult to name instances in which the grand jury, themselves, have permitted such considerations and arrangements to weigh with them, and have ignored cases of the most flagrant crime, fully proven, where the parties who have suffered have been willing to abandon the prosecution of the criminal, in consideration of having their pecuniary losses made good to them in whole or in part. Those who know anything of legal principles and practice, in this connection, must have been startled, some time ago, when the question of bail arose in Archer's case, and when it was said, by the reporters, to have been suggested, even in official quarters, that large bail ought not to be demanded, because the State was secured from pecuniary loss by the official bond of the prisoner! Subsequent developments have rendered it very doubtful, as matter of fact, whether the State is quite as sure of protection as it ought to be, through the enforcement of the much manipulated bond in question. But, even if the security were as available and as good as a Government bond in the hands of the present Treasurer, the guilt of the embezzling ex-Treasurer would be none the less, and the duty of the State and its courts and officers to see to his punishment, would be quite as stringent and imperative. It would be a tempting invitation indeed to enterprising financiers in public office, to know that they could escape punishment, for stealing and speculating with the public money, by making good what they might steal before or after they were found out. The example and success of Senator Quay, in light-fingered transactions of that sort, may be very encouraging to other rogues, but the most liberal political moralist will hardly suggest that they are edifying.

In speaking of Archer's case, some time ago, we did not hesitate to express our belief that he never would have carried his depredations to the extent which they reached, and perhaps would never have committed them at all, but for the conviction that, somehow or other, whatever he might do, his associates and comrades of the Ring would be pretty sure to take care of him. Indeed, a man who knows as much as he knows might well presume that no case would be permitted to arise, if it could be prevented, in which he might be driven or tempted to confess all that he knew. This early announced conclusion of ours has been strengthened by every development in his case. The criminal himself is not only a man of sense and education, but a lawyer of experience. He not only knew the full meaning and import of what he was doing, but could have been laboring under no hallucination, as to the measure and consequences of his guilt. He was reckless, beyond all parallel, in the openness with which he plundered the treasury, under the very eyes of men. A good many of his "deals" (as they are pleasantly called) bore, on their very face, the manifest signs of the iniquity which he was perpetrating. It puzzles ordinary minds, to conceive how he could have wandered about, among the financial institutions of the State, with the stolen goods in his open hands, without creating suspicion or provoking comment, on the part of the astute and experienced bank officers and business men, with whom he had his transactions. It is amazing, that a man in his official position, who had not credit enough to borrow at all without putting up collaterals, should still have gone about, scattering collat-

erals so prodigally, without exciting even surprise. He took no pains whatever to cover up his tracks, but almost seems, on the contrary, to have carefully left traces of his crime behind him. Nobody pretends that he was insane, or that he had habits of any sort which blinded his perceptions or deadened his intelligence. It is inconceivable, therefore, upon any known principle of human conduct, that he could have been ignorant of the certain retribution which awaited him, unless his offence could be covered up, or unless the shield of political influence or executive interference could be interposed between him and the penitentiary. That he calculated, with reason, upon such an absolute disregard of official duty and sworn obligation, on the part of the Governor and Comptroller, as would relieve him from all but the merest chances of exposure, the undisputed facts already known to the people of the State sufficiently demonstrate. If the Governor and Comptroller had deliberately intended (which we do not intimate) to leave him free to go off with the entire treasury, if he pleased, they could not have carried that intention out, more thoroughly and fully, than by the very acts of gross official misfeasance which stand confessed before the public. Until the Court of Appeals shall have affirmed the ruling of Judge Stewart, upon the demurrer to the Attorney-General's indictment, we shall venture to believe, that the ex-Treasurer was too good a lawyer to suppose, that he was the only financial officer of the State in whom embezzlement was not a statutory crime. He must have leant, we are sure, upon some staff which he believed to be much stronger than such a defence as that.

But, quite apart from his knowledge, derived from experience, that his raids upon the Treasury would not be interfered with by any supervision on the part of the Governor or Comptroller, the ex-Treasurer had seen quite enough, to have no apprehension of any consequences which political influence and executive subserviency could avert. He not only knew, as everybody else knows, that offenders, in political sympathy with the Ring, were always taken care of, but, as a leading member of the Ring and the head of its Central Committee, he had come in personal contact with the granting of indulgences to political sinners, and had himself been part and parcel of the obstruction of public justice in their behalf. He knew, as everybody else who has taken the trouble to observe is aware, that no servant of the Ring, whether of high or low degree, has ever been brought to justice, since the domination of the Ring began, when the interposition of that organization could prevent it. He had seen every effort to punish election frauds stifled, for a time, and had himself taken part in stifling them. He had joined his co-conspirators of the Ring, in denying, with loud effrontery, that there were any such frauds worth considering, in Baltimore, and in denouncing and insulting, as "slanderers" and "traitors," all decent men who asserted the contrary. He had united his influence with that of the Ring, in preventing the indictment and obstructing the conviction of all the inferior ringsters who had polluted the ballot box and falsified the count. When a number of these, notwithstanding the difficulties thrown, by the Ring, in the way, had been convicted and sentenced, through the untiring efforts and at the private expense of the Reform Democrats of Baltimore, he had seen the criminals let loose again, upon the community and the ballot boxes, by a wholesale pardon from the Governor. Those of them who had not yet been convicted, but whose cases were pending, he had seen released, by a Ring Legislature, at a single blow, by the

underhand trick of repealing the laws under which they were indicted, without reserving the right to try the pending indictments. All these things, as we have said, he not only knew, as other people knew them, but had connived at and assisted in. He knew, therefore, how easily and surely they could be done, and had personal experience of the pliancy and unscrupulousness of the Executive who had lent himself to them. What reason had he to doubt that he, the official head and representative of the Ring machine, the depository of its secrets, its confidential agent and a participant in all its misdoings, would be any less likely to be taken care of, in tribulation, than the humbler, less important, less useful, less dangerous servants of the Ring?

Unfortunately for Archer, his peculations, while wholly undiscovered by those whose duty it was to find them out, were brought suddenly and unexpectedly to light by an outside accident. It was thus rendered next to impossible to hush them up, and it was early discovered that they were too large to be manageable. Maryland is but a small State, and large amounts cannot be raised here as speedily, and are not put up as willingly, as in Pennsylvania. Archer therefore sank, while Quay floated. Nevertheless, the Ring did the best they could for their comrade. They could not or would not restore his plunder, but they did their utmost to get the public to regard him as a victim rather than a malefactor. The mental anguish that he was suffering was depicted in the most heart-rending way. The newspapers were filled with daily bulletins, as to the state of his consciousness and his losses or gains of flesh and strength. The fact that he had the State's coupons in his pocketbook was discussed from a sad rather than a criminating point of view. The whole affair was sentimentally translated into the case of a good man fallen, rather than that of a very bad man, found out. We have heretofore alluded to the delightful courtesy with which his friend, Judge Watters, drove out to tender him the hospitalities of a *habeas corpus*, in his own house, and it must have rejoiced all tender hearts, to know that the exigencies of the law did not require of him such an unpleasantness, as to be present in court when the demurrer in his case was argued. He must have felt, at times, very much as if he were rather a "nation's guest" than an indicted felon. It is not agreeable to have to say these things, in regard to a man whose character once stood so high, but the maudlin sympathy, which makes martyrs out of rogues, is too large and gross a social wrong and evil, to deserve toleration at the hands of the Press.

While all this has been going on, what has been done in regard to the dereliction of duty on the part of the other functionaries concerned? There is a current report, which we have reason to believe well founded, that Mr. Gorman would have been more than willing, just before the Legislature adjourned, to impeach and sacrifice Governor Jackson. The executive Jonah would have been cheerfully thrown to the whale, in order to still the troubled waters. The Ring would have been very glad, as we learn, to sacrifice Mr. Jackson, in order to divert attention from the Archer iniquity, and especially to enable them to claim the credit of being willing to punish one of their best friends, in the interest of executive integrity! They felt like Artemus Ward, when he resigned himself to the enlistment of his wife's relations in the army of his country. But the little scheme, to which we have alluded, somehow or other appears to have fallen through. Meantime, though Governor Jackson and Mr. Baughman have both been guilty of official misfeasance,

which lays them open to impeachment, although the State has suffered great wrong from their misconduct, and the party which they misrepresent has been brought to shame by their criminal insensibility to official obligation; what has been done, on behalf of that party or those who profess to represent it and have heretofore controlled it and fed on it, to see that punishment is meted out to the unworthy men whom it placed in power? Confessedly, the bond of the Treasurer was not filed, nor his oath of office administered, until nearly two years too late. Upon Archer's suggestion, the date of the Governor's approval was falsified on the bond, and a false date was given to his qualification for office on the official test book. The latter date was afterwards erased, and the official record was tampered with, to conceal the offence of the original entry. Do these things mean nothing? Can such offences be committed with impunity? Is no effort to be made to punish the parties confessedly concerned in them? Is it the law, in Maryland, that official instruments and books can be falsified, and records mutilated, at the pleasure of those who have them in charge? If it is, the records had better be burned, outright. It would be far better that they should say nothing, than that they should lie. It is difficult to realize the abandonment of official integrity to which impunity in such transactions must open the door. And yet Governor Jackson—to say nothing of his Secretary of State—is called to no account for it—nay, he is actually a candidate, as announced in the newspapers, for a nomination to Congress from his district! We still hear of him, as usual, at Rennert's and Annapolis, surrounded by the same "crowd," and peddling out offices among them, as if nothing had happened! One shudders to think, that but for Mr. Gorman's unwillingness to offend the Eastern Shore, he would assuredly have been sent, by the Ring, to the Senate, as Judge Wilson's successor, and would have served out his term, without reading the Federal Constitution, just as he served for two years as Governor, without reading the Constitution of the State. Unfortunately, he is not required to give any bond as Governor, but he is just as liable in morals, as if he were, for all that the State may lose by his misconduct. Fortunately, the Comptroller has given a bond, which we hope has not been manipulated. Is not that bond to be sued on like the Treasurer's? Has not the State a present and equal remedy on both?

Until the Legislative Committee shall have presented its report of the facts, and shall have suggested the rights and remedies of the State, civil and criminal, with its recommendations as to their enforcement against all the delinquents, it will be premature to pass final judgment on all the matters and parties involved. But we take it to be absolutely certain, that the public will brook no apologies for official shortcoming or crime, and will be content with nothing short of the condign punishment of the guilty, whoever they may be. The Attorney-General, we are sure, is prepared to do his duty.

A unanimous report of the committee is of course desirable, if there are no compromises of principle or duty required to make it so. But what the people want is a full, frank, free and exhaustive exposure of the facts, and if it requires a separate report, from every member, to secure this, there should be no hesitation about so securing it. How far it may be practicable to reach the unofficial offenders, who are behind the official and directly responsible delinquents, is a question to be solved only by a resolute and untiring public

effort to get at them. It would be a burning shame and a gross miscarriage of justice if the puppets only should be punished, and those who set them up and pulled the strings, for their own profit, should go altogether free. We are very sure that the people of the State are in no mood for this. Whether the law can reach the back-stairs conspirators in question, may be doubtful, but that public opinion and public action can and will, there is no room for doubt. Every citizen who desires to redeem and rescue the State from misgovernment and spoliation, must make up his mind, that there is no possible way of doing it, except by driving, ruthlessly, from influence and power, every member, beneficiary and tool of the gang, whose greed, self-seeking and corruption have brought our present shame and disasters upon us.

FRIENDLY APPROVAL.

ST. JOHN'S RECTORY,
ELLICOTT CITY, MD., May 31, 1890.

To the Editor of THE CIVIL-SERVICE REFORMER:

Sir:—I enclose with pleasure one dollar to renew my subscription to your valuable paper, one of the most interesting and high-toned of the many which I take and read.

Respectfully,

HALL HARRISON.

28 ERIE STREET,
BUFFALO, N. Y., May 24, 1890.

To the Editor of THE CIVIL-SERVICE REFORMER:

Sir:—Enclosed find the subscription price of the REFORMER for the coming year.

I read it with great satisfaction, and must congratulate the friends of good government in Maryland that such a paper can be produced and maintained in their chief city.

Respectfully,

SHERMAN S. ROGERS.

MR. LODGE AND MR. CLARKSON.

MR. H. C. LODGE, of Massachusetts, who took a most prominent part in the defence of the merit system in the recent Congressional debate, has done the cause another good turn by his reply to Mr. Clarkson, the "headsman." Mr. Clarkson attacked the questions in the examinations. Mr. Lodge's reply was:

He could not quite refrain from making the good old joke about asking astronomical and scientific questions of the average candidate for the civil service. Old jokes are always born good, otherwise they would never reach maturity, much less an advanced age, and this particular jest is so aged that it must have been very good indeed originally. Mr. Clarkson is incapable of misrepresenting the facts as to the civil service examinations, and of course would not discuss the subject seriously if he was not familiar with them, and he knows, therefore, that what he said about the questions was a joke. But others less well informed might be misled. Questions about the stars are asked of candidates for the place of Assistant Astronomer at the observatory, and ought to be asked. They are not asked of copyists and letter-carriers, because they would be grotesque. The examinations of copyists, carriers, etc., are to-day as simple and practical as human ingenuity can devise, and such as any business man would ask of his clerks.

Another of the time-worn arguments against the merit system which Mr. Clarkson refurbished for his Boston audience, was the statement that the offices should be held by persons in sympathy with the policy of the party in power. To this Mr. Lodge answered:

Some offices ought to be and must be held by members of the party in power. Such are Cabinet officers and their assistant secretaries, foreign ministers, law officers, and all who are engaged in carrying on a policy which is that of the ruling party. In the routine business offices of the government, which form the great mass of the civil service, politics are of no consequence, and never would be thought of in that connection if the holders of these places had not been taught for years that the right to carry letters or run errands for the Government depended on their political activity. It is, moreover, a delusion to suppose that the distribution of this mass of offices is anything but a source of weakness to a party and its representatives, or has any effect except to cripple its usefulness and prevent its doing the work for which it was placed in power. If patronage in office is a source

of strength, how did it happen that it did not save Iowa last fall, and that the lack of it did not lose Massachusetts to the Republicans? The reverse was the case.

Mr. Lodge was very happy in his refutation of the plea that the merit system takes away from the appointing officers the right to select their subordinates, which Mr. Clarkson declared essential to good administration. To this Mr. Lodge says, that if the appointing officers under the spoils system *really did* select, there would be little need of reform,

"for with hardly an exception these chiefs of the service are ambitious only of good administration. The trouble is, that those men do not select their own subordinates, and never have done so. Their subordinates are selected for them by Senators, Congressmen, and other politicians, great and small, who are not responsible for nor primarily interested in having the best administration. The object of civil service reform is not to take appointments from the heads of departments who do not now make them, but to take them out of politics and out of the hands of politicians who do make them."

"Mr. Clarkson does not appoint the postmasters whom he commissions. They are appointed by Congressmen. I have introduced a bill to give absolute control of the appointment of fourth-class postmasters to Mr. Clarkson and his successors, free from any importunity or influence on the part of Congressmen. It is in the precise line of what Mr. Clarkson says is the true system of civil service, and yet I have not heard that it meets with the approbation or support of Mr. Clarkson or any other opponent of the present system of civil service reform."

The *argumentum ad hominem* has seldom been used with better effect than in these concluding remarks.

THE ANNUAL MEETING.

THE ninth annual meeting of the Maryland Civil Service Reform Association was held on Tuesday evening, May 27, at the Y. M. C. A. building. President Charles J. Bonaparte presided, and William Winchester was secretary.

Mr. Joseph Packard, Jr., read the following report of the executive committee, which was unanimously adopted:

The executive committee of the Civil Service Reform Association beg leave to present their brief annual review of matters of interest to the Association which have taken place during the past year. The course of the present administration in regard to the methods of appointment to office has continued to give cause for deep dissatisfaction to the friends of reform, and dissatisfaction has become disgust as far as concerns the carrying on of the important business of the Post Office Department by Messrs. Wanamaker and Clarkson.

The recent change in the incumbents of most of the large Federal offices in this city admonishes the friends of the merit system to be watchful to see that the new officers follow the law strictly in regard to the appointment of their subordinate officers, and to let them understand that the people will make their own the cause of every honest and efficient public servant dismissed merely to make a place to be used as pay for partisan or factional services. The Association gave a dinner on the 21st of February to the Civil Service Commissioners, which was a source of enlivenment and encouragement to the members who were fortunate enough to be present. The intercourse of that evening increased the personal interest with which our members have watched the signal failure of the assaults made upon the Commission and its methods by disappointed place-hunters.

Not less have the members of the Association rejoiced at the failure of the scheme to cripple the operations of the Commission by withholding the necessary appropriations by Congress. In the debate on this subject we were glad to recognize the able and efficient service rendered by Mr. McComas, of this State. As the yeas and nays were not recorded on this question, it is impossible to state with certainty the attitude of the other members from Maryland, as to which solicitude has been felt by our members.

The Association caused to be introduced into the General Assembly of 1890 the bill presented at previous sessions, for placing the service of the State and its cities on the footing of merit and efficiency after the manner that has been found to work so well in New York and other States.

The fact that it received no consideration emphasizes the importance of continuing the work of our organization in informing the public mind on this vital subject.

In bringing to a close this brief record of a year we sadly make mention of the recent death of Gen. Geo. S. Brown, who has been so long and so prominently connected with the work of the Association, as a member of its executive committee and in other ways. His willing and faithful services in manifold forms for the cause of good government will be much missed in this community, and by none of the organizations for such purposes will they be more missed than by the Civil Service Reform Association of Maryland.

The report of the treasurer, T. Erskine Carson, showed a balance of \$56.62 in the treasury.

THE RESOLUTIONS.

Mr. John Hemsley Johnson, for the executive committee, offered the following resolutions:

Resolved, That we congratulate the members of the federal Civil Service Commission upon their triumphant vindication from the frivolous and malicious charges of misconduct made against them, as well as on their able and successful discharge of their exacting duties, and we urge upon Congress the necessity of liberal appropriations, both to carry on the present work of the Commission and to extend its usefulness.

Resolved, That we commend to the attention of our representatives and senators in Congress the Lodge bill for the rational organization of the fourth-class postoffices, and respectfully request them to vote for this measure as a step towards the improvement of our postal facilities and the purification of our politics.

Resolved, That primary elections should enable the voters of a party to freely register their preferences among candidates for nomination to public office; but these elections become little better than a farce when manipulated by place-holders through their subordinates in public employ; and we note with regret that in the primary elections recently held by the Republican party in the city of Baltimore an unbecoming share was taken by the employes of government in the Postoffice, Internal Revenue office and Customhouse. We respectfully call the attention of the Civil Service Commissioners and the President to their acts, believing that these involve a violation of that portion of the civil service law which prohibits any person in the government service from using his political influence to coerce the political action of other persons.

Resolved, That the dispensing of federal patronage through congressmen and senators is a grave abuse, subversive of the constitutional distinction between the executive and the legislative departments of government; and we especially protest against and deplore the course of President Harrison in submitting his appointments in Pennsylvania to the dictation of a man who makes no defense when charged by responsible citizens and newspapers with participation in the criminal misappropriation of public money.

Resolved, That the use of public offices for the purpose of paying partisan and personal political debts is immoral, and is to be classed with the misuse and misappropriation of all other public property.

A motion that the portion of the report of the executive committee referring to the death of General George S. Brown be sent to his family was adopted.

OFFICERS OF THE ASSOCIATION.

Officers were elected for the ensuing year, as follows: President, Charles J. Bonaparte; vice-presidents, Daniel C. Gilman, S. Teackle Wallis, John K. Cowen, Henry E. Wooten, J. Wirt Randall, John S. Wirt, J. Clarence Lane, James Alfred Pearce; secretary, William Winchester; treasurer, T. Erskine Carson; executive committee, Joseph Packard, Jr., J. Hall Pleasants, Wm. Henry Baldwin, Jr., George W. Gail, John J. Donaldson, William Reynolds, Wm. Cabell Bruce, John C. Rose, John Hemsley Johnson, Dr. Robert W. Johnson, Prof. Fabian Franklin, W. Hall Harris, Skipwith Wilmer, Edward G. Daves, Francis King Carey, Henry P. Goddard, Thomas S. Baer, John Pentland

Brown, Edward Stabler, Jr., George F. Gephart, Daniel Miller, Julian Le Roy White, Charles Markell, George A. Pope, Louis P. Hennighausen.

The only change from last year is that Mr. Julian Le Roy White fills the vacancy on the executive committee caused by the death of General George S. Brown.

THE PRINCIPLES OF CIVIL SERVICE REFORM.

ANNUAL ADDRESS OF CHAS. J. BONAPARTE, ESQ., PRESIDENT OF THE CIVIL SERVICE REFORM ASSOCIATION OF MARYLAND, DELIVERED TUESDAY, MAY 27, 1890.

BY the custom of this Association a duty is imposed upon its President of considering, at least summarily, how far since the last annual meeting the principles advocated by the Association have gained strength in public opinion and received practical recognition in the management of public business. I propose to substitute for this discussion a succinct statement of what these principles are, and have the less hesitation in so doing because I believe that no little confusion of thought exists on this subject, even among those in general sympathy with the cause of good government, and that to this confusion much of the apathy and prejudice which we encounter can be more or less directly traced. Many persons imagine that civil service reform as a system requires the selection of all public officers by competitive examination, or else their retention in office during good behavior, and associate with it no other idea whatsoever beyond these two. Undoubtedly, in many cases the principles of the reform can be best applied practically to the choice of public servants by adopting a method of appointment which leaves no room for favoritism, and making continued employment depend, and depend only, upon proved efficiency and fidelity; but there is room for these principles however the officer is chosen and however long or short, certain or uncertain, may be his term. It was a gross violation of these principles when Stevenson Archer was chosen Treasurer of the State of Maryland, not because the General Assembly ought to have examined the several candidates in arithmetic and bookkeeping, but because it ought not to have used a public office of great responsibility to advance supposed partisan interests and reward questionable partisan services. These principles were no less flagrantly disregarded when successive mayors allowed councilmen and even defeated candidates for the council to change all the lamplighters in their respective wards at will; not that a lamplighter is any the less fitted to discharge his duties as soon as he knows which are his lamps than he will be after twenty years of experience and rheumatism, but because the Mayor has as little right under his oath of office to give away a petty place to a political friend, whether as a guerdon of victory or a solace for defeat, as to give him an arm-chair or sofa out of his reception room at the City Hall.

The principles, or rather the one fundamental principle, of civil service reform may be expressed by the phrase, much hackneyed by mechanical repetition and discredited by insincere usage, but of undisputed truth, "a public office is a public trust," remembering only that a lawyer coined this phrase and its true meaning is what it would mean to a lawyer. A public officer is then a trustee, and a trustee, not for a party or any fraction of a party, but for the public, the whole people, as well for those who have not votes as for those who have; as well for those who have voted for his competitor as for those who have voted for him. As a trustee he is subject to two obligations unequivocally recognized by every jurisprudence to which trusts are known; he must not himself profit, directly or indirectly, in his own person or through the advancement of any other individual or organization, by the administration of his trust, and he must himself conduct this administration, not hand it over or farm it out to others. It is not enough to exonerate a trustee that his trust estate is none the worse for his stewardship, he must be none the better; if he has made a profit for himself by the use of what he holds for the good of others, any court of conscience will brand him as unfaithful,

and, if this profit can be identified and secured, confiscate it without hesitation or scruple to the use of those for whom he is trustee; and the decision of our Court of Appeals in a well known case was not needed to establish, although it may serve to emphasize, the doctrine that, for one who has thus abused a relation of confidence, it is no excuse if the wrong has enured to the benefit of others than himself. If, then, a President, Governor or Mayor uses the patronage which he holds in trust for the nation, state or city to strengthen himself in his faction, or his faction in his party, or his party at the polls, his conduct is indistinguishable in morals from a guardian's who uses his ward's money in his own business or in the business of some firm or corporation of which he is a member. It is not enough that he may not choose unfit subordinates; he must choose them solely because of their fitness; if he allows any other consideration whatever to influence his choice he is *pro tanto* unmindful of the duty which he has promised, nay sworn, to perform. Indeed, if he be a man of tender conscience, of sensitive honor, he will beware of even an unconscious bias towards a candidate who is also his personal or political friend. "My friend," said the first American President, "I receive with cordial welcome. He is welcome to my house and welcome to my heart; but, with all his good qualities, he is not a man of business. His opponent, with all his politics so hostile to me, is a man of business. My private feelings have nothing to do in the case. I am not George Washington, but President of the United States. As George Washington I would do this man any kindness in my power; as President of the United States I can do nothing." The writer who records these words says of them, "There spoke the man who was a gentleman to the core of his heart"; I would have thought it safe to add, "an American to the core of his heart also," but "*nous avons changé tout cela*," at least if some newspapers and speakers of the day are to be believed. Now, to be peculiarly "American" is to resemble Grosvenor and Spinola, Dudley and Higgins, General Clarkson and Governor Hill, Senator Quay and Treasurer Archer; men like Washington are "English, you know." But the morality on which our civilization is founded, which inspires our customs and our laws and moulds the jurisprudence of our courts, is still, after all, the morality of Washington, not that of Dudley or Archer; and judged by it, every public officer is found wanting who uses the power with which he is entrusted for any other purpose than to advance the interests of the commonwealth which commits it to him. Nor is this all; he must use it to advance its interests in the particular aspect to which, in each case, its exercise relates; in other words, he must use the power to secure the ends for which it was given him, and not other ends, however desirable in themselves. If the guardian I have supposed should plead that, while he had wasted his ward's property, he had, as he believed on the best authority, by so doing increased the latter's chances of getting to heaven, this would not be accepted as a justification; and it is as little to the purpose for a President to explain that the choice of this or that collector or postmaster may promote the spread of sound opinions as to protection or free trade, Federal supremacy or States' rights. The question, and the only question, is, would it promote—would it, most of all possible selections, promote the faithful and economical collection of the customs or handling of the mails? If it would, then all other consequences may be safely left to take care of themselves; if it would not, then it is simply a bad appointment, and, if made negligently or with knowledge, a breach of trust.

It is equally vital that a public, like a private, trust should be executed by the trustee himself, not abdicated in favor of another; *delegatus non potest delegare*. It is related of Mr. Lincoln that, when he one day deplored to an intimate friend the necessity of sacrificing a faithful and competent official to appease the enmity of an influential Congressman, whom we may call Mr. Nemo, his interlocutor (a civil service reformer before the days of civil service reform) asked with some indignation: "But, Mr. Lincoln, are you President, or is Nemo President?" Mr. Lincoln replied at once: "Nemo is President." Yes, under the spoils system Nemo is President; Nemo is also governor, and mayor, and collector of

customs or of internal revenue, and postmaster, and marshal, and sheriff, and every other officer who has subordinates to choose or to replace. The American people elected General Harrison as their President; certainly they did not elect General Mahone, or Senator Quay, or ex-Senator Platt; yet those of them who live in three of our most important States might be excused if they sometimes forgot these facts. Mr. Clarkson, who has favored the public with rather frequent discourses of late upon the shortcomings of civil service reform and civil service reformers, recently asked: "Is not an employer more able to ascertain the fitness of an applicant to perform the class of work that belongs to his department than a man who not only has no interest in but no knowledge of what is required in the department in question?" Very possibly he is, and what sort of an assistant postmaster-general is it who has permitted thirty-odd thousand inferior officers to be chosen for his department by people who have "not only no interest in" and "no knowledge of what is required in the department in question," but little knowledge of and less interest in the honesty or capacity for creditable work of anybody, whether in or out of the public service? Fourth-class postoffices have been parcelled out among congressmen and defeated candidates for Congress, and the small fry of political bosses in the dominant party, not by civil service reformers but by their critic: he, not they, would see complacently his department filled with men in whose selection, ability and disposition to discharge their daily duties are considerations of but secondary consequence. For us this cowardly surrender, this sordid barter, by executive officers of the powers they hold as a sacred trust is worse than an abuse, it is manifest official perjury. General Harrison has sworn to "faithfully execute the office of President of the United States," and, as part of this office, "to nominate . . . all of the officers of the United States whose appointments are not . . . otherwise provided for." If he turns over these nominations to Senators and Representatives and would-be Representatives he simply does not fulfil his oath. It is only a mimicry, a caricature, of this sad and shameful spectacle for the mayor of Baltimore to "recognize the claims" of City Councilmen to dictate appointments to the little local offices of their several wards, and "extend the same privilege" to candidates of his own party whom the voters at the last election deemed unworthy to be even councilmen.

It is occasionally startling to find how completely a principle which no one ventures to repudiate in so many words, is ignored by our officeholders. The Governor and Comptroller of this State have certain perfectly clear and strictly defined legal duties for the protection of the State's funds; these duties the present incumbents by their own confession have utterly neglected, and by reason of this neglect the State is threatened with a heavy loss. On every principle of commercial honesty the unfaithful officers ought to make up this loss, when ascertained, out of their own pockets; in almost any country but ours public opinion would, at least, have forced them already to resign. Yet it seems as natural to every one else as to themselves that they should calmly draw the salaries which they have so signally failed to earn for the remainder of their terms, and the Governor, with a candor which would be ludicrous if it were not really alarming, exculpates himself by saying that he never read so much of the constitution as prescribes his own duties. And yet, why should we be surprised at this? If a man is chosen to a high office, not because any one thinks him fit to serve the State, but because certain political intriguers think him fit to serve them, is it any cause for wonder that he thinks first of doing what he was in very truth selected to do, and only afterwards, if at all, of his nominal duties? So long as American voters submit to choosing public officers to do the bidding, when chosen, of the least estimable and trustworthy class in the community, they must put up with officers willing to accept such a mission and with the consequence of having such officers.

And it is well that they should learn this by experience; it is fortunate for the people of Maryland, not indeed that their Treasurer should have tapped the State's till and their Governor and Comptroller looked the other way while he did it, but that they should know, even at some cost, what man-

ner of men are raised to prominence and power by the scheme of politics which made these men what they were. When we are told by Mr. Clarkson that "the business of our government is transacted more accurately and at a lower percentage of loss than in any other public or private business in existence . . . because of the fact that there is rotation in office, because it is patriotism more than money-seeking that actuates the men who take an interest in our political life," we are lucky in having before our eyes so striking an illustration of these truths. How clearly it was "patriotism more than money-seeking" which inspired Mr. Archer's deep "interest in our political life"! How admirably would "any private business in existence" be conducted, how "low" a "percentage of loss" would be incurred in it, if it had Governor Jackson as manager and Mr. Baughman as book-keeper and they attended to it as they have attended to the business of the State! I see that my friend Mr. Lodge has paid Mr. Clarkson the double compliment of seriously refuting his crude sophistry and of assuming that when he is detected in grotesque and obviously wilful misstatements of fact Mr. Clarkson must be joking.

"We know him well,
He cannot tell
Untrue or doubtful tales;
He often tries
To utter lies,
But every time he fails!"

Fails, certainly, to make them credible except to ignoramuses or idiots. For my part I make no such assumption. As I am perfectly prepared to learn that a man who has gained political preferment by perpetrating election frauds himself, or conniving at their perpetration by others, is simply a thief, so I neither feel nor affect surprise that one responsible for wholesale and systematic perversion of official patronage to partisan or private ends should be simply mendacious. I will not pretend to believe a man who has not my confidence, and to have my confidence he must show in public life, no less than in private, in dealing with what is the people's no less than in dealing with what is his own, that he is guided by the principles recognized by men of integrity and honor; and these are the principles of civil service reform.

COMPETITIVE EXAMINATIONS ILLUSTRATED.

POLICE (*continued*).—MEDICAL EXAMINATION.

In the last number we gave a description of the tests of candidates for the Boston police; we explained the method of ascertaining their character, experience, education, and knowledge of duties and powers of the police; and we gave reproductions of their copying.

We now give a description of the medical examination. Of course, it is important that a policeman, who receives an appointment during efficiency and good behavior, should not only be large and strong at the time of passing his examination, but also that he should have no disease which would tend prematurely to impair his usefulness. It is also necessary that his sight and hearing should be good; and, accordingly, each one of the candidates who have passed in character and in the required knowledge has to go before a city physician, and be examined for health. The candidate strips, and the physician looks him over for varicose veins, makes him go through several simple motions of arms and legs that show there is nothing wrong, his bones and muscles are felt of to see if there is any old and imperfectly cured break or strain or other thing that would unfit him for his work, his lungs are thoroughly tested with a stethoscope and by hammering on the chest, his heart-beat is also tried with a stethoscope and in other usual ways, his breathing is noted, his skin examined, and he is put through a test to see if he is subject to hernia. He is then allowed to dress, and his eyesight is examined. For this he is put 16 feet 3 inches from a card with letters of various sizes printed on it. Each eye is then tested separately by covering the other with an opaque object. If each eye separately can read the letters in the first column at the required distance, the eyes are both



MEDICAL EXAMINATION OF CANDIDATE FOR POLICE. TESTING THE HEART WITH A STETHOSCOPE AND FEELING THE PULSE TO OBSERVE THE CIRCULATION.

up to the standard. If either eye fails to read the first, but can read the second, it is up to nine-tenths of the standard, and so on. The hearing is tested by going off to a distance, and asking such questions in a low tone as will require to be heard in order to be answered.

A test for color-blindness is also made; for, though color-blindness does not disqualify an applicant, it is considered important that the police department should know which men of its force are color-blind, as in giving testimony to identify persons or objects, for example, it is most important to know whether a policeman can be relied on for his sense of color. The examining physician fills out blanks, in which he has to certify in reply to direct questions—*e. g.* "A. Is THE RESPIRING MURMUR clear and distinct over both lungs?" "Has the brain or spinal cord ever been diseased?" and the like. If the applicant is lacking in any of the requisites, or has an undue tendency to fatness, or has any syphilitic taint, he is rejected.

MR. WIRT ON MARYLAND POLITICS.*

IN many of the counties the chief interest centres in the selection of the candidates for the lucrative offices of clerk, register and the like, and little attention is given to the selection of members of the Legislature. They are used to "even up" the distribution of the ticket through the county, or if attention is given to these nominations, men are selected solely with reference to how they will vote for United States Senator if one is to be selected, and without any consideration of their fitness for the duties of the position. The presence of honest, intelligent and independent men in the Legislature will accomplish much, but that alone is not sufficient. The "good man theory" does not always work out good results in politics, especially in the Legislature, where there have been so many instances of good men who have "gone wrong."

We need, more than anything else in Maryland, a change from the machine methods which have prevailed in our State for some years. The men who have assumed to lead the Democratic party, for example, have been chiefly

* From his recent article in the *Baltimore Sun*.

occupied in contriving to keep themselves in public office and in parcelling out the spoils to their retainers. They have succeeded, too, for some of them have managed to keep themselves in office from the time whereof the memory of this generation, at least, knoweth not the contrary. As a result, we have no policies to submit to the people, and Legislatures assemble session after session without any information gathered from the discussions of the campaign as to what the public interests require. Naturally, when men have everything their own way they finally come to regard the offices as their personal property, and are hostile to every measure which seems to interfere with their continuance in office. The well-known hostility of certain of these officeholders to ballot reform is the result of supine submission by the people of the State to the machine and its methods. A change is needed. By this it is not meant that the Republican party should succeed the Democratic party in the control of the State, for the only vitality the Republican party of this State displays is in squabbles over the offices. Both in the nation and State it is emphatically under the domination of the machine methods. But the remedy is with the masses of the Democratic party in this State to overthrow the machine and bring new men to the front who are in sympathy with the best elements of the national Democracy, who believe in tariff reform, ballot reform and civil service reform. One of the first steps to secure this is: First, for the people to insist upon their right to select their own candidates for the Legislature, and not allow them to be foisted upon them by men who may wish to use them for personal ends after they are elected. Second, to be careful to select and vote for candidates who can be relied upon under all circumstances; not to vote merely to please the bosses and swell the "grandmother's fund."

No amount of respectability is sufficient to qualify any man for a public office at this juncture who is in favor of the continuance of the political methods and influences of the men who are responsible for the present condition of the party in Maryland. New men and new methods are both needed in the management of the Democratic party in Maryland.

THE ORGIES OF THE CIVIL SERVICE COMMISSIONERS.

THE debate and vote upon that clause of the Legislative, Executive and Judicial Appropriation Bill which provided for the expenses of the Civil Service Commission took place on Thursday, April 24th, in the House of Representatives, when that body, sitting as a committee of the whole, had the bill under consideration. Mr. Cummings (Democrat, from New York, and an occasional correspondent of the *N. Y. Sun*) offered at that time no amendment to this clause, but on the following day, when the clause providing for the expenses of the Navy Department was under consideration, he moved to amend it by striking out the word "absolutely" before the words "necessary expenses," and upon that motion proceeded to make an attack, for which he had evidently prepared himself beforehand with some care, upon the Civil Service Commission, using the following language, as reported in the *Congressional Record* of Saturday, April 26:

MR. CUMMINGS.—I moved to amend the civil service reform paragraph by striking out the word "necessary" and substituting the word "actual." It seemed necessary. The law creating the Civil Service Commission provides that each of said Commissioners shall be paid his "necessary traveling expenses incurred in the discharge of his duty as a Commissioner." Let us see what the first Civil Service Commission regarded as necessary expenses. I read from Hon. Dorman B. Eaton's bill of expenses at Tilly's Hotel and Restaurant, Shreveport, La.:

May 12.—Room.....	\$3 00
12.—Pitcher Lemonade.....	30
13.—Breakfast.....	30
13.—Dinner.....	85

I call the attention of my moral friend from Massachusetts (Mr. Morse) to the next item:

May 13.—Supper, and gin and ale.....	1 00
13.—Lemonade.....	30
14.—Breakfast.....	50
14.—Lunch.....	30
14.—Supper.....	40

Total..... \$7 45

[Laughter.]

Now, these may be necessary expenses, but I doubt it. It would be a great deal better to drop the hypocritical part of the business, knock out the word "necessary," and insert instead the word "actual."

MR. BUTTERWORTH.—Do I understand you to complain because the quantity of lemonade is out of all proportion to the amount of gin? [Laughter.]

MR. CUMMINGS.—No, sir; you understand nothing of the kind. I complain because gin and lemonade are placed under the head of "necessary expenses."

MR. BUTTERWORTH.—You know nothing about the condition of the Commissioner's health?

MR. CUMMINGS.—No, sir. Now, Mr. Chairman, I find that Mr. Lyman, who is one of the Commissioners to-day, also had his little bill of traveling expenses; he was then the chief examiner of the Commission. Here it is: [He then read the bill, which appears to have covered four days' expenses, and amounted in all to \$37.50.] That bill, sir, tells its own story. Mr. Lyman even charged 25 cents for the expense of swearing that the bill was necessary and correct. He seems to be a very luxurious traveler. He never lets an opportunity pass to take a parlor car or hire a cab. [Laughter.] Dr. Gregory, another Civil Service Commissioner, seems to have been the champion bill-maker of the trio. A sample of his accounts is highly interesting. He left Washington for Detroit and the West and was gone twelve days. . . . He put in a bill for expenses incurred while traveling on business for the Civil Service Commission, and these expenses average \$12.50 a day, including 25 cents for a notary's fee. Here are the items of the account:

He then read the items of the bill, which was quite long, aggregating \$149.45. Among them were the following:

March 18.—Berth to Detroit, and porter.....	\$2 25
19.—Meals, porter, hack.....	1 50
20.—Service, papers, hack and porter.....	1 75
20.—Chair car, meal, porter, hack and papers.....	2 00
22.—Berth, porter, cab.....	2 75
24.—Meals, porter, papers, hack.....	2 55
25.—Hack, service, porter.....	1 05
25.—Hack, meals, porter.....	3 00

This Civil-Service Commissioner needed porter instead of gin. [Laughter.] It was a necessary expense.

March 26.—Hack, meals, porter, service and papers.....	\$2 30
28.—Porter and omnibus.....	50
April 1.—Cab and porter.....	85
Porter and hack.....	75

Now these may be "necessary expenses." I do not say that Mr. Eaton did not need gin or that Gregory did not need porter, but I do not believe that gentlemen on the other side of the house, and especially my good-looking friend from Massachusetts [Mr. Morse], will think that gin and porter are "necessary expenses" even for a traveling Civil Service Reform Commissioner.

MR. MORSE.—The gentleman from New York is right. It is an outrage to charge rum to the Government.

MR. FLOWER.—When visiting St. Louis in hot weather?

MR. MORSE.—Yes, sir.

MR. CUMMINGS.—The gentlemen ought to know. They can settle it between themselves. It was for this reason, Mr. Chairman, that I moved to strike out the word "necessary" in the civil service appropriation. Let the Commissioners get their money for gin, lemonade, porter or champagne under the head of "actual expenses" if they are thirsty, and not under the head of "necessary expenses." Away with humbug and hypocrisy!

For several months past the Civil Service Commission has been undergoing investigation by a committee of the House. The opponents of a reform in the civil service have been busily engaged in ransacking the country for evidence to throw discredit upon the Commission, and through it upon the reforms which it was created to inaugurate; and as all their efforts to establish any specific cases of misconduct or injustice have so far proved utterly in vain, they are now obliged to content themselves with general abuse of the Commission and the law which it administers, and with vague charges of "humbug and hypocrisy."

Of the nature of these charges the attack thus made by the member from New York may be taken as a fair specimen, and it is well worth consideration as showing both the *animus* with which they are made and the absurdly trivial evidence which has to be resorted to for the purpose of sustaining them. Mr. Cummings, after taking a whole day, and probably longer, to search up the records of the Civil Service Commission for evidence of "humbug and hypocrisy," and then carefully selecting his battle-ground, appears to have gone back some five or six years and chosen as the most vulnerable point of attack certain bills for traveling expenses then rendered by Messrs. Eaton, Lyman and Gregory, which, after examination by the proper officers of the Government, had been duly approved and paid. Let us see what they amount to.

In regard to the bill of Dr. Gregory, it would at once suggest itself to the minds of most persons of ordinary intelligence and experience in traveling that the frequently recurring items of expenditure charged as "porter" were disbursements, not for the liquid refreshment of that name, but to polite officials so designated who are to be found on every sleeping car, at every railway station, and in every hotel in the United States, and whose services in blacking boots, brushing coats, and handling baggage are habitually rendered to the traveling public, not from motives of disinterested generosity and benevolence, but in the lively hope of a prompt pecuniary recompense. Such recompense is generally regarded as an expense necessarily attendant upon this species of "civil service." To suppose that Mr. Cummings really believed that these charges for "porter" were intended to cover payments for malt liquor would be to credit him with a lack of that degree of smartness which is generally deemed requisite to enable a practical politician to secure a nomination for Congress, and would be denying him that knowledge of affairs without which his literary efforts could never have gained admission to the columns of Mr. Dana's enterprising and wide-awake newspaper. The great wonder is that Mr. Cummings should have even thought it possible to persuade any sane person that the meaning he attempted to put upon these items of Dr. Gregory's account was the true one, but it would seem from the remark of Mr. Morse, of Massachusetts, that he had pretty accurately gauged the mental calibre of that gentleman, unless we are to suppose it possible that "humbug and hypocrisy" can find a lodgment even in the bosom of patriotic members of the House of Representatives. The complaint against Mr. Lyman that he was in the habit of frequently traveling in a parlor car, and even occasionally paid 50 cents of the public money for a cab to transport himself and baggage from the station to his hotel, instead of footing it with his gripsack in his hand, is hardly worth consideration; for a Civil Service Commissioner, or even a chief examiner, may surely claim as his necessary traveling expenses such luxuries as the average drygoods drummer is accustomed to have paid for by his employers.

The main point of Mr. Cummings' attack, however, is found in the bill rendered by Mr. Eaton, from which it appears that during his three days' stay at Shreveport he spent fifty cents for lemonade and about the same sum for gin and ale, and charged this amount to the United States Government, thereby indulging in an amount of "humbug and hypocrisy" which is truly distressing to the Roman virtue of Messrs. Cummings and Morse. Whether, as suggested by Mr. Butterworth, the state of the Commissioner's health was such as to require him to take lemonade, gin and ale medicinally, is a matter about which it is not worth while to inquire. The word "necessary," used in connection with traveling expenses, in the statute is to receive the same reasonable construction which the courts always give it in determining what articles a minor may validly contract for.

The courts hold that "to be necessary the articles must be *bona fide* purchased for use and not for mere ornament; they need not be such as a person could not do without, but should be in quality and quantity suitable for his real wants and his condition and circumstances in life." Surely \$7.45 is not an excessive amount for a person holding the position of a Civil Service Commissioner to pay for a three days' hotel bill, and if he saw fit to devote one dollar of that sum to the purchase of "lemonade, gin and ale," it seems to us a matter that was nobody's business but his own, and it is difficult to perceive where the "humbug and hypocrisy" comes in unless on the part of his critic. Some years ago Congress made a law that no intoxicating liquor should be sold in the National Capitol, but notwithstanding this it was very well known that any person who wanted a drink of whiskey could get it there by asking for "cold tea" and having his liquor served in a tea cup, and that various other intoxicants were habitually supplied under equally innocent names. As it is pretty well understood that Senators and Representatives generally were fully cognizant of this arrangement at the time, and not only winked at it but even "smiled" occasionally, a censorious person might

have had some pretext for charging "humbug and hypocrisy" on our honorable legislators; but Mr. Eaton made no pretence of concealment about the gin and ale he ordered, for we find the liquor charged for *eo nomine* in the bill which was examined, approved and paid by the proper officers of the Government. In view of Mr. Eaton's great services to his country, this incident is well calculated to recall the remark made by Mr. Lincoln during the Vicksburg campaign to some one who objected to General Grant that he was rather fond of his toddy. "I wish," said the President, "you would find out for me what kind of whiskey he drinks, so that I can give some of it to our other generals." Could the bills incurred from time to time by our various congressional, legislative and municipal committees for liquid refreshments be restricted within the same limits, both as to quality and quantity, which have been observed by Mr. Eaton, the result might prove not only highly beneficial but even economical to the public; and if the charges of humbug and hypocrisy which Mr. Cummings has thus brought against Messrs. Eaton, Lyman and Gregory are the most that the enemies of civil service reform can urge against it, its friends may well congratulate themselves that the reform "has come to stay."

MR. ROSE ON THE NEW ELECTION LAW.*

AS a number of changes were made in the registration law, and as the election law which was passed for this city and for fourteen out of the twenty-three counties in the State completely changes the whole method of voting, it is of the greatest interest to the League to know just what alterations these new enactments have made in the condition under which it has heretofore done its work, and whether or not that work is likely to be as great and as necessary as it has been in the past. I regret that it is impossible for me to give to-night as thorough and as carefully digested a review of the changes made in the registration and election system of the State by the General Assembly of 1890 as you ought to have. I was not able to obtain copies of the new registration and election laws until yesterday morning.

The registration law enacted is simply an amendment of the existing legislation. In the counties there is no provision for new registration, either now or at any time in the future, and the lists originally made eight years ago are to be used indefinitely, though with annual revisions, of course. In the city there will be, as provided by the Act of 1888, new registration biennially, in the years of Congressional elections, and revision in the other years. The reasons why any system of revision, and in particular why the system of revision here in vogue, must, from its very nature, produce unfair and unsatisfactory results, and afford numerous opportunities for the attainment of unjust partisan advantages of great magnitude, have been so often pointed out that it is not worth while to say anything on that subject at the present time. The Legislature has re-enacted the old registration system, and we must continue to do all in our power to limit the necessarily bad effects of that system, and to expose those which cannot be prevented. While preserving the general system, the Legislature has made a number of changes, some of them unquestionably good, others quite as unquestionably bad, and some of the effect of which it is impossible to form any opinion until there has been an opportunity to observe their actual working in practice. Improvements of importance are as follows:

(1) The original registration books will in future be used at the polls, and there will be no opportunity in Baltimore City to disfranchise legal voters by mistakes, whether innocently or fraudulently made, in copying the poll books from the original registry. It will only be in Baltimore City that the change made in this respect will be clear gain; for in the counties, as there is no provision for a new registration, the registrars are required to make up the new registries by copying upon them all the names and entries on the old ones. As a great deal more information is stated on the registration book than there is on the poll book, it is obvious that there are greater chances of innocent mistakes and consequently

* From his report as counsel of the Reform League.

greater opportunities for deliberate fraud in copying these registries than there was in making up the poll books. Besides, as there is no provision that the existing registries, which will be delivered to the registrars for the purpose of enabling them to copy them, shall be returned by them, and as they will not in most cases be returned, it will in fact be practically impossible either to detect innocent blunders or to prove fraudulent omission or alterations. It is true that frauds of this sort have been more common in Baltimore City than in the counties, but they have not been unknown even in the latter. Thus, in 1888 the names of no less than 66 registered voters in the 8th District of Anne Arundel County were omitted from or inaccurately entered upon the poll book, and of these 66, 60 belonged to the party of which the officer of registration was opposed. In this case a comparison made a couple of days before the election detected the fraud, and its success was prevented. There will be no means of making such comparison between the registries now in use and the copies of them to be made by the officer of registration. In the city of Baltimore each registrar should have been required to keep a separate registry. As it is, however, two only will be kept, and the minority registrar will usually not be allowed to keep one of the two.

(2) Another undoubted improvement is the abolition of the May, June and July sittings, which entailed unnecessary expense, afforded great opportunities for fraudulent registration, and compelled all political parties to keep their professional workers employed for six months in the year. The registrars will now sit for five days in September and three in October. Eight days for registration is quite enough; but the days are not arranged by the law in the most advantageous way for the public convenience. The expenditure for salaries of registrars will by the new law be reduced from about \$40,000 per annum to \$18,000.

A provision of the new law which requires all appeals from the decision of the registrars to be taken within one week after the close of registration, will in practice very much impair the effectiveness of the supervising power of the courts. In a great many, and probably in the majority of cases, voters who suffer by the mistakes and frauds of the registrars will not find out what has been done until it is too late to appeal. Another provision which will simply result in additional and unnecessary delays is that which provides that if the registrars object to having the petitions against them heard before any particular judge, that judge shall have no further jurisdiction to hear the petition. The provision which allows an appeal to the Court of Appeals from any ruling of a judge made in the course of the hearing of a registration petition will interpose so many additional obstacles and delays in the way of the renewal of illegal acts of the registrars that, however desirable such an appeal may oftentimes be, its general effect will, it is to be feared, be almost wholly bad.

A provision has been for the first time introduced in the laws by which the naturalization process can be carried on up until the very day of election, and persons naturalized after the close of registration can be added to the lists, though native-born citizens who were prevented by illness or any other cause from being registered at the regular sittings must lose their votes.

There are some extraordinary provisions increasing the cost. As the law stood previous to the late session of the Legislature, a certified copy of the poll books for the entire city cost \$220. As the law has been changed it will cost nearly or quite \$2000. Of course, the clerks will be required to do between two and three times as much writing as they formerly did; but that is no reason why their compensation should have been multiplied ninefold. The counsel for the registration has heretofore received \$300 a year. The Legislature has increased this amount to \$1800, and allows \$1500 to be expended for assistant counsel. As the period between the beginning of registration and election day will be less than two months the position of counsel for the registrars will obviously be a very desirable one.

It is impossible to predict in advance how the most distinctive feature of the new registration law will work in practice. This feature is that which is intended to prevent per-

sons whose actual physical habitation is out of the State retaining a legal residence in it. This has been done on so large a scale in certain portions of the State as to have become an evil of great magnitude. The machinery by which the Legislature has sought to break up this practice is open to the objection that it is intended to accomplish by indirection what the Legislature thought it might not have the constitutional power to do directly.

From this review of the changes made in the registration law, it will be apparent that the League will have quite as much occasion in the future as it has had in the past to watch with the utmost carefulness the whole process of registration, and that its watchfulness will have to be exercised under still more difficult conditions than heretofore. In the light of the experience of other States, it cannot be doubted that the Australian ballot law enacted for the city of Baltimore and for all the counties on the Western Shore except Garrett, Montgomery, Carroll, Baltimore, and Harford, and all on the Eastern Shore except Kent, Caroline, Talbot, and Dorchester, is a great reform. The law as enacted embodies the two essential features of the Australian system—namely, the exclusive official ballot containing the names of all the candidates and secret voting. Proper and, so far as can be told in advance of actual trial, entirely sufficient and satisfactory provisions are made for the nomination of candidates either by conventions of recognized parties or by individual citizens, when enough individuals unite in one nomination to make it worth while to print their candidates on the tickets. Each party, or each set of nominators, may select their party symbol. They may select anything, Jackson and Liberty, Lincoln's head, etc., provided that the symbol does not exceed two and a half inches in height by two in breadth. Voters may vote for the straight party ticket by putting a cross opposite the symbol. Ignorant or blind voters may have their ballot marked for them by the two ballot clerks. It is impossible here to give a more extended account of the general scheme of the law. Certain of its details are, however, worthy of notice, because it seems likely that they afford some special facilities for fraud. The challenger very properly is required to stay outside the guard-rail during the voting, but, apparently, the law intends that he shall be kept outside the rail after the polls are closed and when the ballots are being counted. As fraud in the count is a kind of fraud which it is very easy to commit under the Australian system, the tickets being all alike in size, shape and appearance, every provision should have been made for the careful watching of the count.

Section 153 contains a curious and unique provision. After mentioning various classes of persons who may come behind the guard-rail in the polling room, the section proceeds as follows:

"And in Baltimore City such number of election police as the Board of Supervisors of Election of said city shall see fit to appoint at every polling-place in the said city: the powers of said election police shall be identical with the powers of said federal supervisors of election and the said federal marshals; similar appointments shall be made in the counties by the judges of election of the several election districts or polling-places, and this compensation shall be the same as that of the judges of election; said election police shall receive the same compensation from the Mayor and City Council of Baltimore as judges of election are paid in said city; only so many of said election police shall be permitted within said rail at any one time as shall be equal to the number of said United States officials within said rail at such time and for the same length of time; each voting shell or compartment shall be kept provided by the ballot clerks with proper supplies and conveniences for marking the ballots, and each ballot shall be marked by the voter with the cross (X) herein mentioned by means of a rubber or other stamp, provided for each booth, and supplied with ink, so that the cross (X) shall in all cases be as near as practicable uniform; not more than six voters in addition to those then within the railing shall be admitted to the room at one time, and each voter except the officers and representatives before mentioned shall be required after voting to withdraw entirely from the room; the judges of election may admit persons

from time to time to aid in determining the fact whether a voter is entitled to vote, and such persons shall withdraw at once after their statements shall have been given; the pay of said State officials so to be appointed by the Governor and Supervisors of Election in the City of Baltimore shall be the same as that of the judges."

It will be noted that this provision is in many particulars extremely obscure and even contradictory. Thus, in the closing sentence compensation is provided for officials appointed by the Governor, although no power is given to the Governor to appoint any one. A careless reading might lead one to suppose that the election police are only to be appointed as offsets to the federal election officials, but a close reading will show that the supervisors in the city and the judges of election in the counties may appoint at their sole discretion, at any election, whether there are federal officials present or not, just as many police as they see fit, and compel the city or county to pay each of these fellows the per diem of a judge of election, although there cannot be more of them behind the guard-rail at any one time than there are United States officials there. No qualifications are prescribed. The men appointed may or may not be residents of the precinct for which they are appointed. But, perhaps, most dangerous of all, considering the character of the men likely to be appointed, is the fact that their powers are defined only as follows: "Their powers shall be identical with the powers of said federal supervisors and said federal marshals." It is quite obvious that many of these powers cannot be exercised by any State official whatever; but the ignorant men who may be appointed are not at all likely to appreciate this fact. Of course, for any actual protection against federal influence, so far as the State can prevent such interference, the disciplined police force is worth more than all the crowd of husters who may be appointed "State Election Police," while the powers of the State judges of election are much more potent for good or for evil than are those of the United States supervisors. Availing themselves of the aversion felt by the majority party of this State to the participation of the federal government of the control of election machinery, some skillful managers have inserted in the law provisions which, under cover of protecting the State against the federal government, will allow the supervisors of election to surround the polls at every election, whether federal officials are present or not, with as many workers as they choose at the public cost, and have clothed these watchers with the powers which will enable them to annoy persons politically obnoxious to them to an almost unlimited extent, while the federal officials for good or for bad will be practically as powerful or powerless as ever.

A provision which allows a foreigner not born in an English-speaking country to bring some one in the room with him to give his name and address is a curious illustration of the extreme consideration of our lawgivers for the foreign-born citizens, and will remove many of the difficulties under which the repeaters would otherwise be placed by the introduction of the Australian system.

A change of value in the law is that which requires the Police Commissioners to redivide the precincts so that each precinct shall contain about 600 voters; but they should be required to announce the boundaries of the new precincts earlier than the week before the beginning of registration. On the other hand, the provision which takes the appointment of the judges of election in the counties from the hands of the County Commissioners and commits it to the supervisors appointed by the Governor, was uncalled for by any real or alleged misconduct on the part of the judges in the counties, and is more likely to do harm than good.

As already stated, the Australian system is a great improvement, but it is a system in which peculiar opportunities for fraud are put in the hands of the election officials. Thus, for example, the law properly provides that tickets not marked with the initials of the ballot clerk shall not be counted. How easy it will be for the ballot clerk to omit putting his initials on the ballot handed a person whom he expects will vote against him!

The League will therefore have more reason than ever to scrutinize with care the character of the people appointed

election officers. They should also make sure that the Australian system is given a fair trial. In order that it should have such a trial, the League should take steps to inform the voters some time in advance of the election, what its requirements are and how voting under it is to be conducted.

I have dwelt on the necessity for continued vigilance, if election frauds are to be prevented, not because I am anxious to expect evil, but because my observation of the great bulk of the political workers of this city, the men from whom election officials will and must be largely taken, has convinced me that, without respect to party, they have accustomed themselves to consider frauds and tricks of one sort or another as the most important factors in elections. It is true that a party which has not control of the election machinery or of the police cannot with any certainty perpetrate any election frauds of sufficient magnitude to be worth doing at all, and therefore it has been Democratic workers almost exclusively who have in recent years, in this city, been concerned in election and registration frauds. But that the Republican workers lack only the opportunity and not the willingness to do the same thing, the way in which their primary elections are conducted sufficiently demonstrates.

SENATOR GORMAN AND THE CHAIRMANSHIP.

EVERY now and then there appears in the Baltimore *Herald* speculations as to whether Senator Gorman will accept the chairmanship of the Democratic State Central Committee. This simply means that Gorman is throwing out his feelers to test the public pulse. That he wants to be chairman no one for a moment supposes, but that he does want some creature of his (some other Archer) in the position is certain. Should the Democratic party permit this, it commits hari-kari. It might as well be understood, and looked squarely in the face, that, whatever the leaders or managers (call them what you please) may determine to do, the Democratic voters will no longer follow the lead of the disreputable, disgraced combine represented by Senator Gorman. Why can there not be a consultation of representative Democrats, from all parts of the State, in the city of Baltimore, at an early day, to take charge of this important matter and suggest the proper man for the position? Shall we remain quiet until we are bound hand and foot?—*Frederick Union*.

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NEW YORK, *April 28, 1890.*

I beg leave to inform the public that the subscriptions received in response to the call issued by this Committee have been sufficient to warrant it in proceeding with the work entrusted to it. A contract has been closed with Mr. DANIEL C. FRENCH of this city, for an heroic bronze bust, to be placed upon a column of rich Swedish granite. Mr. FRENCH's "Minute Man" at Concord, Mass., his "Thomas Starr King," just completed for the City of San Francisco, and his bust of "Emerson," are generally accepted as among the best works of this kind which have been produced in this country. The location of the monument cannot be determined upon until the model shall have been completed.

A small additional sum is desired to defray the expenses of the ceremonies of unveiling, etc., and subscriptions will still be received by the undersigned.

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THE MONTH.

WE find the following delightful piece of humor at the end of Mr. Baughman's annual report, as Comptroller, made to Governor Jackson, under date of January 10, 1889. The italics are ours:—

"In conclusion, I congratulate you on the excellent condition of the finances of the State, her very high credit, and the evidences of prosperity of the people, so far as the same can be influenced by a judicious and sound administration of the State government."

THE address of Senator John S. Wirt at St. John's Commencement is notable both for its high quality as a literary performance and for its significance as a political declaration. Since Mr. Gorman set the tone of our public men, we have had few representatives in either the State or the Federal legislature capable of rising to Mr. Wirt's intellectual and moral level. But the revolt against Gormanism, which has produced such splendid oratory in our city campaigns, has now spread to the counties, and is bringing the conscience and intellect of the State to the front. Mr. Wirt's presence in the Senate of Maryland is itself a most encouraging indication of the decay of the spoils system, and his work we trust will be potent in its final overthrow. His words cannot fail to be understood as a new declaration of his hostility to Gormanism, and of his determination to follow up the attacks upon the Machine which he successfully led in the last Legislature.

FROM all over the country, except here in Baltimore, we hear complaints of the inefficiency of the census enumerators. These seem to be well founded, and the badness of the enumerators appears to be due to the fact that the appointments have been generally turned over to the politicians as spoils, and by them awarded to bummers and heelers. This could have been avoided, and the reliability of the figures collected at such enormous expense assured, by the simple device of appointing the enumerators after an examination testing their fitness. This was practically done in Baltimore. The supervisor for Baltimore was Mr. John C. Rose, whose belief in the merit system and whose knowledge of statistics are equally well known. Mr. Rose, doubtless because he was a civil service reformer, was let alone by the politicians, and made his appointments with a careful regard to fitness, as shown by a simple test. The result is very gratifying. The enumeration in Baltimore was finished sooner than in any other large city, and we hear no complaint as to its accuracy.

POSTMASTER JOHNSON'S numerous removals of carriers and clerks have been made the basis of certain charges filed against him with the Civil Service Commission. This course on the part of the aggrieved employes doubtless had something to do with the appointment by the Commission of Mr. John C. Rose as an additional member of the examining board. We confidently expect this appointment to result in an impartial enforcement of the law and rules governing the

certification of successful candidates. The trouble heretofore has been that the examining board making the certifications has always been composed of men who, being in the service, owing their places to the appointing officer and removable at his pleasure, were more or less afraid to resist the appointing officer when he was disposed to indulge in favoritism. A most remarkable instance of this in the case of Postmaster Paul, of Minneapolis, who compelled Shidy and the other members of the board to certify whomever he chose, is fresh in the recollection of almost every one. But as Mr. Rose is not under Mr. Johnson, being an officer of the Census Bureau, he will have no cause to defer to the Postmaster, should the latter, as of course we do not suggest he would, desire to manipulate the certified lists improperly.

As a further guarantee of the fairness of the examinations, Mr. Roosevelt sent the following card to the Baltimore *Sun*:

"I am informed by the local board of examiners of the Baltimore Postoffice that at present few but Republicans apply to be examined for the positions of carriers and clerks in that office. In view of the approaching August examinations I wish to make through your columns a statement to all Democrats, and to all citizens generally, without regard to party affiliations, who may think of applying for such positions. On behalf of the Civil Service Commission I desire to extend an earnest invitation to all who wish to enter the classified service at the Baltimore Postoffice to come forward and be examined. The Commission will do all in its power to see that they are treated with perfect fairness, irrespective of their party affiliations, and will guarantee that their papers will be marked and their names listed and certified for appointment exactly according to the averages they make for themselves in the examination. It is illegal for the Postmaster or any appointing officer to refuse to appoint or to discriminate in any way against any candidate for a place in the classified service because of his politics. The law is designed expressly to secure an equal chance to Republicans and Democrats. Democrats have exactly the same right that Republicans have to examination and certification by the Commission and to appointment by the Postmaster or other appointing officer. Under the law affecting the classified service it is an offence, punishable by removal from office, for the Postmaster or any similar officer to try to find out a man's politics, or to take politics into account in any way in making appointments. I sincerely hope that every young man, whatever his politics, Democratic or otherwise, who desires to enter the Government service as a clerk or carrier in the Baltimore Postoffice will come forward at the next examination. We guarantee him fair play as far as we are concerned. It is our especial desire to get Democrats to enter these examinations as freely as Republicans, and we shall do all in our power to see that political considerations are given no weight in making appointments, and that all applicants, Democrats and Republicans, are treated alike."

THE contest between the electric light companies for the privilege of lighting the city, which has produced many charges of corruption, was brought to an end by the Mayor's agreeing to a compromise suggested by the Brush Company. The arrangement made gives the Brush people the contract for lighting the city for five years at thirty-five cents per lamp per night, subject to the confirmation of the City Council. A proviso is added that at the end of any two years the Mayor may put an end to the contract. It is impossible for us at present to say whether this will prove to be

a very lucrative bargain for the Brush Company, but the price is certainly not above that commonly charged for the same service elsewhere. This is evident upon an examination of the subjoined tabular statement published in January, 1888, by the American Economic Association, in a paper on Electric Lighting prepared for that body, and which we presume to be reliable.

City	Price per Year per Light.	No. of Lights.	System B. & T.-H.
Detroit.....	\$188 70	625	B.
Boston.....	237 25	570	B. & T.-H.
Bangor.....	150 00	23	....
Chattanooga.....	121 67	30	B.
Logansport.....	115 00	62	J.
Fort Wayne....	150 00	138	J.
Omaha.....	216 00	12	....
Providence.....	182 50	235	U. S. & T.-H.
New Bedford.....	182 50	50	T.-H.
Newburg.....	120 00	83	T.-H.
Poughkeepsie.....	127 50	185	....
Oswego.....	126 83	142	....
Quincy, Ill.....	136 00	158	T.-H.
Mobile.....	100 00	160	T.-H.
Trenton.....	184 50	76	B.
Wilkesbarre.....	200 00	32	E.
Springfield, Mass.....	219 00	50	T.-H.
Montreal.....	219 00	132	T.-H.
Allentown, Pa.....	111 00	..	A.
Bloomington, Ill.....	130 00	211	T.-H.
Buffalo.....	173 37	631	B., T.-H., U. S.
Fall River.....	204 00	26	T.-H.
Lynn.....	173 37	100	T.-H.
Hartford.....	192 34	120	T.-H.
New Orleans.....	125 00	819	J.
La Fayette, Ind.....	56 72	207	B.
Bridgeport, Conn....	184 50	94	T.-H.
Toronto.....	200 75	125	....
Schenectady.....	171 55	95	....
Jackson, Mich.....	113 24	46	T.-H.
Racine, Wis.....	70 00	100	B. & T.-H.
Richmond, Va.....	145 60	118	....
Galveston.....	173 75	48	B.
Holyoke.....	184 50	72	....
Cambridge, Mass.....	200 00	78	....
Philadelphia.....	200 00	516	T.-H., J., U. S.
Salem, Mass.....	171 55	143	T.-H.
Ottawa, Can.....	100 00	217	T.-H.
Worcester.....	200 00	138	T.-H.
Somerville, Mass.....	135 07	70	A.
Syracuse, N. Y.....	144 00	280	T.-H.
Peoria.....	145 00	225	J.
Newark.....	182 50	184	U. S.
Portland.....	140 00	168	T.-H.
Reading, Pa.....	164 25	107	....
Albany.....	184 50	481	B.
Dayton, O.....	170 00	126	....
Erie.....	146 00	54	B.
Harrisburg.....	93 20	150	Ex.
Lancaster, Pa.....	117 75	138	U. S.
Montgomery.....	219 00	30	B.
Memphis.....	180 00	75	B. & T.-H.
Nashville.....	255 50	30	B.
Baltimore.....	184 00	519	B.
Kansas City.....	200 00	64	T.-H.
Springfield, O.....	130 00	54	T.-H.
Toledo.....	40 00	50	B. & T.-H.
Total.....	\$9088 46	.	.

In the above table B. stands for the Brush system; T.-H. for the Thomson-Houston; J. for the Jenney; A. for the American; U. S. for the United States, and Ex. for the Excelsior. Where no system is indicated none is reported. Where lights are not burned every

night 2-15 is added to the cost to make allowance for moonlight nights. This happens in few cases.

This table shows that the total cost per year per light in the 57 cities mentioned was \$9088.46. This makes the average cost per year per light \$176.99; or about 48½ cents per lamp. This is 13 cents per lamp more than the price agreed upon in Baltimore. If we confine the comparison to the six large cities of Detroit, Boston, Providence, Buffalo, New Orleans, and Philadelphia, the price obtained for Baltimore seems even more favorable, as the average cost in those places was \$184.47 per year per light, or 50½ cents per lamp.

SINCE our last issue we have learned from unquestionable authority that the item in Ex-Civil Service Commissioner Dorman B. Eaton's bill for traveling expenses which occasioned such a flutter in the House of Representatives on the day after the debate on the appropriation for the Commission, was in reality—thirty cents for a bottle of *ginger ale*, and not *gin and ale* as read by Mr. Cummings; and further that the charge was included in the bill presented at the Treasury Department by an oversight, and as soon as Mr. Eaton discovered it he promptly refunded the thirty cents to the United States. In view of the simultaneous attempt to make Dr. Gregory's disbursements to hotel and sleeping-car porters appear in the light of expenditures for liquid refreshments, a censorious person might have a plausible excuse for charging that this misstatement of the item in Mr. Eaton's bill was a deliberate and wilful instance of "humbug and hypocrisy," but as we do not desire to be unjust to any one, and as we consider that such a falsification, if intentional, would be an act too mean and contemptible to be charged against a person occupying the honorable position of a Representative in Congress, except upon the most indisputable proof, we prefer to assume that Mr. Cummings was only guilty of gross and culpable carelessness, for which he ought, as a gentleman, to make Mr. Eaton the only reparation in his power, by publicly retracting upon the floor of the House the reckless accusation which he there permitted himself to indulge in.

WE called attention in our June issue to the extraordinary erasures in the bond of Comptroller Baughman and asked him for an explanation. As yet, so far as we are aware, none has been publicly made. We understand, however, that some of his friends say for him that the change of the dates of the execution and acknowledgment from February first to January seventh was made because of a clerical error of a copyist, who took the old bond of two years ago and copied it exactly, word for word, dates and all. But why should Mr. Baughman up in Frederick go or send all the way to Annapolis to copy a simple paper like a bond which any lawyer could write off in five minutes? And if the bond was executed and approved on the seventh of January, its ostensible date, why was it not filed until the twelfth of February? The Governor's office, where the approval is given, is only a few yards from the office of the Clerk of the Court of Appeals, yet, if the ostensible date of approval is correct, it required five weeks for the custodian of the bond to traverse those few yards. Another explanation seems to us more probable than this. We think the bond was executed on the first of February, the date originally written in it. Then, we think, some one called Mr.

Baughman's attention to the fact that the Poe Code required the bond to be filed on or before the second Wednesday of January, which this year fell on the eighth. Not having read the constitutional provisions defining his duties, to do which would be constructive disrespect, perhaps, to the Governor, Mr. Baughman did not know that the Poe Code was carelessly and wrongly copied from the Code of 1860 and was in conflict with the constitution of 1867 now in force. This instrument, which, as the supreme law, overrides Mr. Poe, directs the Comptroller to file his bond on the third Monday of January, or "as soon thereafter as practicable." This date fell on January twentieth, and February first was certainly near enough to fall within the liberal margin thereafter, allowed by the constitution. But not being acquainted with that instrument and having, as is well known, loose ideas about the sanctity of public records, Mr. Baughman seems to have altered the date of his bond to make it conform to an imperative provision of the code. It may be held that the bond is vitiated and the sureties are released. However this may be, the Governor should require Mr. Baughman to execute a new bond.

SMASH THE BOSSES.

MR. JAMES HODGES has determined not to "eclipse the gayety of nations" by retiring, in silence, from the stage. Unfortunately, he has not confined himself to giving to his fellow-citizens that characteristic and singular entertainment which we so often have had the pleasure of sharing with them. As the late presiding officer of the late Democratic State Convention, he has assumed the prerogative of nominating a chairman for the Democratic State Central Committee, in the place of ex-Treasurer Archer. Whether he is entitled to exercise that prerogative, we are not sufficiently familiar with what are called the "usages of the party" to be able to determine. There is considerable difference of opinion on the subject among even the most regular of the "regulars," but Mr. Hodges alleges that "it has been determined by Democrats of experience and judgment" that the selection of the chairman devolves on him, and of course he agrees with them. Who those Democrats are he does not mention, but the choice which he has made renders any explanation of that sort unnecessary. He has placed at the head of the Committee, Mr. Barnes Compton, who is well known to be one of Mr. Gorman's most confidential, obedient, and trusted henchmen, and we think it will be conceded that outside of the Ring which Mr. Gorman dominates, no Democrats of experience and judgment in the State would have advised the selection of Mr. Compton, at this juncture. Mr. Hodges, of course, is well known to be himself a somewhat ostentatious though a somewhat tardy admirer and follower of Mr. Gorman. Some months ago, in an interview reported for the *Herald*, he expressed his high sense of that gentleman's abilities and merits, and declared that he thought the State of Maryland ought to be proud of him. Entertaining that view, he professed himself, without hesitation, to be a "Gorman man." Of course Mr. Hodges, as is well known, aspires to be the next Governor of the State! It is equally well known that, except by Mr. Gorman's favor, there is no possibility of his being nominated, or thought of, for that position. To the minds of many practical people, this state of affairs sufficiently accounts for the Gormanism which Mr. Hodges professes, and which is entirely at variance with all the

expressions and acts of his earlier political life. It is not unnatural, therefore, under the circumstances, that Mr. Hodges should have made choice of Mr. Compton—who is only Gorman under another name—for the vacant chairmanship. Whether he will have really promoted his chances for the Governorship by making it, will of course depend, to some extent, upon Mr. Gorman's disposition to reciprocate good offices, but mainly on his personal interests at the time. We should have thought that Mr. Hodges' own experience, in the last gubernatorial convention, would have satisfied even him of the little trust that is to be put in princes.

If the reporters of the newspapers are to be relied on, Mr. Hodges has not been chary of his confidences upon the subject of the appointment which he has just made. Some of these would be found very amusing, if we had space to recall them to our readers. The principal statement of his ideas on the subject is to be found in an interview published in the *Sun* of June 7th. He there stated, that his delay in making the appointment was chiefly that he had "experienced great difficulty in finding a person suited to the bill of particulars." He said that "men of capacity and adaptability could be found, and good men too, who would be willing to assume command, but they were professional politicians." He added, however, that, in his judgment, "a good man should not be objectionable on that account," but whether an appointment, from that class, at this particular juncture would be generally acceptable to the party, a portion of which has become severely judicial in tone and temper, is a problem of no ordinary perplexity. That this should be directed towards the incumbent of an office who must perform the most incessant labors and exercise the most sleepless vigilance without compensation and well-nigh without thanks, is *one of the incongruities of that morbid political condition of moral fastidiousness which marks the experience at some period of its career of every old party and is present with the Democratic party of Baltimore, to-day.*"

Although it was quite apparent from this—even to those (of whom there were many) who did not altogether understand it—that the moral fastidiousness which Mr. Hodges referred to was in his judgment morbid and incongruous, and not at all to be approved of, it was still supposed that he would respect, to some extent at least, the "severely judicial" sensibilities of the Democratic party in Baltimore, even although he entertained a contempt for them. It was not supposed that he would fill his "bill of particulars" with so entirely unfastidious a person as Mr. Barnes Compton. That gentleman will probably regard it as no reproach, to say of him that he is a type of the professional politician, in the most extreme sense of that designation. He is, and has been, a chronic Democratic officeholder and officehunter, who has lived and lives by politics and has occupied himself, substantially, with nothing else. At the very moment when he accepts the chairmanship of the State Central Committee, he proclaims himself a candidate for the next nomination to Congress from his district—a fact which ought of itself to prevent, and in any reasonably fastidious condition of politics would certainly have prevented, his selection as the chief party executive. It is not, he is reported to have indicated, that he cares so much for going to Congress, as that he desires to let the people of his district avenge themselves upon the House of Representatives for having counted him out and Mr. Mudd in!

Although professing to be a Democrat, Mr. Compton is one of the loudest and most brazen of the professional spoilsmen

who unite in denouncing the whole scheme of civil service reform, upon which, as a part of its platform, their party went into the last presidential election, and which the chief representative of that party, Mr. Cleveland, has indissolubly associated with ballot reform in the minds and hearts of the Democracy. Mr. Compton believes in purchasing and paying for political services, personal and public alike, by public offices, and his Congressional career has consisted in little else than besieging the departments for places large and small. That he and Mr. Gorman are one, in all that has brought upon the latter gentleman the reprobation of the people of Maryland, goes without saying. There is, therefore, we repeat, every reason to denounce his selection, by Mr. Hodges, as an effort further to associate and complicate the Democratic party with the corrupt Ring, against whose continuance in power every respectable element of that party, in the State, is now in open rebellion. When we have said this, we have said quite enough to account for the general resentment which Mr. Compton's appointment has provoked. But we have not said one-half of what the facts justify, as we shall proceed to show.

As is well known, Mr. Compton was, for a considerable period, Treasurer of the State of Maryland, and did not (according to the Sun Almanac) resign that office until the 1st of March, 1885. What his duties as Treasurer were, it is not necessary here to recapitulate, as the subject has been fully discussed, not only in the report of the joint Legislative Committee upon the Archer embezzlement, but in all the public journals of the State. That Mr. Compton, while Treasurer, neglected to discharge those duties in the vital particulars, and that by reason of his neglect, and that of other Treasurers and Comptrollers, to do so, the ability of Archer to plunder the Treasury was, to say the least, greatly facilitated, is not now open to question. But, upon this point, we will let the report of the Committee speak for itself:

"Since 1872," says the report, "it has been the duty of the Treasurer, in the presence of the Comptroller, to cancel the State bonds and securities bought for the sinking fund and maturing at some future day, by writing upon them in red ink the word 'cancelled' with the date of such cancellation, and by signing his name thereto. This simple and easy duty has not been performed, and, since 1881 the Treasurer has had in his custody treasury relief coupon bonds, not yet due, belonging to the State, not marked 'cancelled' or ear-marked in any way, and thus capable of being disposed of at his pleasure."

The Committee goes on to demonstrate that the responsibility for what it calls "the flagrant abuse, by Mr. Archer, of his almost unparalleled opportunity of plundering the treasury," attaches to the various Comptrollers who neglected their duties, as well as to the Treasurers themselves, and then proceeds, as follows: "*Had the existing provisions of law been executed by his predecessors, Mr. Archer's crime would have been impossible, because each separate bond in his possession would have been ear-marked, and he could have found no one to take them. Had they been executed by those who held office concurrently with him, considering the method he pursued, detection must have followed before any serious defalcation could have resulted. Those provisions of law were ample, in the then condition of the sinking fund, for its safety.*"

The Committee then proceeds to say that "Archer found that those provisions were disregarded by others upon whom they were incumbent, as well as upon himself, and,

burdened by debt and pressed by creditors, he saw an easy way of relieving temporarily the financial embarrassments that surrounded him. It does not palliate in the slightest degree his crime that *its commission was rendered easy by the failure of others to perform their full duty to the State.* He should have been strong enough to push the temptation aside and meet his difficulties in a manly and honest way. His obligation was a plain one, and required for its fulfillment no more than the average intelligence and honesty possessed by the men who conduct the affairs of the world. *But his failure to measure up to the proper standard of official integrity cannot excuse those who preceded or were associated with him, and upon whom the law imposed clear and well-defined duties in relation to the sinking funds. The crime of embezzlement is his, but, greatly as we regret to say so, a large measure of responsibility rests upon others as well, for what seems to us a neglect of official duty.*"

Of these "others," Archer's "predecessors," as we have shown, Mr. Compton was one, and on him, as well as on Governor Jackson and Mr. Baughman, and all the rest of the Comptrollers and Treasurers since 1881, the responsibility of Archer's defalcation in "large measure" indisputably rests. Without his and their scandalous neglect of the "simple and easy duty" officially imposed on them, the Committee distinctly charge that "*Archer's crime would have been impossible.*" And yet, here is Mr. Hodges—at a moment when the Democratic party is staggering under the weight of the responsibility and shame which long years of official dereliction, ending in official defalcation and crime, have brought upon it—at a juncture when even he admits the existence of a "moral fastidiousness," which is none the less widespread, deep-seated and sensitive, because he is pleased, in his superiority to vulgar prejudices, to classify it among the "incongruities" of "a morbid political condition"—here, we repeat, is Mr. Hodges—in such a crisis, after conferring with "some sagacious and trusted friends"—deliberately placing at the head of the Democratic organization in Maryland, one of the identical delinquent treasury officials, whose gross neglect of the plainest statutory duty has opened the Treasury to pillage, and has helped to plunge the party into the only perils which endanger its predominance! In the name of all things reasonable and decent, was not the Democratic party weighted down heavily enough already, by the crime of Archer and the faithlessness of Jackson and Baughman to their official oaths, without ballasting it, still more deeply, with the delinquencies of yet another of the tribe? And this too, when a Legislative Committee, without a dissentient voice, had just solemnly proclaimed his shortcomings, and meted out to him his share of responsibility for a great public spoliation? Is the Maryland Democracy so poor in men of capacity and integrity, that none but a few stereotyped party hacks are ever to be thought of, when places of responsibility or control are to be filled? Is the party forever doomed to sing the same old baby song of the same sixpences, and have the same blackbirds baked in the same pie? Could Mr. Hodges find no Democrat in Maryland, "professional politician" or unprofessional, with a better record—or is it so important to the "trusted friends" of Mr. Hodges, to have the executive management of the party in the hands of a politician of Mr. Compton's sort and affiliations, that he must perforce be taken, good record or bad? The party might possibly excuse itself from the sins of Jackson and Baughman, by saying that when it elected them

it had not found them out. But Mr. Compton had been found out and exposed, before he was made Chairman of the Central Committee, and he was chosen with full knowledge and warning of what he had done and had left undone. To appoint him, was therefore deliberately to shoulder his delinquencies and identify the Democratic party with all the financial abuses and shameful derelictions of official obligation which culminated in the crime of Archer. It was to make of persistent and plain faithlessness to duty a passport to party honors and control. It was a gross indignity to every upright Democrat—a slap in the face to every friend of good government in Maryland.

One thing, at all events, this performance of Mr. Hodges and those who inspire him (for he is, himself, but a fly on the wheel) has made clear, if it was not clear enough already. We mean the audacious determination of the Gorman Ring to make no concessions to "fastidiousness" of any sort—no compromise with public morals, or indignation, or disgust, or resentment. They continue and intend to assert themselves, at their very worst, as if nothing had happened, and brazen it out. What they have brought about, in the government of the State and the condition of the party, does not affect them with either shame or repentance, much less suggest to them atonement. They have their hands on the party throat and mean to hold their clutch, if they can. Blind and unteachable, indeed, must the party be, in its turn, if it does not see and learn that the only way to deal with them is to smite them hip and thigh. There is no parley to be had with them—no truce, no toleration, no "harmony." Senator Wirt's is the only true war-cry for decent people—"SMASH THE BOSSES!"

THE HOUSE COMMITTEE AND THE CHARGES.

WE print in another column the full text of the report from the Select Committee on Reform in the Civil Service, presented in the House of Representatives on June 14. It is a very important document and deserves, as it has received, the careful attention of friends of the reform. The committee's findings as to the Campbell incident are somewhat unexpected, to us at least, and justice to it as well as to our readers requires us to briefly indicate the reason of our surprise. In so doing, however, our language must be necessarily guarded, not because we believe that the persons incriminated by the report are in anywise exempt from criticism at our hands if they are proven to have failed in duty, or that the committee is, if it is shown to have treated them unjustly—on the contrary, this paper exists in order that it may say what it thinks on just such subjects—but because, as we understand it, the matter is not yet determined. Commissioner Lyman has applied to the committee for a rehearing, and at the moment of going to press we are not informed whether the request has been or will be granted. Until this is settled we are concerned only to justify the view we have hitherto taken and expressed of the incident in question. This, as our readers are well aware, has been founded only upon such reports of the evidence as were from time to time furnished by the daily press, and we now write without having had any opportunity to examine the full record. There seems to be no doubt that in the autumn of 1887 Campbell, a clerk of the Commission and brother-in-law of Commissioner Lyman, copied and gave to a Mrs. Isabella Smith, without the permission or knowledge of his

superiors, certain arithmetical questions which had been used in examinations for the departmental service, together with answers taken from the papers of a successful applicant, and that a man named Flynn, a professional "coach" for the examinations, afterwards somehow got hold of them. Campbell's conduct was unquestionably improper; it merited the reprimand which he subsequently received from Mr. Oberly, who subsequently investigated the matter, and made his promotion during the time when Mr. Lyman was sole Commissioner *prima facie* an indiscreet act on the part of the latter. But the committee further finds as a fact, notwithstanding Campbell's denials, that these questions, although once used already, were intended to be used again, and were in fact used at the next succeeding examination, and upon this finding bases a severe censure, not only of Campbell, but of Messrs. Oberly and Lyman as well, who either failed to punish Campbell as they knew he deserved, or failed to ascertain the gravity of his offence, when, as the committee finds, they could and should have ascertained this by a proper investigation. A similar implied reflection upon Mr. Doyle in the report, which seems to be wholly unwarranted by the evidence, has, we are glad to see, been pointed out and corrected by the correspondent of the *Evening Post*.

From the newspaper accounts of the testimony given before the committee, we had reached the conclusion that the Commission's accusers had not proved that the questions given by Campbell to Mrs. Smith were intended for future use; very possibly we might think otherwise had we heard the evidence or read the stenographic record, but we cannot say that the summary of it given in the committee's report changes our opinion. In the first place it must be remembered that these accusers have been shown to be altogether unscrupulous and reckless. They preferred and afterwards abandoned a number of charges so ridiculous that the committee does not even notice them, and they did not attempt to conceal that their effort to discover abuses in the administration of the law arose solely from a wish, not to have the law properly administered, but to have it repealed. Of course, the most contemptible slanderers may on some one occasion tell the truth, but when out of ten accusations nine prove to be utterly unfounded, eight of the nine frivolous, and seven of the eight absurd, and the bad faith of the accusers is not even denied, it is reasonable to scrutinize somewhat sharply the evidence sustaining the one charge which seems colorable and serious. Mr. Hatton and his *confrères* have been shown by their own acts and admissions perfectly capable of seeking to deceive the committee, and this fact justifies at least a prepossession against any evidence which they may produce. Now, it would seem from the report that the committee's finding is based upon the evidence of a single witness. A Miss Emily M. Dabney says that Flynn offered to sell her the questions which Campbell had given Mrs. Smith, that she refused to buy them, and that, at the examinations for which she was then preparing and which she failed to pass, she recognized the questions offered her by Flynn. The report says Miss Dabney was "clear and explicit in her statement." As we have not seen the full record, it would be unfair to question this allegation, but we learn that she was subjected to no cross-examination, and any one accustomed to sift evidence will be at once struck with the improbability, on the one hand, of Flynn's permitting her to examine with any care questions which he wished to sell her before she had agreed to buy them, and,

on the other, of a person who broke down on the easy examinations for the civil service having so cool a head and so retentive a memory that she could bear in mind so as to recognize them, a list of questions at which she had but casually glanced. No doubt, if Miss Dabney is to be believed at all, Flynn represented the questions as those which would be used at the examination and, if they were really obsolete, tried to perpetrate a fraud upon her, but that Flynn should have lied and attempted to cheat is not, on the committee's showing, altogether improbable. It is true that the circumstances are decidedly suspicious, and that Campbell's motives for copying and Mrs. Smith's for asking him to copy questions which were obsolete, are certainly obscure; but until we can examine the whole evidence we cannot see that Campbell's guilt is now so clearly proven that Lyman and Oberly can be thus severely blamed for their inability to find it out before.

The other criticism of Mr. Lyman's conduct contained in the report seems to us on the whole just. The results of the investigation conducted by Messrs. Doyle and Webster at Milwaukee should have been immediately laid before the President, especially in view of the fact that it had been undertaken by Mr. Cleveland's express orders. All that can be said in Mr. Lyman's defence is that he was at the time in a very anomalous and embarrassing position, and that it was doubtful how far he would be sustained by the Administration in enforcing the law. There can, however, be no question that he ought to have done his duty at all events, leaving the subsequent responsibility where it belonged, *i. e.* on the President's shoulders.

The charges against Commissioners Roosevelt and Thompson were, with one exception, so puerile and silly that the vindication of these gentlemen by the committee, although gratifying, is almost superfluous. These charges were of interest only as illustrating how groundless is the prevalent impression that "practical" politicians are for the most part men of marked shrewdness and Machiavellian cunning. As a matter of fact it would be hard to find among educated Americans a more stupid class than the great bulk of our spoilsmen. The men who fabricated these foolish calumnies simply hadn't sense enough to know how preposterous they were. One would have thought that, before accusing the Commissioners of violating the law, they would have taken the trouble to read the law, and that former members of the Cabinet and present members of Congress could understand the English language well enough to know what so plain a law meant. Yet apparently they either didn't read it or couldn't understand what they read. Their one idea seems to have been to throw mud of any kind or from any source at the Commission, in the faint hope that by mere accident some of it might stick.

The one exception is the Shidy incident. This claims some measure of attention from fair-minded men. Postmaster Paul, of Milwaukee, and three of his subordinates, of whom Shidy was one, constituting his Board of Examiners, conspired together to manufacture false certifications so that the postmaster might make appointments in fraud of the Civil Service Law. Whether in so doing they committed a crime we do not know—if they did not, the law should be promptly amended; if they did, it should have been and should yet be rigorously enforced. In fact, the postmaster when exposed was not even dismissed from office, but allowed to resign, President Harrison making his customary feeble attempt to serve at once God and Mammon by

adding to the acceptance of his resignation the singular statement that "if he had not resigned he would have been dismissed." Before resigning, however, he had dismissed poor Shidy, who had made a clean breast of his share in the conspiracy, under a promise of protection from Messrs. Roosevelt and Thompson. Finding it impossible to keep him in his place after he had committed the crime of telling the truth, they secured him one in the Census Bureau, where he has discharged his duties faithfully and to the satisfaction of his superiors.

Now it is always a knotty problem what to do with or for criminals who turn State's evidence, and we can understand that there should be, as we know there has been and is still, some difference of opinion among the friends of honest government and pure politics regarding the propriety and expediency of thus providing Shidy with a government berth; but, as the report very justly and pertinently remarks, the Commissioners "did nothing in their official capacity in the matter of giving or securing Shidy employment, but as individuals, in view of his efforts to aid them, they recommended him to Mr. Porter, who gave him a clerkship." In other words, the only public officer responsible *as such* for Shidy's appointment is the Superintendent of the Census; Messrs. Roosevelt and Thompson recommended him for appointment, but, whatever may be thought of this recommendation, the committee had no more warrant to report about it than to report whether the Postmaster-General was really pirating the Encyclopædia Britannica.

Apropos de "Wannie," that saintly person appears in this affair in a light which must be very edifying to his Sunday scholars. When Mr. Roosevelt requested Mr. Porter to appoint Shidy, the latter very properly asked that the head of the department from which Shidy had been dismissed should signify his approval of the appointment, and this approval the Embodiment of Christian Virtue in Public Office very cheerfully gave. When summoned before the committee, however, he testified that he did this in ignorance of Shidy's past misdeeds, and that he would not otherwise have sanctioned by his approval the selection for public employment of a man with the latter's record. Being asked if he had not read the full report of Mr. Paul's misconduct submitted to him by the Commission, he said he had read it with reference to Paul but not with reference to Shidy. It was immediately shown that this was simply impossible, Shidy's name appearing as informant in well-nigh every paragraph which described Paul's actions. Now, however, the further fact has been developed that while one of Shidy's two companions in guilt has been removed, not because he was guilty but because he was a Democrat, the other still retains his position, so that although the good "Wannie" heard with horror of the wicked Shidy's getting a place under Porter through his incautious endorsement, he had all the time kept in a much better place under himself a man who had done everything that Shidy had done except own up to it. In most copies of the Christian Scriptures there is a commandment, "Thou shalt not bear false witness against thy neighbor," and also some very unpleasant remarks about "whited sepulchres" and the like. We have never heard that these passages were protected by an American copyright or otherwise unsuitable to appear in a photographic reprint, but for some reason they must obviously be left out of the expurgated edition used in the model Sunday School of the American Continent.

CORRESPONDENCE.

MR. MARINE'S SUBORDINATES.

BALTIMORE, June 10, 1890.

To the Editor of THE CIVIL-SERVICE REFORMER.

Sir:—The resolutions of the Maryland Civil Service Reform Association adopted at the annual meeting last month, and published in your June issue, in stating that the employes of the Custom House took an active part in the late Republican primaries, did an injustice to them and to Collector Marine. With a single exception, and he a person who has for a number of years been in the Government service in an extremely insignificant capacity, I have, after careful inquiry, failed to hear of any Custom-House employe who took any public part in those primaries. I regret that I was unable to attend the annual meeting, for I know that had the fact that the Committee on Resolutions had unwittingly confounded the actions of some employes of other branches of the Federal service, been called to the attention of the Association or of the Committee, the error would have been immediately corrected. I may add that I have every reason to believe that the Executive Committee, or any of the officers of the Association, can always upon application at the Custom House learn the causes for the dismissal of any employe in the classified service who has been discharged by Collector Marine.

Very respectfully,

A MEMBER OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE
OF THE C. S. R. A. OF MD.

MR. WIRT ON THE REFORM.

At the meeting of the Alumni Association of St. John's College, State Senator John S. Wirt, of Cecil County, delivered the annual address, his subject being "The Relation of the Alumni of St. John's as Men of Liberal Education to the Civil Service Reform Movement." He made a graphic statement of the effect of the spoils system in dwarfing the character of public men and in lowering the whole moral tone of the nation. He also showed its bad effects upon legislation. He defined the scope and effect of the movement, which was not, he said, a mere matter of examination. It meant that official patronage shall not be used to build up the power of a boss, to impair the freedom of elections or control the political action of citizens. It means that political assessments upon officeholders for campaign funds shall be stopped, and the true responsibility of the executive department of the Government shall be restored. The test provided is that of a common school education. If universal taxation for teaching the subjects covered by these examinations be justifiable, then to require excellence therein as a condition of appointment to the minor positions in the public service is a clear and obvious duty. The history of the movement in England and America was briefly sketched, and the prediction was made that the reform would be accepted in its entirety by the American people because it was fair and democratic.

Continuing, Mr. Wirt said: "In this country, since the Civil War, there has been a change of that sort which generates other changes—a change of generation. One chapter of our history is closed and another is begun; the 'brazen glories of war' give place to the difficult economic problems of peace. The adequate settlement of the complex questions of administrative and economic reform which now agitate the public mind seems to me to depend largely upon the ascendancy of instructed men in public life. Some of these questions involve large interests and arouse strong passions. Their successful solution will tax to the utmost our political sagacity, and will be the test of our capacity for self-government. Does this statement seem extravagant? Sir Henry Sumner Maine has the rare distinction of writing books which seem to change men's ways of thinking, and which are striking illustrations of Mill's aphorism that 'on all great subjects much remains to be said.' His 'Ancient Law' revolutionized the study of law by the application of the historical method of inquiry to the private laws and institutions of mankind. In his more recent essays on 'Popular Government' he applies the same methods to political institutions. His conclusions are by no means in the line of thought of the fervid Fourth of July orator. He shows that popular government has, as a matter of fact, proved itself to be extremely fragile, and of all kinds of gov-

ernment by far the most difficult. Its continued existence depends, he thinks, upon the ascendancy of the instructed classes in the conduct of political affairs and in skillfully applying the curb to popular impulses, rather than in giving them the rein. '*Vox populi* may be *vox Dei*,' but very little attention shows that there never has been any agreement as to what *vox* means or as to what *populus* means. In reality the devotee of democracy is much in the same position as the Greeks with the oracles. All agreed that the voice of an oracle was the voice of a god, but everybody allowed that when he spoke he was not as intelligible as might be desired, and nobody was quite sure whether it was safer to go to Delphi or Dodona.

THE INFLUENCE OF BRIBERY.

"There is one potent influence as old as the very beginning of political life which blocks the way to the true development of popular government and which threatens its very life. That influence is the bribery which is constantly used for the purpose of stimulating partisan action and of furthering the sinister designs of personal selfishness. It is done in two ways, first by the direct process of legislating away the property of one class and transferring it to another, and, secondly, by giving away the offices of the public service as rewards for partisan activity or personal service. An illustration of the first form is found in much of our tariff legislation, by which immense amounts of money are raised by taxation, to be afterward expended in schemes of wholesale bribery. The second and more insidious form of bribery is known as the 'spoils system,' a system which has been strongly entrenched in this country since the time of Andrew Jackson, when Senator Marcy proclaimed it a cardinal doctrine that 'to the victor belongs the spoils.' To the application of that principle to the appointments in the public service we owe a long list of national and municipal disgraces. I know of no single cause in our history which has contributed more to dwarf the mental and moral stature of our public men, and more encouraged venality and servility in those engaged in the public service, while it has lowered the whole moral tone of the nation. To make the skillful and corrupt manipulation of patronage almost the sole qualification for political station must, with occasional exceptions, produce a class of public men who are neither disposed nor able to deal with public questions with a view to the permanent interests of the country. For the most part such a system begets small men. The wire-puller usurps the place of the statesman. The office broker plies a thriving trade while the public interests languish. It is Mill, I think, who says that the tendency of representative government is towards 'collective mediocrity,' and if you will look over some of the debates in a recent volume of the Congressional Record you will conclude that of late the tendency of which Mill speaks has been fearfully accelerated. The work of the statesman is no less important now than in the past. If he is not so exclusively an educator of public opinion as he once was, he should be a leader of public opinion. If he can no longer decide what people must think in political matters, he ought to decide what they must think about.

ABLE MEN KEPT DOWN.

"We have just as many if not more able men than the preceding generation, but the machine debars them from public life, or the drudgery of office-broking repels them. The executive officers of our great commercial enterprises discharge responsible duties and wield a potent influence in society, for in all of these walks of private life there are incentives which appeal to the best and highest ambition. What inducement can be offered to such men to enter public life when they know that the chief duties of the average Representative in Congress, for instance, are to spend three-fourths of his time hanging around the departments at Washington beseeching the favor of a fourth-class postoffice for some faithful henchman, and the balance of his time mailing variously assorted packages of garden seeds to his admiring bucolic constituents? The few able men who succeed in spite of the system, and who are not content with doing small chores for their constituents, find a sort of

paralysis settling upon their efforts to secure attention to well-matured schemes of legislation. But subsidies and the river and harbor bill are fruitful sources of log-rolling, and every spoilsman is wide awake to secure his share of the 'boodle.' Few men of ability and independent thought do succeed, because the monopolists of patronage keep a toll-gate at every avenue to the public service, which is ever open to favor and shut to merit. But such corruption is necessary to party government, you say. Far be it from me to decry party government, under which our dearest civil and political rights have been won and maintained. I respect the robust partisanship which consists in the candid avowal of a principle and its fearless maintenance. But the direct result of the spoils system is the disintegration of party, if you define party to be an association of men who think alike concerning the republic. Subordinating principles to patronage, it robs parties of distinctive principles and substitutes as the bond of union the cohesive power of public plunder. Every political contest degenerates into a battle of the 'ins' against the 'outs.' Even in the first flush of success the enthusiasm of the victors is chastened by the thought that there are not enough offices to go around. That sad fact is the death's-head at the banquet and the fly in the ointment.

INSOLENCE OF THE MACHINE.

"In the insolence of power the machine, in defiance of public opinion, defiles the ballots of freemen, and tramples under foot the fundamental principles of representative government. At last by an uprising of the people the machine is overthrown and the boss relapses for a time into obscurity. The popular excitement subsides, and in a little while another boss rides into power by the aid of the machine. He, like his predecessor, is the product of the spoils system. Until that is overthrown, like the unfortunate nations of the East we have only effected a personal change in the tyrant, while the tyranny remains untouched. Our ancestors were wiser than we are. They removed the tyranny itself by a magna charta or bill of rights or an act of settlement. If we profit by their example we will lay to heart this lesson, that until the spoils system is overthrown we shall continue to have the boss, with all that the name implies, as a political factor. If we would be rid of him we must destroy the conditions which make bossism a possibility. This is just what the civil service reform movement proposes to do. Its object ought to commend it to every thoughtful man, and will commend it to the masses of the American people just so soon as they come to understand it.

AN ARMY OF OFFICIALS.

"Consider for a moment what a vast fund of corruption the offices of the country constitute when surrendered to the manipulation of adroit and unscrupulous men. There are employed in the civil service of the United States about one hundred and twenty thousand persons. If we add to this the persons employed by the States and municipalities, they number altogether more than a quarter of a million of persons employed in the civil service of the whole country. Think how important to the people is the selection of competent men to fill the ranks of this vast army of officials, in the proper discharge of whose duties the humblest citizen of the land may have a personal interest. The efficiency and improvement of our civil service ought to be one of the paramount studies of politics. Now, civil service reform means the application of business principles to the selection of these officials, that in order to enter the public service a man must show that he is competent. It means that official patronage shall not be used to build up and perpetuate the boss, to impair the freedom of elections, or to control the political actions of citizens. It means that there must be an end to political assessments upon officeholders, whereby the 'grandmother's fund' is replenished from the public treasury, and that if officeholders can afford such assessments their salaries ought to be reduced. It means the restoration of the true responsibility of the legislative and executive departments of the government as prescribed by the constitution. The head and front of its offending is that it suppresses official favor by requiring examinations and other tests of character and

capacity as the conditions of entering the subordinate places in the executive service.

CIVIL SERVICE PROVISIONS.

"The act of 1883, popularly known as the Pendleton Act, which was passed by large majorities in both Houses of Congress, provides for appointments upon the basis of competitive examination of the subordinate officials in the departments at Washington and all custom houses and postoffices where there are fifty or more employes. It has now been in operation for several years, and when honestly administered, by the concurrent testimony of all the executive officers familiar with its workings, has given good results in the improved character of the men appointed and in lessening somewhat the tremendous pressure for office. With the provisions of this act you are doubtless familiar, and it is unnecessary to recite them. The opponents of the system are wont to make merry over the abstruse questions of higher mathematics, of profound historical and philosophical research, which they say make up these examinations. They have sought, and with some success, to prejudice the masses by reiterating that the object of these examinations is to exclude all except college-bred men from the civil service. The fact is that there is nothing in the examinations beyond the scope of a common school education. The annual reports of the United States Civil Service Commission show that at least 65 per cent of all those who have entered the public service through competitive examination have been educated in the common schools alone, and that the average age of those appointed has been 32 years; that not a word of a foreign language nor a technical term of art or science, nor any example in algebra or geometry has ever been employed in any of these examinations. The experience in the States of New York, Massachusetts and various cities in the country where the system has been adopted is the same.

COMMON SCHOOL EDUCATION A TEST.

"The test, then, is that of a common school education. No one questions the right or the duty of the State to provide a common school education for all of its citizens. I hold that if universal taxation for teaching the subjects covered by these examinations is justifiable, then to require excellence therein as a condition of appointment to the minor positions in the public service is a clear and obvious duty. In his last message as Governor of New York, ex-President Cleveland says: 'New York leads the States in a comprehensive system of civil service. The children of our citizens are educated and trained in schools maintained at the common expense, and the people as a whole have the right to demand the selection for the public service of those whose natural aptitudes have been improved by the educational facilities furnished by the State.' Surely no one but the demagogue would seek to prejudice the people against the test of a common school education.

ONLY A BEGINNING.

"The Pendleton Act is only the first step. It is a mistake to suppose that competitive examination is the end-all and be-all of civil service reform. It is merely a means to an end. The ultimate aim of reform is the improvement in methods of administration, which constitutes three-fourths of government, and in the capacity and character of public servants in every station. It is essentially democratic. It aims to make the civil service of the country an honorable field of duty and ambition, open to all men of character and intelligence. It is this underlying principle of fairness which ought to commend it to every one except the machine politicians. No one understands more clearly than he does that civil service reform strikes at the very source and fountain of his power and influence by making public offices the reward of merit instead of allowing them to be used for his personal benefit. Hence his implacable hostility to every measure in the direction of this reform. So true is it

"'No rogue e'er felt the halter draw,
With good opinion of the law.'

"Meanwhile the good work goes bravely on. The battle is not won, indeed, but it has begun in earnest. The system has taken such a foothold in the Federal service, and in the greater States of New York and Massachusetts, that it is no longer possible to sneer at civil service reform as the hobby of literary enthusiasts. It has received the commendation of practical administrators. It has the support of the most intelligent and influential press of the country. Throughout the country associations have been formed and a literature created to inform the public mind of its true scope and purpose. If its friends do not relax their efforts from a sense of false security, the reform will be accepted in its entirety by the American people, and the day may not be far distant when it will seem just as absurd to require all clerks in the employ of the government to hold the political opinions of the party in power as it would be for a Baptist banker to require all of the clerks in his employ to believe in the efficacy of immersion. As I read the history of our mother-country, England, from whom we get our language, our literature and our free institutions, I see much to encourage me in the triumph of right principles of administration there.

AN ADVANCE TOWARDS DEMOCRACY.

"In the last half century the English nation has made a steady and pronounced advance towards democracy. The cause of administrative reform there was the cause of the people. It had a long fight, a hard fight, but it won at last against tremendous odds. It had against it the crown, the aristocracy, the wealth, and, above all, the settled habits and practice of thought of the English people. The first germs of it are found in Algernon Sydney's declaration that the magistrates were made for the State and not the State for the magistrate. And throughout a whole century we find identified with the cause the names of the foremost statesmen of their country and of the world. Party zeal certainly shows no abatement, and the 'fixed stipendiaries' of the English civil service do not obstruct their superior officers in any measure of reform. After all, civil service reform only proposes that we should return to the principles and practice of the early days of the republic. In the old times the questions asked of a candidate for office were: 'Is he honest?' 'Is he capable?' 'Is he faithful to the constitution?' Our public men, the unfettered choice of a free people and not the creatures of the machine, laid deep and strong the enduring foundations of this nation's greatness and prosperity. They gave very little attention to patronage, for it neither made nor unmade them. It was by no means a current opinion in those days among any considerable class of citizens that a man was entitled to anything in politics; that he was able to buy or sell from a railway franchise to the presidency of the United States. The popular idea of a statesman was rather that pictured by Wordsworth in the 'Happy Warrior':—

"Who, if he rises to station of command,
Rises by open means; and there will stand
On honorable terms or else retire.
And in himself possess his own desire;
Who comprehends his trust and to the same
Keeps faithful with a singleness of aim;
And, therefore, does not stoop nor lie in wait
For wealth or honors, or for worldly state;
Whom they must follow; on whose head must fall
Like showers of manna, if they come at all."

"Shall this generation endeavor to restore the ancient standards and make competency the condition of selection to public office and efficiency the condition of its retention, or shall we tamely confess that we are degenerate sons, without the courage or the patriotism of our fathers?"

ATTITUDE OF ST. JOHN'S ALUMNI.

"What shall be the attitude of the alumni of St. John's to a movement which appeals especially to educated men for support? Be assured that no more important question will be presented to you than your decision of what shall be your attitude toward the cause of the men who stand for honest and decent methods of administration. No question presents more distinctly to the people of this country and

of this State the perpetual issue between the higher and lower elements of political life. Can you afford to cast in your lot with those who seek to prejudice the country against all educational tests, even that of a common school education? Ought any thoughtful man to set his face blindly against a movement which confers new honors upon learning and a higher dignity upon simple manhood? If in the present as in the past the graduates of St. John's would bear aloft the torch of knowledge throughout the State, they will be found on the right side of this important question. We live in a time of loud disputes and weak convictions. Are we fully discharging our responsibility to society by doing our part as educated men to shape the opinions of our respective communities? That responsibility rests not alone upon the few who may rise to eminence, but upon all alike. The old notion of hero-worship, so eloquently preached by Carlyle, contains, after all, but a half truth. The world will never be able to spare its heroes or refuse to crown them with the laurels, but the permanent well-being of society must always depend largely upon the opinions and conduct of the men of average information and capacity. To quote the fine lines of Morley—

"We cannot, like the great saints of the churches and the great sages of the schools, add to those acquisitions of spiritual beauty and intellectual mastery which have, one by one, and little by little, raised man from being no higher than the brute to be only a little lower than the angels.' But what we can do, the humblest of us in this hall, is by diligently using our own minds and diligently seeking to extend our own opportunities to others, to help to swell that common tide, on the force and the set of whose current depends the prosperous voyaging of humanity. The alumni of St. John's, imbued with this spirit, would be everywhere throughout the State potent factors in the formation of right opinions on questions of public interest, and prove to the people of the State that St. John's is well worthy of their foster aid and care."

REPORT OF THE INVESTIGATING COMMITTEE.

THE Select Committee on Reform in the Civil Service who were instructed by the House, by resolution passed January 27, 1890, to investigate charges against the United States Civil Service Commission, and the workings and results generally of the civil service law, respectfully submit the following report:

On the 27th day of January of the present year the House passed the following resolution:

Whereas it is openly and repeatedly charged by persons of responsibility, and by prominent journals throughout the country, that the law pertaining to the civil service is being extensively evaded by the Civil Service Commissioners; and

Whereas charges of partiality shown by said Commissioners in making selections for appointments have caused uneasiness in the minds of many, and to such an extent that new legislation as to the manner of making appointments is advocated; and

Whereas it is deemed expedient that the acts and doings and practical workings of the said Civil Service Commission and the results thereof, and also the practical workings and results generally of the present law relating to the civil service, should be thoroughly investigated; Therefore

Be it resolved, That the Select Committee on Reform in the Civil Service is hereby authorized and directed to investigate said charges, and to examine and report the practical workings of the system, and to report the evidence and the conclusions thereon to the House, and that said committee is hereby authorized to send for and examine persons, books and papers, and administer oaths to witnesses, and to employ a stenographer; the expenses of said investigation to be paid out of the contingent fund of the House.

It was the judgment of the committee that the investigation should be conducted in two branches: the one to embrace the charges against the personal actions of the present and former Commissioners; the other branch of the inquiry to examine into the workings of the civil service law. Your committee has completed its examination relating to the first branch of the inquiry, going as far as seemed necessary to obtain a practical conclusion.

The charges against the Commission affecting the per-

sonal fitness of the present Commissioners were deemed proper by your committee to be investigated at once, and a report submitted to the House as speedily as possible, the same to be accompanied by a resolution.

The committee have examined twenty-four witnesses, and have come to the following conclusions, deduced from the testimony of those witnesses:

On the first charge, affecting the conduct, retention, and promotion of Alex. C. Campbell, the committee recite the following facts and conclusions which they have reached in the case:

It appears that the said Campbell (a brother-in-law of Commissioner Lyman) some time during the fall of 1887 copied certain arithmetical questions of the general examination series for departmental service, together with their answers, at the request of a Mrs. Isabella Smith, to whom he gave them. These papers came into the hands of one Flynn, a person engaged in coaching applicants for office about to take the civil service examinations. It appears from the evidence of Miss Emily M. Dabney that Flynn offered to sell these questions to her, she being about to take an examination. She refused to purchase them, attended the examination and failed. She recognized the questions as being the same shown to her by Flynn, and consequently these questions were used in the examination held December 3, 1887.

The attention of the Commission was called to the conduct of Campbell.

Mr. Oberly, Mr. Lyman, and Mr. Doyle severally investigated to a greater or less extent the charges preferred against Campbell, found him guilty of a breach of discipline, and he was reprimanded. But these gentlemen, as it appears from the testimony, failed to ascertain definitely whether the questions copied by Campbell and given to Mrs. Smith were obsolete or not. They gave it as their belief, however, that the questions were obsolete. It occurred that they directed their inquiry to ascertaining whether the copy of the questions was in the handwriting of Campbell—an inquiry that was of little consequence, if the questions were in fact obsolete.

The real offence consisted in copying and giving out questions that could be used in the examination to take place thereafter, and not in copying questions that were obsolete, and hence worthless to Mrs. Smith to use or sell. And it is not probable that Mr. Campbell copied questions and answers merely to give Mrs. Smith an idea of the character of the examination, since if that was so, it would have been quite enough to have copied the questions only. The omission to ascertain whether the questions were for use or to be used at an ensuing examination was a palpable neglect of duty, since the fact not inquired about was obviously the one controlling fact essential in determining the degree of Campbell's culpability.

Obsolete questions are published now. They might have been published then without injury to the public service. Not only is Miss Dabney clear and explicit in her statement that she recognized the questions shown her by Flynn to be the same that confronted her on the examination, but all the circumstances confirm her statement. Mrs. Smith could have no use for questions and answers, unless they were such as she could use for some purpose. Flynn could hardly have hoped to find a market for questions and answers that were obsolete; and it was not so important whether Campbell did the copying as whether what was copied was of consequence as pertaining to subsequent examinations.

It is clear to your committee that Campbell copied the questions, and that they were not obsolete. An investigation properly conducted would have disclosed the fact. If the administration of the civil service was not to fall into disrepute, Mr. Campbell should have been dismissed. His retention indicated gross laxity in discipline and shows that the administration of the Commission was not such at that time as to receive or merit public confidence.

One of the charges against the Commission was that Mr. Campbell was not only retained, notwithstanding his offence in the matter of copying and giving out the questions, but that he was promoted. In view of the fact that Campbell

had been guilty of conduct which was calculated to destroy confidence in the integrity of the administration of the Commission, his promotion would seem not to have been defensible. Mr. Lyman, however, implies that the conduct of Campbell in giving out questions cut no figure in the matter of his promotion; that that matter had been disposed of long prior to the promotion, by Mr. Oberly, to whom the charges against Campbell had been referred for investigation and such further action as the facts disclosed might warrant.

It was stated that Mr. Oberly did make the investigation, and condemned Campbell's conduct, and reprimanded him, and there was an end of the matter, and when the question of his promotion came up Commissioner Lyman seems not to have regarded Campbell's conduct with reference to the giving out of the questions he had copied as being an item worthy of consideration. It is admitted that it was a question for the Commissioners to determine what punishment should be visited upon Mr. Campbell in case he was found guilty of a breach of discipline, as he was; but your committee cannot avoid the conclusion that either the investigation was very superficial, and hence failed to disclose the gravity of the offence, or that the administration of the affairs of the Commission was not such as to commend it to favor; possibly both. It is submitted that if the Commission had discharged its duty with proper vigor and regard for the public it would have become manifest that Campbell's retention was not defensible, and it would seem to follow that if his retention was not proper his promotion was not warranted.

Your committee cannot accept as satisfactory the answer of Messrs. Oberly, Lyman, and Doyle that they believe that the questions Campbell copied were obsolete. The facts disclosed to your committee convince them that the omission to ascertain the truth was as reprehensible as to have disregarded it after it had been ascertained, and is little less culpable; and whether they failed through indifference or partiality to learn the facts, or, knowing them, failed to take such action as the public service obviously demanded, is not a matter of great consequence; the neglect of duty in either case is condemned.

It has been suggested that Commissioners Roosevelt and Thompson are deserving of censure for not having taken action in the Campbell case. Your committee do not share in that view. On the contrary, there is nothing in their conduct to challenge criticism. When their attention was called to the matter by the newspaper reports they called the parties concerned before them, separately and without the opportunity of their conferring with each other, and there was a concurrence of statement that the matter had been fully investigated and Mr. Campbell punished; and it being as to them *res adjudicata*, they did not take further action in the matter; and in that we think they were thoroughly justified.

Your committee has further investigated certain charges against the Commission in relation to the promotion of Edwin D. Bailey, another clerk of the United States Civil Service Commission, to the position of stenographer, and in relation to the appointment of Thomas Mitchell, of Connecticut, to a position in the Pension Office. They have found that the action of the Commission in both these cases was not contrary to the law and rules of the Commission, and in no way are they censurable.

A charge was also preferred against the Commissioners reflecting against the course pursued by them in the case of one Shidy, who was an employe in the postoffice at Milwaukee. It appears that Shidy was employed in the postoffice at Milwaukee, and was charged with the duty of conducting examinations, or at least in preparing the list of eligibles, from which appointments to positions in the Milwaukee office were made; that gross irregularities occurred in the preparation of the list of eligibles and the certification of names therefrom. It seems that Shidy acted under the direction of the postmaster in facilitating the appointment of certain applicants for positions in contravention of the plain letter and spirit of the civil service law.

The Civil Service Commission, learning of these irregu-

larities, reported the same to President Cleveland, who immediately directed a thorough investigation. An investigation was prosecuted by Webster and Doyle, employes of the Commission, and in the investigation it was made clear that the irregularities complained of really existed. Subsequently Messrs. Roosevelt and Thompson, who had been appointed members of the Commission, had their attention called to the violations of law in the Milwaukee office and proceeded at once to make a searching investigation. They summoned Mr. Shidy, who appeared before them, and expressed his willingness to testify fully as to what had taken place in the Milwaukee postoffice, but feared that it would result in his losing his situation, and as a consequence his means of livelihood, as he depended upon his salary for the support of himself and his family.

The Commissioners desired to have him state fully and in detail every fact essential to the exposure of the irregularities that had taken place, so far as the violation of the civil service law was concerned; and they further stated to him that they would use their influence to protect him and prevent his losing his situation as a result of his disclosing the truth. He did testify fully at length, and was useful in exposing the frauds that had been practiced in the Milwaukee office and vindicating the law. He was discharged by the postmaster for so doing; at least there seems to have been no other ground for his discharge. The Commissioners felt and it was apparent that Shidy was being punished for disclosing the truth and felt it to be their duty to aid him by their influence in securing employment, and thereupon recommended him for appointment in the Census Office, and he was appointed.

This recommendation for appointment was made the ground of criticism against the Commissioners, Messrs. Roosevelt and Thompson. Their conduct in this behalf is not exceptional, nor does it tend to the demoralization of the service. It would have been ground for criticism if, instead of keeping faith with the witness, they had permitted those who concealed the truth and assisted in the frauds to escape and retain their positions, and had suffered Shidy, who had been instrumental in exposing the fraud and bringing the truth to light, to be punished for so doing. The Commissioners insisted that the man who told the truth and assisted the Government in unearthing a fraud and vindicating the law should at least fare as well as those who did the reverse. For that reason they recommended the appointment of Shidy as aforesaid.

Your committee is unable to find anything to criticise in that behalf. They did nothing in their official capacity in the matter of giving or securing Shidy employment, but as individuals, in view of his efforts to aid them, they recommended his employment to Mr. Porter, who gave him a clerkship.

It is proper to say that the investigation of the alleged irregularities in the Milwaukee postoffice, conducted by Doyle and Webster, disclosed an utter disregard of the civil service law in this office. And the failure to submit the result of that investigation to the President indicates either a disinclination to discharge an obvious duty or a fear that such a report would subject the Commissioner to censure. If the former, it argues unfitness for the position; if the latter, it shows the administration of the Commission to have been unworthy of public confidence. On the reorganization of the Commission, by the appointment of Roosevelt and Thompson, the investigation into the abuses and the irregularities in the Milwaukee postoffice was had at once and was thorough.

With regard to the conduct of the Civil Service Commissioners in the matters submitted to your committee for investigation, we find, first, that Commissioners Roosevelt and Thompson have discharged their duties with entire fidelity and integrity; second, that the official conduct of Commissioner Lyman has been characterized by laxity of discipline in the administration of the affairs of the Commission, and is therefore censurable.

Your committee will proceed at once to investigate the workings of the system, and present a subsequent report when said investigation shall have been completed, together with a report of their conclusions.

We submit the following resolution:

Resolved, That a copy of the report and testimony taken before the Select Committee on Reform in the Civil Service, in the investigation of charges preferred against the United States Civil Service Commission, be forwarded to the President.—*Congressional Record*.

BEFORE AND AFTER.

"The men who abandoned the Republican party in 1884, and continue to adhere to the Democratic party, have deserted not only the cause of honest government, of sound finance, of freedom, of purity of the ballot, but especially have deserted the cause of reform in the civil service. *We will not fail to keep our pledges because they have broken theirs or because their candidate has broken his.* We, therefore, repeat our declaration of 1884, to wit: The reform of the civil service auspiciously begun under the Republican administration should be completed by the further extension of the reform system already established by law to all the grades of the service to which it is applicable. The spirit and purpose of the reform should be observed in all executive appointments, and all laws at variance with the object of existing reform legislation should be repealed, to the end that the dangers to free institutions which lurk in the power of official patronage may be wisely and effectively avoided."—*Republican Platform*, 1888.

"The law regulating the appointments to the classified civil service received my support in the Senate, in the belief that it opened the way to a much-needed reform. I still think so, and therefore cordially approve the clear and forcible expression of the convention upon this subject. The law should have the aid of a friendly interpretation and be faithfully and vigorously enforced. All appointments under it should be absolutely free from partisan considerations and influence. Some extensions of the classified list are practicable and desirable, and further legislation extending the reform to other branches of the service, to which it is applicable, would receive my approval. In appointments to every grade and department, fitness, and not party service, should be the essential and discriminating test, and fidelity and efficiency the only sure tenure of office. Only the interests of the public service should suggest removals from office. I know the practical difficulties attending the attempt to apply the spirit of the Civil Service Rules to all appointments and removals. It will, however, be my sincere purpose, if elected, to advance the reform."—*Harrison's Letter of Acceptance*.

"The Young Men's Republican Club of the Seventh Ward has adopted a set of resolutions endorsing the views of Hon. John S. Clarkson, First Assistant Postmaster-General, in opposition to the Civil Service Rules for making appointments. The club denounces the law, and the members say they believe it is un-Republican in spirit and principle and tends to establish an aristocracy of officeholders, and that it discriminates against the man who possesses only a common school education and in favor of the one who has had superior educational facilities. They declare that it violates the principle that all men shall stand equal before the law, in that it permits the higher grade officials to be appointed without submitting to any educational test, while those who aspire to the minor positions are required to solve problems having no relations whatever with the duties to be performed. The club believes that when the people decide through the ballot in favor of a change of policy and administration, they at the same time demand a change of men also, and that their friends, and not their enemies, should enforce the policy. The club denounces the retention in office of offensive Democratic partisans to the exclusion of true and tried Republicans. The club calls upon all Republicans throughout the State to array themselves in opposition to the law which debars the man of forty-five from holding a position under his party and permits the schoolboy in his teens to compete for and secure it.

"The club finally resolves not to support for Congress any candidate who is not pledged to the repeal of the obnoxious law."—*Balto. American*.

"The Active Republican Club of the First Ward has adopted resolutions that they are opposed to the Civil Service Law in all its forms; that they cordially endorse the views of the Hon. James S. Clarkson, First Assistant Postmaster-General, in regard to civil service; that they condemn the action of Mr. C. S. Freeberger, late Assistant Superintendent of Carriers, in his attitude towards the Postmaster of Baltimore, and would bring to his memory the Veazey administration, when he assisted in turning out of their positions upwards of forty-five carriers and twenty clerks within sixteen days, for no other cause than that they were Republicans, amongst whom were several ex-soldiers. The club endorses the attitude of Speaker Reed in his construction of the laws and rules of the House of Representatives."—*Baltimore American*.

THE SPOILERS AND THE NAVAJO INDIANS.

DURING the past month of May, which I have spent upon the Navajo Indian reservation, many facts of vital importance to the welfare of these Indians have come within my knowledge. I am anxious that they should be given to your readers, with a view not so much to exciting temporary interest as to securing, in some form, a permanent co-operation in the work of promoting the civilization of the Navajos. . . . The first and most important point of which I desire to speak concerns the present agent of the Navajos, Charles E. Vandever. Mr. Vandever, although a Republican, was appointed to this post during the latter part of Cleveland's administration. His was one of the few appointments of Indian agents in which politics were in no way concerned. The predecessor of Agent Vandever, who was also appointed under the Democratic administration, proved a lamentable failure. His lack of courage in dealing with the Indians, and his failure to perform his promises to them, excited their contempt and hatred, and imperiled his own life, while the wasteful and foolish expenditure on his part of \$12,000 voted by Congress for the construction of irrigating ditches brought discredit, and perhaps more than suspicions of dishonesty, upon his administration. The record of this man at the Navajo reservation was but another evidence of what may be expected from the spoils system of appointment. Mr. Vandever, the present agent, has been in office a little less than two years; during that time he has proved himself an admirable Indian agent, and undoubtedly the best, all things considered, that the Navajos have ever had. He has been scrupulously honest and careful in the handling of government property, discreet, courageous, and sympathetic in his dealings with the Indians. To one at all familiar with the past dealings of the government with the Navajos, and with the record of more than one of the agents who have been sent to them, the administration of Mr. Vandever, and the support which has been given it by the Indian office in Washington, are cause for great future hope. But the question may still be asked, Will the authorities in Washington retain the present agent, even if his good record continues, or will political considerations demand that his place be thrown as spoil to the politician, and will the past history of the government dealings with the Navajos be repeated? Such a policy is most fatal to the advance of Indian civilization.

To a people in the condition of the Navajos nothing can be done without an agent who is a good and strong man, and in whom the Indians have confidence. They see the government and white civilization through him; they send their children to school because he says that they should do so; they build houses or take other steps toward a more civilized way of living because he advises it; they look to him for protection against the continual attempts of white men living on the borders of the reservation to injure or defraud them. An Indian is murdered in cold blood by a white man or others are threatened with evictions from homes which they lawfully occupy outside the reservation. It is the agent who must redress these wrongs. In the case of murder referred to, had it not been for the reliance the Indians placed in Mr. Vandever, and his prompt action in taking steps for the prosecution of the murderer, they might have been led to take the law into their own hands, to avenge their wrongs, when very serious consequences would have ensued. Then, too, the success of any effort toward education through school or missionary work among people like the Navajos, for whom so little has been done, must in its inception depend largely upon the wise and hearty co-operation of the agent. He is the Indian's best and most efficient friend or his deadliest enemy. Why will not the government adopt the simple and sound policy that Indian agents shall neither be removed nor appointed for political reason, but solely with relation to efficiency and good conduct. Let the spoils system in Indian affairs be discarded, and let the simple common sense, indeed the gospel plan of rewarding every man according to his work, be adopted. Say to the State Senators and the Territorial Delegates who demand of the Interior Department Indian agencies as

pay for their henchmen: "Gentlemen, hands off! The United States Government is in honor bound to civilize its wards, and it cannot do so with the material you offer." Then and not until then will be seen a fair end of the Indian problem.

In another letter I will speak fully of the especial conditions on this reservation. This letter will have done enough if it makes the fact clear that the government's first duty to the Navajos is the retention and support of the present agent, so long as he continues his present policy. For the strong backing which Mr. Vandever has already received full acknowledgment is due Commissioner Morgan. Neither removals nor appointments of Indian agents for political and partisan reasons are attributable to General Morgan—indeed, the same may be said of him regarding all the minor appointments in the service which he controls. The appointment of Indian agents, however, while it rests nominally in the hands of the President and Secretary of the Interior, is practically given over to state and territorial politicians.

HERBERT WELSH.

PHILADELPHIA, June 13, 1890.

PROGRESS.

PUBLIC interest in civil service reform has increased sufficiently in Maryland to have attracted the attention of the Democratic editors. Witness this paragraph from their address:

Civil service reform under Republican rule is a mockery. The party has gone back to the worst days of Grantism, when nepotism reigned and public office was a reward for partisan political work of questionable character. Harrison has located in the federal service, as far as he could, all his relatives to the third and fourth degree, and while professing to favor civil service reform, he permits the law to be openly and shamefully violated, and himself was a party to it in postponing putting the railway mail service under civil service rules until nearly every Democrat was replaced by a Republican.

The Democratic party, upon the matter of civil service reform, is conservative. It would not build up a partisan civil service, nor a civil service aristocracy. All offices that give direction and interpretation to the policy and principles of a party should be at the disposal of the party in power. But as experience begets efficiency, mere subordinates should not be subject to change with every change in politics. The people are more concerned about the competency of the public service than in the political opinions of those whose duties are of a subordinate character. Before establishing civil service reform upon these lines, however, we would fill the minor places from among all parties, according to the ratio they bear to each other.

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NEW YORK, April 28, 1890.

I beg leave to inform the public that the subscriptions received in response to the call issued by this Committee have been sufficient to warrant it in proceeding with the work entrusted to it. A contract has been closed with Mr. DANIEL C. FRENCH of this city, for an heroic bronze bust, to be placed upon a column of rich Swedish granite. Mr. FRENCH's "Minute Man" at Concord, Mass., his "Thomas Starr King," just completed for the City of San Francisco, and his bust of "Emerson," are generally accepted as among the best works of this kind which have been produced in this country. The location of the monument cannot be determined upon until the model shall have been completed.

A small additional sum is desired to defray the expenses of the ceremonies of unveiling, etc., and subscriptions will still be received by the undersigned.

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THE MONTH.

THE foreign dispatches recently announced that the gangs of brigands infesting certain spots along the Mediterranean coast are protected by the police for a consideration. The result of this discovery was naturally a severe punishment to both sets of law-breakers. In our own free and enlightened country, however, the police and the policy-players, who may be regarded as coming pretty close to the brigand, play into each other's hands, and there is no one to make them afraid.

Two appointees of President Cleveland who were remarkable for their fitness for their posts were Messrs. Pearson and Hendrix, Postmasters respectively of New York and Brooklyn. Mr. Pearson was a Republican when Cleveland appointed him, and Mr. Hendrix a Democrat. Both men brought their subordinates to a high state of efficiency, and both were able to do this because of their determined resistance to spoils-hunters. Their superior officer, President Harrison, after making a solemn promise that in his appointments, "fitness, and not party service, should be the sole discriminating test," rewarded their fidelity by turning both of them out.

THE collapse of the "Administration wing" of the spoils-hunting element in the Republican party in Baltimore furnishes another proof of the often-demonstrated proposition that the use of patronage does more harm than good to its possessors. President Harrison gave the important posts of United States Marshal and Postmaster to Messrs. Airey and Johnson respectively. These gentlemen at once began and, until the primary, continued to use the patronage of their offices to build up a power in the Republican party. Their supporters were known as the "Johnson-Airey crowd" or the "Administration wing" of the party. They organized and worked for the control of the party machinery, and the common belief was that their ultimate object was the election of delegates to the next Republican National Convention who would favor the renomination of General Harrison for the Presidency. In view of the present management of Republican politics, there will be few who will think that this belief did them injustice; and we are not among that minority. But if this was the object, never was an effort less fruitful. For, when the State Central Committee met the other day, every candidate for membership put up by the "Administration wing" was defeated, and twenty-one new members were added to that body who are proclaimed as adherents of Henderson, a man whom the President refused to appoint as Postmaster, while Mr. Hodson, another rejected candidate for Federal office, was made chairman of the committee. The *Sun*, in reviewing the situation, said:

"The success of the Henderson faction adds twenty-one anti-Administration members to the State Central Committee. Their friends will probably be selected at the next primaries to compose the next State Central Committee, which in turn will have charge of the primaries to select delegates to the State Convention, which will choose

delegates to the National Convention. Under these circumstances the friends of the Administration will have some difficulties with which to contend to secure Maryland's vote for the renomination of Mr. Harrison."

THE recent gathering of progressive Democrats from all parts of the State to confer upon the best means of agitating tariff reform in Maryland is certain to be productive of good. We have suffered of late in Maryland for want of an intelligent discussion of the problems of our politics, largely, of course, because our press was choked by the Gorman ring. But the tariff reform clubs now formed and forming make discussion one of their objects and furnish the means for carrying it on. Moreover, the association of the reform element in Baltimore, which is now active in the central organization, cannot fail to do good in bringing about a *rapprochement* between the Baltimore reformers and the county Democrats which will be useful in our future contests for the improvement of our boss-ridden city government. A danger to be feared, however, is that Gormanism, which has become influential in the local clubs throughout the State. This danger is increased by Mr. Gorman's recent and complete change of attitude towards tariff reform, announced in his speech in the Senate on July 29. He is evidently preparing to use the newly awakened interest in tariff reform to ensure his return to the Senate eighteen months hence. In that speech he adroitly explained his lukewarmness in Mr. Cleveland's second campaign as due to his belief that in 1888 the people were not ready to discuss the tariff; but now that public sentiment has advanced, he professes himself as good a tariff reformer as anybody. Doubtless we shall see him frequently in this rôle hereafter, for he is quite shrewd enough to know that in the heat of passion now rising over tariff reform and the regulation of Southern elections by Federal agents, our people may lose sight, not only of "Arthur's" unfitness for his position in the Senate, but of the misgovernment which he and his associates have inflicted upon this State and this city. Extravagance in street-cleaning and in paving, stuffing ballot-boxes, bribery in the city council and in the legislature, the ruin of the canal, and the spoliation of the treasury, will all be forgotten, if Mr. Gorman can excite sufficient feeling over the Tariff Bill and the Force Bill. So far as our small efforts may go, however, these matters will continue to be brought before the public.

THE *Sun* recently quoted the Mayor as saying that it would be a great saving to the city if it had its own electric light plant. He added, "The city now pays about \$260,000 annually for electric and gas lighting. A plant to serve the whole city would not cost more than \$2,000,000. This at 3½ per cent for the money would be \$70,000 per annum. Estimating other expenses for lighting at \$30,000, the total would be \$100,000. The saving to the city each year would be from \$100,000 to \$150,000. In addition to this saving, the city with its own plant lighting all the streets by electricity could do away with the expense of maintaining 128 lamplighters."

This is doubtless theoretically correct, but a "reformer"

like the Mayor, who is nothing if not "practical," ought to make a liberal allowance in his estimate for "politics." He should remember that his eminent predecessor, Mayor Hodges, not long ago vouched for it, that because of the uncertainty of tenure of the places in our city government it is almost impossible to get good men to serve it. Consequently the management of an electric light plant by political appointees would be less efficient than that of a private company. Besides, the current rate of wages paid by our city government, partly because of this very uncertainty of tenure, and partly to allow of assessments for campaign funds, is so high as to make its undertakings far more costly than private management of any enterprise. These considerations, of course, do not touch the question of possible stealing. They are advanced only to show that, with the best intentions, the Mayor overlooks the patent fact that progress in our city government is always blocked by the spoils system.

HARPERS' WEEKLY takes to task the Springfield *Union*, for the sentiment, "Party politics has nothing to do with individual honesty," which was expressed by the latter journal in reply to some criticisms of Senator Quay. This, from a representative of the "party of moral ideas," is somewhat singular, or would be, but for the declaration of another eminent member of the same party, Senator Ingalls:

The purification of politics is an iridescent dream. The decalogue and the golden rule have no place in a political campaign. The object is success. To defeat the antagonist and expel the party in power is the purpose. This modern cant about the corruption of politics is fatiguing in the extreme. It proceeds from the tea-custard and syllabub dilettanteism, the frivolous and desultory sentimentalism of epicenes.

But if morals have no place in politics, if we may take an embezzler to lead our forces, and may disregard the decalogue in our methods, where shall we stop? Grant that one side may properly buy a victory at the polls, or obtain victory by cheating, may not the other side with equal propriety resort to force to seat its candidates? And so soon as that step is taken, then follows the anarchy of the Central American States, and civilization and progress desert us. The truth is that the contest for good morals in politics is only a part of the struggle everywhere raging between good and evil. If the evil triumphs in politics, its triumph in every other relation of life must soon follow, and society must come to an end.

THE LATE BUSINESS MEN'S DEMOCRATIC ASSOCIATION.

WHENEVER we have had occasion to discuss the relations of the Business Men's Democratic Association to the bosses and the elections of last autumn, we have done so, unhesitatingly, upon what we supposed to be the obvious state of facts, viz.: that the Association was, simply what Mr. Cowen so aptly called it, an "Annex to the Ring." We have never ceased to hold that the Association was just as responsible as the bosses themselves, for the obnoxious measures which were introduced into the Legislature last winter, and for the obstructions so persistently thrown in the way of proper legislation. This assumption of ours has from time to time been treated as involving a very unjust and invidious reflection upon the Business Men's movement. Doubtless there were gentlemen engaged in that movement, who would never have consented to join it,

if they had anticipated such results. But that we have made no mistake in assigning to the Association, itself, precisely the position referred to, ought, we think, to be now considered as finally and officially settled.

It appears that some partial friends of the Business Men's Democratic Association had ascribed to it a control over the last canvass, at which the "regular Democracy" naturally took umbrage. Accordingly, Mr. Harry Wells Rusk, the Chairman of the Democratic City Executive Committee, has deemed it necessary to set the minds of the party and the public right, on a point so largely involving the dignity of the august body over which he presides. In the *Sun* of July 19th he avails himself of the local columns, to make the following statement, in an interview reported. This statement, being printed within quotation marks, is, we presume, in Mr. Rusk's own words. It is as follows:

"The present Democratic City Executive Committee was elected by the Democratic voters of Baltimore at the primary election last year, held under the direction and control of the State Central Committee, the highest authority in party affairs. The State Central Committee directed that at the State primaries held in this city last year, the Democratic voters of each ward should elect one member of the Democratic City Executive Committee, and that the members so elected, together with the city members of the State Central Committee, should organize as the Democratic City Executive Committee, and choose a chairman, secretary and treasurer, either from among or outside of their membership. The directions of the State Central Committee were strictly complied with, and the present Democratic City Executive Committee was organized and holds power until the State primaries next year, when the members of a new committee will be elected in the same manner as the present one. *As to a statement that the present committee had surrendered its powers last year to the Business Men's Democratic Association, that statement is utterly without foundation.* The members of the Business Men's Democratic Association participated in the primary elections held under our sanction and control, and many of their members were elected as delegates to the general Democratic Nominating Convention ordered by my committee and called to order by myself. After the nominations were made the active detail work of the campaign was at once taken up by the Democratic City Executive Committee and the campaign carried to a successful issue by us at the November election. The Business Men's Democratic Association did form an executive committee of their own, which was ably officered, and rendered us valuable service, but always acted in strict harmony with and subordinate to the regularly constituted party authorities. This City Executive Committee never has surrendered its authority, and cannot do so, except to the Democratic voters who elected it."

We presume that, after this, the "subordinate" relation of the Business Men's Democratic Association to the Gorman Ring will be no longer open to dispute.

POLITICAL INDEPENDENCE AND PARTY FEALTY.

THE failure of the Harvard Alumni to re-elect Mr. Henry Cabot Lodge overseer is not a matter of vital moment either to him or to the University, much less to the country, nor are its causes far to seek. Although Mr. Lodge is, we believe, himself one of those called by General Butler the "kid glove and daily bath men" of Boston, he is, for reasons to be briefly indicated hereafter, apparently unpopular with the class, and, as this includes the bulk of Harvard graduates, its prejudice found safe and harmless expression in voting for somebody else. He was defeated, as he might have been black-balled at a club, not because he was thought in anywise unfit for the place, but because a certain number of his fellow-alumni didn't like him and wished to show him

they didn't. As a politician the "persecution" is more likely to help than to hurt him. No small part of General Butler's political stock in trade consisted in posing as "a man of the people" hated by aristocrats, and if Mr. Lodge covets the rôle of a Marino Faliero done to death (as a Harvard overseer) by the selfish oligarchy to which by birth he belongs because, in its eyes, he loves the people overmuch, we think he has as fair a claim to the part as Ben had to the one he played. His defeat, we must own, appears to us a decidedly small business; but this is not the view taken of it by our cotemporary, *America*. "The fact is," that journal says in its issue of July 10, "Mr. Lodge's best friends in Massachusetts and throughout the country have been disgusted over his exhibition of a lack of steadfast moral convictions in his course as a representative of the scholar in politics. His public career has been a striking instance of how a man of high culture and worthy associates has been quick to see the right and approve it, too, and who condemned the wrong, and yet never hesitated to pursue it for his own self [sic] ends and ambition." This passage would have lost nothing in either force or clearness if the person "of high culture and" (presumably) "worthy associates" who wrote it had paid a little more attention either to grammar or to proof-reading, but its meaning is sufficiently evident to be somewhat startling. The wicked Lodge has been, it would seem, for years shamefully sinning against the light. Although a "representative of the scholar in politics" (whatever that may be) with all the immense, if somewhat vague, advantages of "high culture," he has, while "approving the right" and "condemning the wrong," yet "never hesitated" to engage in the most nefarious schemes, inspired by the least creditable motives, until at last his "worthy associates" have cried out with one voice,

*Indignus, indignus est intrare
Nostro docto corpore—*

—at least a second time as overseer. "Whence such angers in celestial minds?" What, after all, is the full measure of the sinner's transgression? This *America* does not tell us, and, left to conjecture it from our own imperfect acquaintance with recent history, we might be excused if we were a little puzzled. Mr. Lodge entertains some opinions which *America* does not, perhaps which we do not share, but his personal integrity is unquestioned. He has been a most useful member of Congress, and to his counsel and influence we owe much of the little in General Harrison's administration which can be regarded by an honorable and intelligent man with other feelings than contemptuous indignation. Serious doubts are indeed entertained as to the constitutionality and grave misgivings felt by unprejudiced persons as to the probable results of the bill to regulate Federal elections which he introduced in the House. We are not called upon to discuss the merits of this measure, and, in fact, could not do so with propriety; but surely the suggestion that to support or originate it involves the "exhibition of a lack of steadfast moral convictions" sufficient to "disgust" its author's "best friends throughout the country," is little less than absurd. If this bill were the cause of his defeat, there would be some reason to say that the alumni discriminated against him on strictly political grounds.

We are, however, quite ready to acquit them of this, for we regard their vote as simply a protest, not, in our opinion, very appropriately or judiciously expressed, against sacrificing entire independence of thought, speech and action

in politics to considerations of party necessity or advantage. Whether Mr. Lodge can be justly accused of so doing, it is not our present purpose to inquire. As a matter of fact, he is thus accused, whether justly or unjustly, and that a slight, however trivial, should for this reason be put upon a public man of such fair promise and eminent services, while a regrettable incident in itself, is one among many symptoms of the growing and wholesome sensitiveness of public opinion in this regard. Nor must it be supposed that this "morbid fastidiousness" (to use the designation approved by our great local authority on such matters) is confined to those he would call the "academic pharisees" of New England. However "incongruous" it may seem to Mr. Hodges and perhaps to others, the voters of Oregon, if the recent election there be taken as a test, have grown as captious as the most "irregular" of our Jeffersonians. Mr. Herman was re-elected to Congress by the unexpectedly large plurality of 8000, while the Democratic candidate for Governor had a plurality of some 3000 over a competitor strongly suspected of purchasing his nomination, and certainly identified with the least reputable element of his party. Fifty-five hundred votes, about one-twelfth of the whole number cast, were lost and gained by a bad nomination. In Maryland an equivalent result might simultaneously give the dominant party 25,000 majority on National, and the opposition 10,000 on State issues. It is true that eleven days before his election Mr. Herman had voted for the McKinley bill, and a few enthusiastic ultra-protectionists have discovered in this fact an explanation of his success; but we feel justified in expressing as to this an incredulity shared, we are confident, by all or the immense majority of our readers. This election may indeed be claimed with much plausibility to show that the agitation for tariff reform, where no immediate and tangible effect on local interests is involved, as was, we presume, the case in Oregon, will not prove a solvent of existing party affiliations to the extent anticipated by its more sanguine advocates, but a far more obvious moral is the proved readiness of so large a body of citizens to vote against their party if their party will not give them a candidate worthy of their votes.

That this readiness is not exhibited throughout the country yet more generally and decisively than it is, is due, we believe, in some measure, to a seeming dilemma which, under existing conditions, always confronts political malcontents. "Before you desert your party," they are told with much show of reason, "at least *try* to make it better: with what justice can you complain that bad men get nominated at the primaries or convention, if you and those like-minded with you will neither vote at the former nor be chosen to the latter? If good men stand obstinately aloof from the party organization, can they plead the fact that it has fallen into bad hands as an excuse for leaving it?" When, however, the dissatisfied Democrat or Republican *has* tried to make his party better and failed; when he has voted with the minority at the primaries, or run for the convention and been beaten or elected only to be afterwards outvoted, he is plied with another class of arguments against independent action. "What!" exclaims the "regular," indignantly, "do you mean to say that when you have gone into a primary you do not intend to abide by its results? When you have even attended the party convention as a delegate and have attempted to influence its choice, you now pretend to repudiate that choice only because this is distasteful to you! Had your candidate been nominated,

assuredly you would have expected us to support him: are you any the less bound in honor and conscience to support our man, who is now the duly chosen nominee?" In Baltimore, Independents have been furnished a convenient reply to these expostulations by the gross frauds notoriously practised at well-nigh all the primaries which have been held in the city for many years, and on the same principle, whenever a party nomination has been secured by the promise or actual distribution of public offices to those whose assistance may have been, at any stage in the process, necessary to the nominee, it surely binds no one, since there can be no obligation to respect a verdict or an award confessedly obtained through bribery, whatever may be the form of the bribe. But the question, What should an honorable man do who, having, *exempli gratia*, allowed himself to be chosen a delegate to a nominating convention, finds a wholly unfit person fairly selected as the party's candidate and opposed by a competitor of the adverse party well qualified for the office to be filled? is of serious and practical importance, and we propose to answer it.

To do this it is only needful to bear in mind what political parties are, or at least ought to be, to discharge the useful and, indeed, vital function entrusted to them in a representative government. When the people of the United States have to choose a President, the huge, unwieldy mass of twelve or fifteen millions of voters would be simply helpless were there no system of organization by which citizens could first compare and harmonize their views, ascertain and register their individual preferences, eliminate candidacies plainly hopeless, and, in fine, submit to the electors a problem capable of solution. The national conventions of our great parties and all the elaborate mechanism by which these are formed and their action governed, constitute this system. When each convention meets, its sole legitimate business is to put before the country the names of two men suitable, in the judgment of a majority of its delegates, to be President and Vice-President respectively, and it has no greater authority than is needed for this purpose. Some conventions have passed resolutions pledging all their members in advance to support the nominees. How far, if at all, such a resolution would bind those voting for it might be an interesting question for casuists, but certainly no one would contend that it bound those who voted against it. The convention can pledge no one to anything except its candidates to the promises of its platform; the delegates can have no greater obligation imposed upon them than that they assumed by becoming delegates. What, then, is the extent of this obligation? Obviously, by consenting to serve, each of them tacitly undertakes to support for election, if nominated, the candidate whose nomination he shall advocate in the convention, for, if he does not intend to vote for the party's nominee, however good, he has clearly no business in its convention at all, and if he recommends for nomination a man he thinks unworthy of the office, he does his duty neither as a delegate nor as a citizen. But he makes no undertaking in the event of a nomination which he shall oppose. We do not consider Tammany an exemplar of political morality, but its representatives were guilty of no bad faith when they attended the convention which nominated Lucius Robinson for Governor, distinctly announcing that if he were the nominee they would withdraw and oppose him at the polls. It is begging the question to ask a delegate why, if he isn't a Republican or a Democrat, as the case may be, he claims a voice in deter-

mining who shall be the Republican or the Democratic candidate: a conscientious citizen cannot be sure whether he is *pro hac vice* a Republican or a Democrat, or neither, until the party nominations have been actually made. He may fairly call himself a member of the party with which he expects to act, but by so doing he in nowise engages to act with it if it disappoints his hopes. We are aware that some men of scrupulous integrity consider a delegate morally bound to support an objectionable candidate unless the latter's unfitness is so glaring that his choice could have been expected by no one when delegates were originally selected, because, whether rightly or wrongly, those he represents as a delegate expect him to do so and would not otherwise have made him a delegate; but we have never been able to understand this contention. Surely a promise implied from conduct can be no more sacred than a promise expressed in words, and, however distinctly and solemnly a man may pledge himself to do a wicked act, in this case to vote in a certain contingency against his conscience and what he believes to be the public good, although it is no doubt wrong to make the promise, it is not wrong to break it by doing what is right. A man of sensitive honor may reasonably hesitate to act as delegate if thereby he is exposed to misconstruction. It may be a wise precaution to remove in advance all doubt as to what he means and does not mean to do; but, whatever he may have done or said or others may think or expect, no amount of sophistry can affect his paramount duty to his country.

We have discussed the case of a delegate to a national convention because it furnishes a crucial test to determine the limits of proper party fealty, but the same principles apply to all citizens and all phases of political action. A party is an instrument intended to secure good government, and while it fulfils its purpose it is a good thing to be cherished by good men. When, however, it becomes a hindrance to good government and the instrument of unscrupulous men to secure their own selfish advantage, it is no more entitled to respect or affection than Ali Baba's Forty Thieves, and becomes simply a nuisance to be abated. The fact that an organization bearing the same name has done good once, and that the present organization might conceivably be made, under other conditions and in other hands, a means of good hereafter, are altogether beside the question. We have to dispose of a party as it is now: its past may be left to sentimentalists, its future to prophets. The Republicans of Pennsylvania must deal with a party controlled by Quay, the Democrats of Maryland with a party controlled by Gorman: what the latter think of the party founded by Jefferson and Madison or the former of the party which preserved the Union and destroyed slavery is of speculative interest only.

In saying this we recognize that in each case a distinction must in fairness be drawn between the party itself and the corrupt and designing men who have seized on its government. *Life's* joke about Mr. Harrison's spelling incubus with a Q expresses fairly enough the relation of either "boss" to the organization he discredits and abuses, but the distinction is as one drawn between the government of Queen Victoria and the government of Lord Salisbury and his colleagues. To "smash" the boss we must be willing to strike the party: the blow may be, indeed, the means of its redemption. There is a curious incapacity in our parties to get rid of their vampires by any movement from within. Mr. Harrison may think Quay an incubus, yet he meekly

surrenders into his hands the patronage of Pennsylvania. It is hard to believe that there was ever much real sympathy between Cleveland and Gorman, yet we know to our cost that Gorman was omnipotent with Cleveland as to the offices here. Had the revolt of 1885 in Maryland succeeded, the subsequent course and fate of the last Administration might have been different. Should Pattison be elected in November, this Administration will be released from an irksome and unseemly yoke. While such senatorial barons control the dominant party within their several States, a President of the same faith (as politics are now) cannot afford to quarrel with them, and while they control the Federal patronage their supremacy within the party can hardly be shaken. Those who would free their party must be prepared to purify it by defeat.

It is an interesting question, although one of expediency only, whether this can be better done, as the Independent Republicans of Pennsylvania did in 1882, by setting up a candidate who may draw enough votes from the regular nominee to let in that of the opposing party, or by frankly supporting the last, as they are doing now. In New York Tammany defeated Governor Robinson by the former tactics: the malcontent Republicans overwhelmingly defeated Folger by the latter. A vote for a candidate foredoomed to defeat is in truth but half a vote against the man really to be beaten, but strong popular prejudice may sometimes make it as easy to get three half votes thus as one whole vote by the alternative method. In the latter's favor, however, is one consideration entitled to great weight: by adopting it the Independents can influence the action of the adverse party far more effectively. Had not the mugwumps of 1884 been expected to vote for Cleveland, it is at least open to question whether Cleveland would have been the Democratic nominee: had Quay's enemies proclaimed their intention under no circumstances to vote for the Democratic candidate, that candidate might very probably have been Wallace. We are not tempted to speculate about what may or may not happen in Maryland a year hence, but those who are may profitably bear in mind that there would be no great gain in putting up somebody to insure the defeat of Free Rasin's candidate if at the same time we insured the election of, say Jim Caulk's; and that while three years ago and again last year discontented Democrats had Republicans to vote for who were worthy of their votes, it was known in advance each time that to such Republicans their votes would be given.

SECOND REPORT OF THE SPECIAL COMMITTEE OF THE NATIONAL CIVIL SERVICE REFORM LEAGUE.

PATENT OFFICE.

THE Patent Office is a bureau quite unique in its character. Having to deal with the claims of inventors, it reaches nearly every manufacturing interest in the country; and there is a great body of mechanics and skilled artisans who are concerned in its proper administration and keenly watchful of its proceedings. The possession of a patent is often the only hope which a mechanic can cling to for a permanent betterment in his condition. The duties of most of the higher officials in the Patent Office are largely judicial in character. Though appeals are allowed from their decisions, yet a large number are not appealed from, and are therefore final; and for the performance of these judicial duties there is need of freedom from partisan politics and a reasonable degree of security of tenure during honesty and

efficiency, and a hope of promotion for special ability. There is even less reason why these offices should be "political" than that the United States district or circuit judges should be "political," though in such positions as those of the Patent Office changes should be allowed where it is clear the efficiency of the office is to be thereby increased; and, on the other hand, no political influence should shelter incompetent or dishonest men from removal.

The head of the office is a commissioner, having associated with him an assistant commissioner; a law clerk, who aids in the judicial labors; a chief clerk, who is the principal administrative officer of the bureau; a finance clerk, in whose charge are the revenues of the office; a librarian; an examining corps, consisting of about one hundred and eighty persons, who investigate the claims of applicants, to determine what is new and patentable in their inventions; and about three hundred and sixty other employes, clerks, copyists, draughtsmen, laborers and messengers, distributed chiefly among four principal divisions. The first of these divisions, which is under the supervision of the chief clerk; receives, registers and distributes all applications for patents, and has charge of interference and appeal records and the general correspondence of the office, as well as of the models and scientific library, and attends to the financial duties of the office; the second, or "issue and gazette division," prepares patents for delivery, and issues the *Official Gazette* and other official publications; the third, or "draughtsman's division," has charge of the drawings, printed patents, photo-lithographic copies, and rejected and abandoned applications; and the fourth, or "assignment division," registers the transfers of patents, attends to the making of manuscript copies, preserves files of caveats, etc. Each of the last three divisions is under the control of a chief of division. The revenues of the Patent Office average about \$4000 to the working day, and represent fees paid for patents, for the registry of assignments, the purchase of patent publications and copies of specifications of American and foreign patents, and of American applications for patents, and of manuscript decisions of the judicial officers of the Patent Office. Between the commissioner of patents and the examining corps there exists an intermediate tribunal, known as the board of examiners in chief, composed of three members appointed by the President, which entertains appeals from the adverse decisions made by the principal examiners; and from the adverse decisions of this board an appeal lies to the commissioner in person. Aside from these proceedings a vast number of interlocutory appeals arise, which concern the methods of practice under the rules; and these are taken from the principal examiners directly to the commissioner in person. It will be perceived that the office of commissioner unites duties which are administrative and judicial, and demands, not merely a good lawyer, familiar with science and mechanics and with the application of legal principles, but at the same time a man of unusual executive capacity.

MR. MONTGOMERY'S ADMINISTRATION.

The beginning of the present administration found this whole bureau in the control of spoilsmen, as far as the civil service law would allow it to be. They were in possession, both above and below the classified list, of nearly all the offices on which they could lay their hands. It would be no injustice to Mr. Montgomery, the first commissioner appointed by President Cleveland, to say that he entered the office without any experience in matters of patent law, and knew next to nothing of the practice and needs of the office. He appointed his brother as his confidential clerk, to distribute the offices of the bureau among some of the more influential Congressmen. President Cleveland appointed as assistant commissioner, presumably upon political influence, the brother of a Democratic Senator who had served in Congress and had been chairman of the committee on patents. He was not a lawyer, and was without experience in the duties of such an office.

The appointment of the law clerk by the commissioner was also purely a matter of patronage. This was a position

for which, during many years previous, the appointment had been made from members of the examining corps, detailed by personal selection of the commissioner. The duties of law clerk are not defined by law. He is an assistant to the commissioner; and, although he cannot render decisions finally, he acts as a sort of referee, who advises the commissioner on matters of fact and questions of practice which the latter officer cannot find time to examine in detail. It often happens that an efficient law clerk will prepare decisions which are afterwards signed by the commissioner upon inspection and approval. When cases go to the courts on appeal, the law clerk is the representative of the patent office. The variety and character of the work and the dignity of the place aroused the ambition of all those members of the lower examining corps who had some legal training, and made them eager to fit themselves in law and perform their duties well, in the hope that they might some time be selected for this position. This incentive had developed a splendid *esprit de corps* among these men, who were thus encouraged to engage in the study of patent law.

This position of law clerk had been held successively by men who have attained prominence at the patent bar. Only one exception had been made to the rule of appointing to this office by promotion from the lower positions in the examining corps. On that occasion the law clerk was chosen from outside the office, and it was the cause of much discouragement among the examiners, who thus saw their own hopes of promotion taken away. This was the only exception until the administration of Commissioner Montgomery, who appointed the law clerk from outside and upon political grounds. This new law clerk was entirely inexperienced in the duties of the place, and could make no pretensions to being well qualified to perform them. This was a disastrous blow to the ambition of the examiners, who sought this promotion as a reward for the faithful performance of their duty. Another place which had been held up as the prize of efficiency under former commissioners was that of examiner of interferences, a sort of court of first instance where trials are had by conflicting claimants upon proofs regularly introduced. This was also filled from the corps of examiners before Mr. Montgomery became commissioner. Under him, however, the new examiner was appointed from outside the office. Up to the time of his appointment he knew little about the working of the patent office, and was not greatly experienced in patent law; but he has doubtless acquired considerable experience during his service. He remains in office.

Commissioner Montgomery also reduced two out of the three chiefs of divisions to \$1800 clerkships, and filled the places of these chiefs by men from the outside, politicians of influence, but without experience, the men reduced doing the bulk of the work. One of the new appointees brought considerable scandal upon the office. He also still holds his position.

Another remarkable practice was begun under Commissioner Montgomery. The offices of fourth assistant examiners (whose duties properly related exclusively to the examination of patents) were in many instances filled by clerks who were still retained at their clerical work, and did no duty at all as assistant examiners, although they were classified as such. At one time there were no fewer than twenty of these clerks who had thus been transferred to fourth assistant examinerships, the duties of which position they did not perform. This weakened perceptibly the examining corps and impaired the efficiency of the office. Your committee was for some time at a loss to understand any motive for this transfer, as both these clerkships and examinerships were embraced in the classified service, and so could not be filled with political favorites; but your committee afterwards learned that the clerkships vacated by this transfer were filled by promotion from a lower grade, that the ranks from which these places were recruited were in their turn filled by a special examination for examiners' clerks, and that a number of persons appointed without competitive examination as "skilled laborers" had been detailed for duty as examiners' clerks, and had thus acquired a knowledge of the duties of that office, which gave them peculiar advan-

tages for passing the special examination for it. Thus, by making a political favorite first a "skilled laborer" and then giving him a "special" examination, he could obtain a clerkship from which political favorites were usually barred by open competitive examinations. These irregularities and perversions of the law could not but be followed by disastrous results.

DECLINE IN EFFICIENCY.

The work of the Patent Office under these conditions steadily declined in efficiency. The examining corps had been under the control of the competitive system for a number of years, and it was mostly beyond the reach of political influence. The principal examiners, of whom there were twenty-eight, were officials whose salaries ranged above that fixed by the classified service; but the commissioner doubtless recognized that to remove these men of long training to make place for politicians would cause inextricable confusion, and that without them the bureau would be helpless and unable to perform its functions. Hence they were retained.

President Cleveland saw his way clear to transfer Commissioner Montgomery into a different field; and he appointed as his successor Benton J. Hall, of Iowa, who had also served in Congress and was a lawyer known to be of some ability and character in his own State, but not specially acquainted with patent law or the needs of the Patent Office. He devoted his energies mainly to preserving the remnants of good service against further inundations, and he gained the respect of all who knew him in the office. He was surrounded, however, by many incompetents, who had been inducted into office during the administration of his predecessor, and whom he did not discharge. He found it necessary to resort frequently to the practice of letting out a considerable portion of the judicial functions of the office to commissions specially created from time to time from among the older and more experienced men of the examining corps. These men, whose official duties required all their time, were obliged to take up details which ought to have been within the easy reach of the assistant commissioner and law clerk; but, while these latter were retained, there seemed to be no other way of doing the public business than that of calling in these examining officers to perform the duties of their superiors. A change for the worse was made during the administration of Commissioner Hall, when, in July, 1887, Schuyler W. Duryee was displaced from the office of chief clerk, and a successor was appointed for political reasons who was without experience, and therefore largely dependent upon his subordinates.

PRESENT ADMINISTRATION.

The appointment of the present commissioner by President Harrison was made in pursuance of sound business principles. There were several candidates for appointment, some of them retired Congressmen, and many of them with strong political backing; but the President resisted this influence, and declared that, if the patent bar would unite in a recommendation, he would appoint the man they recommended. The present commissioner, Mr. Charles H. Mitchell, was suggested. He was a patent lawyer of extensive experience and recognized standing, with a large income from his profession; and his acceptance of the office involved considerable pecuniary sacrifice. As soon as it was ascertained that he would accept, the leading patent lawyers of the country endeavored to secure his appointment. He had their almost unanimous support as thoroughly well qualified for the position. This commissioner seems to be independent of political influences, and has inaugurated valuable reforms. The President appointed to the office of assistant commissioner, in place of Mr. Vance, Robert J. Fisher, who had been a member of the board of examiners in chief, and who had been a competing applicant for the commissionership. This appointment was strictly in the line of civil service reform principles. The office was next in grade above that which he had filled; and he was well qualified for it, had been in the service about twelve years, and had gone through the various

grades from lowest assistant examiner up to the place he then occupied, and he had filled every grade worthily and satisfactorily. He was familiar with the business of the office and the *personnel* of the corps. The President, on the advice of the commissioner, next promoted, to the vacancy made by the promotion of Mr. Fisher, Mr. Solon W. Stocking, who had also begun at the lowest grades and had been in the office about seventeen years, a tried examiner of proved ability, upon whom the Democratic commissioners during their terms had greatly relied. Mr. Stocking had entered the examining corps by competitive examination, which had been applied to the examining corps for many years continuously previous to the passage of the Pendleton bill, and had risen through each grade in the same way, and is himself a typical fruit of the competitive system. Although an ardent Republican, he had given to the Democratic head of the office his best service. He had come in under civil service rules, and considered public duty as paramount to mere party claims. The commissioner also reappointed as his chief clerk Mr. Schuyler W. Duryee, who came in from the Treasury Department in 1883—had been chief clerk during the administration of President Arthur (but had been displaced during the administration of Commissioner Hall), and was a man of excellent executive capacity. The commissioner also changed the law clerk, superseding him by Mr. Frothingham, a change for the better; although, as Mr. Frothingham was appointed to the place from the outside, this change has not restored to the corps of examiners the incentive to faithful and efficient work which had formerly been inspired by the hope of promotion to this office from their own ranks. It is true that the office of law clerk is somewhat confidential in its nature and the occupant should be in touch with the bar and outside world, and it may happen that the right sort of person may not always be found within the ranks of the examining corps. In such a case, it might be proper to make an exception from the salutary method of promotion; but it must also be remembered that special training and a knowledge of the office are required, and these can rarely be found outside of the office itself,—that promotion to the office of law clerk is the only promotion besides that to the office of examiner of interferences to which the examining corps can look,—that the good an established system of promotion does to the whole force is greater in its total result than the individual gain likely to be had by making an exception to the rule, and that one exception is likely to be followed by discouragement and uncertainty. Adding to this the fact that long experience in the department has shown admirable law clerks can be found among the examining corps, which at present is certainly not below the average, your committee think it was a mistake not to revive the advantages gained by the former system of promotion within the office.

Your committee are glad to report from information in their possession, derived, as they believe, from trustworthy and non-political sources, that there has been a decided improvement in the efficiency of the office since the appointment of the present commissioner.

The system of competitive examinations, as applied to the Patent Office, had been begun under the Civil Service Commission and Rules, established by General Grant in 1871-72; and, though these rules were in operation for a short time only, "the system of competitive examinations, once established," to quote from a letter written us by a former commissioner of patents, and representing the opinions of several of the leading commissioners from 1872 to 1885, "so approved itself that succeeding commissioners clung to it." "Experience had shown that the office obtained better 'raw material' under open competition, and that promotion in grade for approved fitness in like competition relieved the commissioner from a tremendous amount of importunate buttonholing, and was accepted by the corps as a fair and square test;" that the members of the corps "were thus secure in zealous efforts to study and work for their own advance"; and "the efficiency and *esprit de corps* of the appointees were thus constantly improving." These examinations, as continued by the commissioner of patents, applied only to the various grades of the examining corps; while,

under the Pendleton law (1884), the examinations have been extended to the positions of clerks, draughtsmen, skilled laborers, and others.

TABULAR STATEMENT.

The following tables show the positions in the unclassified and classified service of the Patent Office, with the salaries:

POSITIONS IN THE PATENT OFFICE NOT WITHIN THE CIVIL SERVICE RULES.		
Commissioner		\$5,000
Assistant commissioner		3,000
Chief clerk		2,250
Law clerk		2,000
3 Examiners-in-chief	\$3,000 each,	9,000
Examiner of interferences		2,500
Financial clerk		2,000
3 Chiefs of divisions	2,000 "	6,000
Messenger and property clerk		1,000
45 Laborers	600 "	27,000
40 Laborers	480 "	19,200
15 Messenger boys	360 "	5,400
113 Total		\$84,350

POSITIONS WITHIN THE CIVIL SERVICE RULES.		
30 Principal examiners.....N. C.*	\$2,400 each,	\$72,000
32 First assistant examiners.....C. L.....	1,800 "	57,600
36 Second assistant examiners.....C. L.....	1,600 "	57,600
41 Third assistant examiners.....C. L.....	1,400 "	57,400
50 Fourth assistant examiners.....C.....	1,200 "	60,000
1 Librarian	N. C.....	2,000 "
3 Assistant chiefs of divisions.....C.....	1,800 "	5,400
3 Clerks of class four	C.....	1,800 "
1 Machinist	C.....	1,600 "
5 Clerks of class three	C.....	1,600 "
12 Clerks of class two	C.....	1,400 "
50 Clerks of class one.....C.....	1,200 "	60,000
1 Skilled laborer	C.....	1,200 "
3 Skilled draughtsmen.....C.....	1,200 "	3,600
4 Draughtsmen.....C.....	1,000 "	4,000
25 Permanent clerks	C.....	1,000 "
5 Model attendants.....N. C.....	1,000 "	5,000
10 Model attendants.....N. C.....	800 "	8,000
60 Copyists.....C.....	900 "	54,000
4 Copyists.....C.....	720 "	2,880
92 Skilled laborers.....N. C.....	720 "	66,240
468 Total		\$573,720

*C. indicates the positions are gained only by open competition. N. C. indicates the positions are gained by appointment, subject to a non-competitive examination. C. L. indicates the positions are gained by a competitive examination, limited to the grade below.

CONTRAST.

In the history of this office, we see not only how beneficial the civil service system has been in giving increased efficiency in this important office to the great advantage of the general public, but also how it is possible, notwithstanding the civil service law, for a head of a bureau who is not in sympathy with the purposes of that law to go very far toward demoralizing the bureau. This was done by filling the places above and below those covered by the law with political favorites, and by making exceptions to the rules and "backdoor entrances" to the classified service; and, lastly, we see how it was mainly the good effects of the civil service rules acting upon those places to which it applied that saved the demoralization from being complete.

The contrast between the two systems, as affecting the efficiency of an office, is striking. The spoils system means giving the offices for partisan purposes to those who feel it a favor to receive the appointments. The reform system seeks to establish permanent administrative methods for guarding business principles in office against political interference. These methods consist of open competitive tests made to suit the special duties to be performed, practical trial in office during a probationary period before final appointment, filling the higher grades by promotion, and at the heads of the bureaus to put such persons as confer a favor upon the public by accepting the position rather than such as consider the office as a favor to themselves in return for political influence or work.

(Mr. MacVeagh, on account of illness, is unable to examine this report before its publication.)

WM. D. FOULKE, *Chairman.* SHERMAN S. ROGERS.
CHARLES J. BONAPARTE. RICHARD H. DANA.

June 30, 1890.

THE WORTH OF DEMOCRACY.*

THE worth of American democracy will be gauged by our answers to two questions, namely: To what manner of men does it entrust political power? And how well or ill do these men exercise that power? These questions involve comparisons, and comparisons are proverbially odious, because seldom fair, but I shall not test the merits of our rulers and of their rule by any foreign standards. I ask you to measure the leaders of the thoroughly democratic America of to-day by the leaders of the far less democratic America of a century since, and the management of our public affairs by the management of our great industrial and educational enterprises. A year ago the highest officers of the Union were welcomed by those of our greatest State and greatest city in celebrating the centennial anniversary of our first President's assumption of office: how looked these men and all the other dignitaries around them when shadowed by the memories of those who had a hundred years before accompanied or greeted Washington?

Yale and Harvard are ruled by oligarchies; the Pennsylvania Railroad and the New York Central are plutocracies: are these corporations managed with greater or with less fidelity, skill and success than are shown in the administration of, for example, the City or the State of New York? And how think you? Would the universities be better governed or worse if every citizen, learned or ignorant, of New Haven or Cambridge had, by right of birth or residence, a voice in their affairs? Would the railroads be more or less prosperous if the stockholders had to share their control with all the brakemen and switch-tenders in their employ or all the passengers and shippers who use them? In brief, is it true that as a ruler on any field or for any end

πολύ τε διαφέρειν οἶδε νομίζειν ἀνθρώπων ἀνθρώπων.

It is not true; it is not really believed to be true by any thinking man; and from its assumption of set purpose as a postulate in any scheme of government there will flow all the baleful consequences of a deliberately acted lie. We have not escaped the penalty, but it is the lighter for us because we have been half-hearted in the sin; we indeed set up a popular government, but we give that government the least possible to do, and when its inefficiency becomes dangerous we help it out with even this trifling work. We get along with so little ruling that we can in some measure afford to be careless as to the quality of our rulers; our resources are so boundless, the work of their development is so absorbing, our national life is so overflowing with energy and health, that we will not lose the time we can ill spare "o'er petty quarrels upon petty things" among the petty men we endure as politicians. In the exuberance of our youthful strength we think we can neglect little ailments, formidable perhaps to those without our immense advantages. But a day of reckoning awaits this heedlessness; we cannot with impunity dismiss from thought the character and conduct of our public men, although we may be rich enough to bear any degree of mismanagement and profusion. Corruption creeps surely into an ill-regulated national family, and it is no less true now than when Burke spoke, that "there never was *long* a corrupt government of a virtuous people." To-day Americans confront the problem whether they shall purify their government or their government shall debase them.

We shall purify our government, and the universities of America must lead in the work. We need an aristocracy in the true and original, not the technical and perverted, sense of the word; a government by the men best fitted to govern: it is for Yale and her sisters to supply such men. You, gentlemen of the faculty of this old and honored seat of learning, you do less than your part if any youth leaves your walls believing that he owes no greater debt to his country than if they had never sheltered him. I call on you to teach those for whose after-lives you must so largely

answer that the post and the work of each citizen in the commonwealth are fixed for him by no procrustean standard of legal uniformity, but by his faculties and his blessings; that when God gives him light and strength to wield power for the good of his fellow-men, He gives with them the right to claim and the duty to seek such power. Teach them to reject in word and action a mischievous sophism, so shallow that to clearly state is to expose it, but which, repeated parrot-like by thousands who recognize its emptiness, has maimed and distorted our conception of civic duty; teach them to see, not that men are essentially and by nature unequal, for of that only the blind could fail, but that it is unworthy of a good and brave man to shut his eyes to what is. In short, teach them, in this as in every other field of thought, to know and tell and act the truth, and this truth shall make them and others through them truly and worthily free.

THE ECONOMIC ASPECT OF SPOILS.

IN the very able letter in which Mr. John K. Cowen recently stated his views of our politics, he introduced the following interesting and original argument against the spoils system:

We must have a Civil Service Reform Act, at least for Baltimore City. And here again I want to be specific. We must have the act prepared by the Civil Service Reform Association, and presented to the last Legislature, which embraces the features of the New York act, approved by Cleveland, and those of the Massachusetts act, providing for the selection of municipal laborers free from political dictation.

It must also be understood that of the first civil commission to enforce this act, at least two out of three of its members must be pronounced advocates of the "merit," as against the "spoils" system. There is one law—viz., a civil service statute—whose administration must be governed by the principles advocated by the spoilsmen—viz., its enforcement must be entrusted to its friends.

To the Regular Democrats who oppose civil service reform let me present a fact as to one of its incidental effects on the prosperity of Maryland well worthy of examination. In such study as I have been able to give to politics I have found that every reform of political institutions or methods has an economic side, often ignored, often unknown, and only showing itself as an incidental result, or, as manufacturers say, a "by-product." Such is the case with the reform of the civil service known as the "merit system."

I will illustrate it by an occurrence which took place in my office a few months ago. A prominent citizen of Montgomery County, who is a personal friend of mine, but a very strong political opponent and an ardent advocate of Regular Democracy, called on me, and after the conclusion of our business I asked him if the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad Company ought not to complete the double tracking of the Metropolitan Branch. He said by all means, and that the real estate men were especially anxious that this should be done. I then asked him why it was that there was so much suburban development about Washington these late years, and especially along that branch road, and stated to him that it seemed to me, though the city was much smaller than Baltimore, that this class of development seemed to be much more vigorous. He replied that I would be much surprised to hear from him, who was an advocate of the spoils system, that one of the potent factors in the suburban development about Washington was the establishment of civil service reform in the classified service in that city. To use his own expressive language, "Though I have been an opponent of the idea, I now know that that thing called civil service reform is here to stay," and its effect at Washington has been this: The office hours for government employes are quite favorable for their living in suburban homes, running generally from nine to three or four o'clock. Prior to the reform legislation for the classified service a large part of the clerks and employes did not feel that their position was sufficiently permanent to justify them in making investments in the purchase of a little home. Since,

*From the Address to the Graduating Class delivered on the Sixty-Sixth Anniversary of the Law Department of Yale University, by Charles J. Bonaparte, Esq.

however, the establishment of the reform system and its assured permanence, at least as far as what is known as the classified service is concerned, these same employes, who formerly rented houses in Washington, have now become purchasers of suburban homes—a little house in the country, with a little plat of ground about it, taking the place of the wretched boarding-houses in which they were trying to bring up their children. The cost of the suburban home, on the method of payment, is not any greater than the previous rent which was required to be paid under leases in Washington. This fact, therefore, of the permanence of the classified service under civil service reform legislation has been one of the potent instruments in securing purchasers for the suburban homes, and has aided the speculative movement in real estate along the line of the Metropolitan Branch.

He said, of course, that he did not pretend for an instant that that was the sole factor, but that that was a very important factor, and that he knew, because he was intimately acquainted with a large number of those who had acquired and were acquiring homes for themselves along the line of that road.

Within less than a week thereafter I met a Republican spoilsman, to whom I mentioned this fact, and he at once said that the suburban development extending now on the line of the Washington Branch of the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad Company, between Laurel and Washington, had been largely effected in the same way, and that the assured permanency of the classified service, under the merit system, was also a potent factor in assisting the boom in real estate along that branch.

Here we have, within forty miles of Baltimore, a city taking, as it were, a second growth in two directions, from the quickening effect of a partial abolition of the spoils system. I do not consider this reform a panacea for all ills, moral and economical, but I do unhesitatingly assert that real estate, and in lesser degree all other business in Baltimore, would be greatly benefited if our whole army of State and city officials were changed from a nomadic tribe, uncertain when they shall break up their camps, into a body of well-to-do workmen, with the certainty of employment during good behavior.

I have since learned from real estate men in Washington that they have become the most ardent advocates of civil service reform, on the very ground that it gives to the government force in Washington City an assured permanence which permits them to invest their little savings in the purchase of homes.

The brutality of the spoils system has always struck me most forcibly. One can scarcely contemplate without a shudder the dismissal from the government service of widows, the sole support of their helpless children, or the dismissal of sons, who alone can furnish bread and shelter for their mothers and dependent relatives, simply to make way for the friend of some political chieftain, or to find a place for a party worker. Such things are occurring every day. So common are they that their full meaning is hardly recognized. They will be looked upon in history as a blot upon our national character and a disgrace to us as Anglo-Saxon people. The system that tolerates them must disappear, because it is a survival in a Christian land of a savage custom. It will disappear just as slavery did, when the public conscience and sense of humanity awake to a realization of what the spoils system really is.

The uneconomic character of that system is manifest in the two instances I have given above. Almost every great political wrong has an economic side, often not realized till too late, and people who thought they were only conniving at an outrage upon humanity and decency find to their dismay that they have also been wasting their money and substance. Then the moral question begins to have great weight with them.

I ask my friends of the Regular Democracy whether they do not think that it is high time for them to advocate an institution which secures home and happiness to wife and children, with all that that implies, in the place of a system whose brutality has been made most manifest for the past

two years, all over this country, where the fall of the political headsman's axe could only be adequately described by the master-hand that tells the story of the French guillotine in the "Tale of Two Cities."

THE AMERICAN OFFICIAL CLASS.

A BRIEF BIOGRAPHY.

EUGENE SAULCY, of this city, is an interesting example of the present spoils system which seeks to perpetuate itself by crying out that any other system would give rise to an officeholding class. He first appears in the city directory in 1873 as a laborer. In 1874 he was not enrolled, but in 1875 he was put down as barkeeper for C. McGroarty. In 1876 and 1877 he does not appear. In 1878 he appears as bartender for Harry McFarland, the present notorious employe of the printing office at Washington. In 1879 Saulcy appears as bartender. In 1880 he was turnkey at the Central Police Station. In 1881 he held the same place. In 1882 he was clerk to the chief of police. In 1883 he held the same place. In 1884, 1885 and 1886 he was city assessor. In 1887 he is called a clerk, and was in fact in the assessor's office. In 1888 he was clerk in the assessor's office. In 1889 he had no occupation. He was then waiting for a Federal position. This did not come, and he again took a place as clerk in the assessor's office at, we understand, two dollars a day. Later he became a deputy in the office of the Collector of Internal Revenue, in which office he still holds a place with emoluments amounting to about \$1200 a year.

The question was put to an ex-chairman of the Republican County Committee why Saulcy always had a "place," and the answer came instantly, "Because he is the best organizer in Marion County." In this answer is the explanation of the use to which a vast number of State and Federal officers are put. Saulcy has been all these years literally a party-worker. At the primaries, as a delegate to conventions, as committee man, as secretary of the county committee, and in other similar capacities, he has plied his trade. The places he has held were his pay. His pay has not always been prompt. For instance, the place he now holds was only vacated and turned over to him after an earnest and almost threatening demand by a large crowd of those who had a high esteem for Saulcy's abilities as a party-worker, and on this ground the place was demanded and given. He is a perfect specimen of our large American official class who owe and acknowledge no allegiance except to the party machine.—*Civil Service Chronicle*.

BISHOP POTTER ON THE SCHOLAR AND THE STATE.

THE exercises at the recent annual meeting of the Phi Beta Kappa fraternity at Harvard University included an address by Bishop Potter, his subject being "The Scholar and the State." He said the mechanism of such a vast Government as that of the United States demanded a huge army of servants who became largely responsible for its efficient administration. No system of government had won more hearty encomiums from those trained under alien skies and rule than this one, and no one who had read Prof. James Bryce's two volumes, "The American Commonwealth," could rise from them without a profound sense of the great possibilities of so nobly conceived and so finely balanced a system of government, instituted under conditions so exceptionally favorable to its success.

Nearly three-quarters of a century ago de Tocqueville had pointed out that the excellency and delicacy of a vast civic mechanism only the more demanded intelligent, prudent and reverent handling. In this connection he said:

"It would seem as if the rulers of our time sought only to use men to make things great; I wish they would try a little more to make great men; that they would set less value upon the work and more upon the workman."

"One would think that no system had ever been devised more effectually to disparage the work and to degrade into pusillanimous and enfeebled citizenship the workman than that system of civil service which for the last fifty years, and never more insistently than of late, has been striving to establish itself among this people. A policy of favoritism which makes partisan service the substantial basis for political preferment and a fine disdain for the element of personal fitness, whatever the place or task, which exacts only so much competency as can rescue the placeholder from absolute disgrace; this has come to be the war-cry which treats every office of trust as so much spoil, and every political contest as simply a scramble for personal emolument. . . . That this new gospel of unscrupulous self-seeking is openly proclaimed as the only spell powerful enough to maintain a healthy and active interest in our political institutions—that, in other words, there is no instinct of patriotism strong enough to constrain a man to active participation in the political life of the Nation unless there dangles before him all the while the possible prize which he may snatch out of the sordid and shameless strife—this certainly is a teaching which may well make all honest people flush with keen and indignant shame!

"No man who serves the State only from such motives will scruple to sacrifice public interests to private ends whenever he can safely do so. Men in civic power are simply the servants of the State, and the public service is a public trust, abuse or perversion or malfeasance in which is not a less, but a greater, crime than unfaithfulness to a private trust.

"This brings me to speak of another danger which threatens the safety of the Republic, and concerning which I think the duty of all scholars is equally clear and imperative. Out of the evil to which I have just referred there has grown, not unnaturally, another, which in its enfeebling and corrupting possibilities is a matter of portentous import. Mr. Lecky, in his 'History of European Morals,' has drawn an impressive picture of the decadence of Roman greatness under the deteriorating influence of Roman conquests. Enriched by the wealth wrung from her barbaric neighbors, with a dominant class flushed with success and debilitated by self-indulgence, the imperial policy soon became one pre-eminently of profuse indulgence.

"It was easier to bribe the unemployed to silence than to devise efficient methods for their employment; and powerful citizens provided for their trains of dependents by largesses of corn and money paid directly from the public treasury. There was thus secured to them a docile and subservient constituency, and, as Gibbon shows, the time came when the mercenary spirit so far prevailed over every other that when, after the murder of Pertinax by the Pretorian Guard, Sulpicianus undertook 'to treat for the imperial dignity, the more prudent of the Pretorians, apprehensive that in this private contract they should not obtain a just price for so valuable a commodity as the crown, ran out upon the ramparts, and with a loud voice proclaimed that the Roman Empire was to be disposed of by public auction to the highest bidder.'

"With us there is, you will say, no throne to be bought or sold, and no Pretorian Guard to claim the price or deliver the sceptre. But we may not forget that the events of our recent struggle for national existence have left behind them a condition of things which makes possible a situation only less scandalous because less open and notorious. The honorable provision for those who suffered and were disabled in their country's defense threatens, under the selfish and unscrupulous manipulation of those who see in the degradation of their fellow-citizens a short and easy road to political supremacy, to become a pauperizing system, whose least and most innocent consequence is the ruinous burden which it is destined, sooner or later, to saddle upon the public treasury. Never was there a phariseism of philanthropy in which personal aggrandizement more impudently masqueraded in the garment of a grateful patriotism than our halls of Congress have lately presented, and the unmanly silence with which schemes so grotesque that they should have long ago been laughed out of any intelligent public

assembly have been received is one of the most amazing facts of our political experience.

"Indeed, far apart in time as are Rome and America, we must needs own that the resemblances of history are at once tragic and significant. It was a huge military organization, remember, which once put the Roman Empire up at auction and proposed to knock it down to the highest bidder. To-day it is in the air that it is the party which bids highest to a precisely similar constituency that is to be rewarded with the symbols of national primacy and authority. And out of this it has come to pass that not alone some scarred and honorable veteran, not alone some brave and maimed survivor of a heroic charge, that not alone the widow and orphan whom death on the field or in the hospital have left bereft and penniless—but every skulking camp-follower and deserter, every fraudulent and tainted claimant who has the effrontery to demand his bribe, can have it, if only his vote shall thus become a commodity within the control of partisan dictation, and he himself a lackey to do his political masters' bidding.

"I have nothing to say of those who have devised this infamy and baptized it with the name of civic gratitude; but for the manhood which it is destined to corrupt and degrade, no honorable man can feel, I think, any other than the most profound sympathy and sorrow. This surely is a system of government that deliberately conspires to degrade men, and no delicacy ought to consent to excuse or condone it.

"It has been reserved for our own day to develop a doctrine of morals in connection with the domain of public affairs which even the ingenuity of Alfonse de Liguori would have found it difficult to explain or excuse. For this new dogma of conduct is, simply and in substance, that there are certain acts and relationships in life which have absolutely no moral quality whatever, and in judging of them, we are bidden to understand, an appeal to the ordinary standards of right and wrong as universally existing among all civilized people is simply a bald impertinence.

"There have been echoes of such a doctrine in connection with the world's estimates of great men. Carlyle has intimated that the eminence is to be judged by a certain moral standard of its own. Such a claim, and even as to individuals, must needs be disallowed by every thoughtful mind that recognizes that the disregard of these common and elementary obligations of truth and honor which bind men everywhere, must most of all be reprobated in those whose gifts or place or influence enable them to abuse power to evil uses, or turn aside the right for selfish ends. And if this be true, what shall be said of those who not only consent to maxims but to policies which are essentially corrupt and corrupting, and who brazenly defend them as legitimate elements of a statecraft which they declare is to be deliberately emptied of all regard for moral obligation?

"Happily, a situation so grave has in its elements of alarm which cannot easily be barren of some good result. We are at the extreme, wise men tell us, of a drift which became well-nigh inevitable as a result of the vicious forces generated in connection with our great Civil War. And if the nation is strong enough to survive that innermost deterioration which has threatened and is threatening the foundations of character among us, it will be stronger still because of the victory which it has won over its unworthier self. For one, I rejoice to believe it; but if it is to be, I am no less persuaded that it will be because those whose are the best gifts among us, the stewardship of the highest truths, and the ability to translate those truths into a language, in the old English phrase, 'understanded of the people,' have recognized their great trust and their obligation to discharge it.

... "There was never a time in our national history when what I may call the national, as opposed to partisan, or sectional, or personal, sentiment more urgently needed to be not alone recognized and appealed to, but educated. We are grappling to-day with questions which to a great many Americans are unfamiliar, and to many more at first glance only partially intelligible. The remoter issues of policies which are full of specious appeals to personal interests, to the sentiment of national gratitude, to the triumphs of men

and measures long associated in many earnest and honest minds with much that is noblest in our history—these remoter issues are very often neither recognized at all or gravely misunderstood. And here is the place in our day for the patriot who is a scholar!"

Bishop Potter quoted the expression of Mr. Frederic Harrison regarding culture in politics to the effect that the man of culture in politics is one of the poorest mortals alive, and that for simple pedantry and want of good sense no man is his equal. The Bishop denounced the suggestion conveyed in this utterance as vicious and untrue. "There could not," he said, "well be a more dangerous or destructive doctrine. It is science, after all, that, when some foul sewer poisons a city's life, flashes its unerring rays into the heart of the festering evil and reveals it in all its native loathsomeness. And it must be forever the voices and the presence in all the complex business of making laws and determining policies and choosing those who shall enact the laws and shall administer them of men of trained minds which alone can sweeten the air and purify the sources of a great people's life."

In conclusion Bishop Potter urged the Phi Beta Kappa to unselfish service for the State.

WORKING OF THE MERIT SYSTEM.

THROUGH the kindness of Mr. Warren P. Dudley, we have received the interesting annual report of Messrs. Chas. Theo. Russell, Jr., Arthur Lord, and Edward P. Wilbur, Civil Service Commissioners of Massachusetts. During the past year their work has been progressive and successful. The commissioners have had the cordial support of the Governor and Council, and the Legislature; and their work has met the approval of appointing officers, who, now that the system is thoroughly understood, quite generally acknowledge its relief to them, its justice to applicants for office, and its benefit to the public service. There has been during the year no necessity of resorting to the courts to construe the law or the rules, or to enforce their provisions. There has been no complaint by any applicant of any unfairness in the conduct of any examination, or in the marking of his papers. There has been a general and growing tendency on the part of appointing officers to make appointments from the highest on the certified list, as by so doing they avoid importunity and criticism. During the five years of the enforcement of the system there have been 6748 persons examined, of whom 4717 passed and 1782 have been appointed. Removals have been very few, and an infinitesimally small number for cause. The commissioners say they can report that, at the present time, in nearly one-half the subordinate offices of Massachusetts and her cities, the people have for their public servants persons who have passed the examination, been certified from the top of the eligible lists, and, so far as the commissioners know, have been appointed to office without regard to political or religious belief or influence.

By reason of the inclusion in the labor service, under amendment of the rules approved September 19, 1889, of all "mechanics" as well as "laborers," the labor service has been extended to the mechanics in the bridge and architect's departments, as well as in other city departments. During the year, 189 requisitions were received from the departments of the city of Boston, upon which 1950 men were certified, of which number 1024 were certified under requisitions calling for men under forty or forty-five years of age, showing a growing desire for strong able-bodied employees. The labor of the city requires workmen, and not politicians; and the tendency of the departments to call for the physically strongest men indicates that, under the present system, regard is paid rather to the necessities of the labor to be performed than to the abilities of the city's employees in the field of politics. There have been 2287 men registered during the year, including the men restored to the list after proper discharge of their work; of these, 10 were removed from the list for various causes. Of those certified, 905 were employed, of whom 126 were veterans. Of those employed,

only three-tenths of one per cent were discharged for cause; last year the percentage was three-fifths of one per cent. There were on the rolls of this office, December 1, 3400 men. The infrequency of changes during the past five years, especially in the departments employing large numbers of men, is the best evidence of the efficiency of those certified under the civil service rules.

The rules were applied to the labor service of Cambridge March 1, 1889. At that time there were 432 men on the labor rolls of that city. During the nine months since that time 11 requisitions have been received, upon which 128 certifications were made. Some of the men certified failed to respond, so that only 42 appointments have been made, of whom 10 were veterans. The registration clerk for Cambridge reports that "the system is appreciated, and the working of the office is satisfactory"; and he acknowledges "the uniform courtesy and consideration" he has received "from the heads of the various departments."

During the year the commissioners have taken care to make every examination as practical as possible, and have confined the questions to such as would prove the qualifications of the applicant for the special duties of the office sought.

A SPECIMEN SET OF QUESTIONS.

The following is a specimen of the kind of examinations used in Boston:

SCHEDULE B—CLASS 6.

Foreman of Laborers.

First Subject.—State your occupation during the past ten years, and the names and residences, so far as you remember, of your employers during that period.

Have you ever been foreman or sub-foreman in charge? If so, state when, where, and under whom you worked, and the kind of work in which you were employed.

Have you ever had charge of men? If so, state fully how many, where, when, for how long, and in what kind of work.

Have you ever done any ledge work, or had the handling or care of explosives? If so, state when, where, and for how long.

[On these statements the applicant is marked for experience only, not for spelling or handwriting.]

Second Subject.—1. Write in figures the following number: One thousand five hundred sixty-three.

Write in words the number expressed by the following figures: 12,207.

2. Add the following column of figures:—

1743
876
1427
3764
998
2507

3. Suppose you have under you 36 men at \$1.75 per day; a rain-storm prevents them from working the last half day. What will be the amount of their pay for that day? *Give the work in full.*

4. If you have a pile of 10,000 bricks, and take away 7550 of them, how many will be left? *Give the work in full.*

5. When stone is worth 88 cents a yard, how many yards can be bought for \$37.84? *Give the work in full.*

Foremen in the water department are asked questions on trench work, pipe-laying, measurements and materials.

Foremen in the sewer department are asked questions relating to the different kinds of sewers, the preparation and use of cement and other materials, and trench work.

BAD APPOINTMENTS.

THE appointment by President Harrison of John R. Mizell first as marshal of Florida and more recently as collector of the port of Pensacola, and also the appointment of Harrison Reid postmaster at Pensacola, deserve as much condemnation as the appointment of Warmouth at New Orleans. John R. Mizell is the man who, in his recent position as marshal, wrote the well-known letter directing his deputy to summon only tried and true Republicans for jury duty. He appointed as one of his deputies the man Saunders, who

has since been killed in a drunken quarrel. More than that, Mizell was implicated in a series of atrocious murders committed about twenty years ago. Reid was then, in 1870, provisional Governor of Florida. He appointed John R. Mizell county judge of Orange County, and David Mizell, his brother, sheriff of the same county. The county commissioners who selected the jurors were appointed by Reid also. Some very atrocious murders were committed in that county, and there was the strongest evidence against the Mizells that they were the instigators of them. In the fall of 1870, several indictments were found against John R. Mizell and his companions. One of these companions, named John Evans, was tried first. The trial, conducted by a district attorney appointed by Reid, took place under judges appointed by Reid, and before a jury selected by friends of the Mizells. Evans was acquitted; but one of the jury was one of the suspected persons, and there was every reason to suppose that the rest of the jury were selected under instructions to "summon only tried and true" friends. The indictments against John R. Mizell were then *not pros'd* by this same district attorney. Any one acquainted with the state of affairs under the provisional governments in Florida during reconstruction times, and acquainted with the above facts, knows that the trial was not likely to be a fair one. Of course, we have no evidence to *prove* the guilt of the Mizells; but this we can say, that the respectable citizens of the county all believe that they were guilty, and it is such persons as these to whom President Harrison commits important positions in the Federal Government, for whose appointment he is directly responsible.

Now, let us not be misunderstood as supposing that President Harrison prefers to appoint such men. Our position is this: that under the spoils system party exigencies require such appointments to be made in return for goods delivered, or to be delivered, at conventions; and the very fact that a man of the character, family, and reputation of President Harrison can acquiesce in such appointments after knowing all the facts shows the enormous power of the evils we wish to abolish by our reform. Very little will be gained by declaiming against President Harrison as alone responsible for this. A man of phenomenal courage might, it is true, resist pressure for such appointments; but men of such courage are rare, and seldom find their way into the White House. The real remedy is to destroy the spoils system, root and branch; and then only will it be possible for men of the stuff Presidents are usually made of to give us good, clean administrations.—*Civil Service Record*.

OFFICE-HUNTING AND OFFICE-HUNTERS.

THE Maryland Tariff Reform Club, which has been doing such energetic work for some months past, is to be congratulated on having secured a distinguished convert in the person of the senior Senator from this State. In the Senate, yesterday, Mr. Gorman made a vigorous speech assailing the tariff bill now before that body, in the course of which he announced that his views on the tariff had been modified. This change of heart on the part of Mr. Gorman ought to be very gratifying to the tariff reform missionaries, and in view of it we may indulge the hope that the Senator will experience conversion as to some other political reforms before the next State election.—*The Sun*.

THE Chicago *Tribune*, a Republican paper, says that the course of Green B. Raum, the United States Commissioner of Pensions, "is mortifying to every Illinoisan." It objects to "the unrebuked appearance of his son as a pension agent at a time when the business, owing to the passage of the dependent act, is to be a most profitable one." Alluding to the *Tribune's* wail, the Cincinnati *Enquirer* observes: "The objection seems to us unwisely taken. What earthly difference does it make whether Raum, Tanner or Dudley gets the usufruct? They have all been Republican Commissioners of Pensions, and the two latter are now openly running pension claim offices, and are said to have made fortunes out of it. It is a great scheme."

Two young Republicans who left home for the Capital for positions under the present Administration have concluded that official life is not as it was represented to them, and consequently they are going back to the practice of law, which they abandoned to come to Washington. One of these gentlemen is Timothy Byrnes, Appointment Clerk of the Treasury Department and a prominent organizer

of the Young Men's Republican League Clubs, which played such an important part in the last Presidential campaign. Before his arrival in this city Mr. Byrnes had a good practice at Minneapolis, Minnesota, and he was a staunch adherent of Senator Washburn in the contest against Hon. Dwight M. Sabin. Nothing was deemed too good by Minnesota Republicans for Tim Byrnes, as he was called all over the State, and when he was made Appointment Clerk of the Treasury Department he was considered a very lucky young man. But it did not take long for the new Appointment Clerk to ascertain that his duties were purely of a clerical nature, and that his position had been shorn of all political influence by previous Secretaries of the Treasury, and hence he did not care just to hold down a chair. Contenting himself with allowing the clerks to run the office, Appointment Clerk Byrnes has been attending to his private affairs in Minnesota pretty assiduously, and it is considered one of the jokes of the Department to make an inquiry as to the whereabouts of the Minnesota Republican. Secretary Windom expects to hear nothing definite from Mr. Byrnes before the end of this month as to his future intentions, but he will not be able to retain Byrnes to sign appointment blanks.

SHORTLY after the Presidential household was established in the White House there was an addition to the force of doorkeepers in the person of E. M. White, a young lawyer of Indianapolis, and a devoted admirer of the Harrison family. He was tempted by the glamor of being a member of the court circle, and in an evil hour he turned over his law business to his partner and hurried to Washington, where he was appointed a day doorkeeper at the White House. Subsequently his partner died, and a few days ago a fire destroyed his office furniture and library, the only articles saved being an iron safe and a typewriter. "Luckily I have not lost my grit yet," remarked Mr. White, "and I am going back to Indianapolis in October and try to recoup my losses. Washington may do for some people, but I will take my chances hereafter in attending to the law and enjoying the reputation of being one of the few to resign from the Government service."

CAPTAIN COLLINS, the new postmaster of Brooklyn, signalizes his first day in office by the usual civil service resolution. Captain Collins is quoted as saying: "This is a big office, and the man who would start in to make removals and appointments for political reasons would be a fool. My bondsmen would certainly object very strongly to any such idiotic policy as that, and I don't propose to give them a chance to find fault." There are only eighteen offices that Captain Collins can fill if he sticks to this programme, and to fill them he will only have to select his men from about 3800 applicants, the first few battalions of whom have already laid siege to his patience. It is evident, therefore, that the hope cherished in his nomination for the office that the factional troubles of the Kings County Republicans might be ended is a vain one. They will rather be increased and multiplied. The captain, however, may ease them a bit by joining forces with Gen. Tracy and shunting the overflow of patriots unable to get into the postoffice over into the navy yard.—*The Sun*.

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NEW YORK, April 28, 1890.

I beg leave to inform the public that the subscriptions received in response to the call issued by this Committee have been sufficient to warrant it in proceeding with the work entrusted to it. A contract has been closed with Mr. DANIEL C. FRENCH of this city, for an heroic bronze bust, to be placed upon a column of rich Swedish granite. Mr. FRENCH'S "Minute Man" at Concord, Mass., his "Thomas Starr King," just completed for the City of San Francisco, and his bust of "Emerson," are generally accepted as among the best works of this kind which have been produced in this country. The location of the monument cannot be determined upon until the model shall have been completed.

A small additional sum is desired to defray the expenses of the ceremonies of unveiling, etc., and subscriptions will still be received by the undersigned.

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The Civil-Service Reformer.

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THE MONTH.

IT is impossible for men like the Maryland Independents, who have been fighting for years against Gormanism, to fail to sympathize with the Independents of Pennsylvania in their struggle against Quayism. Quay and Gorman are the products of a vicious political system, which puts a premium upon unscrupulousness, and relegates men of principle to obscurity. The frauds upon the ballot, the corruption of the electorate, the looting of the treasury, which are characteristic results of the spoils system, are found in both Pennsylvania and Maryland. The only difference between the two bosses who have come to the front in the two communities is that one has found it expedient to write himself down a Democrat, and the other, for the same reason, to call himself a Republican. In aims and in methods Gorman and Quay are identical, and nothing could better illustrate the debasement of public life by the spoils system than the recent scene in the Senate of the United States, when two such men as Quay and Gorman were put forward as the leaders of our two great parties. If this system is ever to be overthrown it must be by untiring warfare upon the Gormans and the Quays, no matter with what party they may for the time ally themselves.

ESPECIAL attention is demanded for the work of the Reform League during September and October, which will be of far-reaching importance. The election which will take place in November of this year, however important it may be as affecting the control of the Federal Government, can have but little result in our local concerns. It is not until November, 1891, that we shall have to decide who shall be called upon to rehabilitate with public respect the once dignified office of Governor of Maryland, now rendered ridiculous, if not contemptible, by its present occupant. At that time also a Legislature will be elected, upon which will rest the responsibility of removing by a civil service law the corruption of spoils from our local politics, and of deposing the arch spoilsman, Mr. Gorman, from his degrading bossship. Owing to the fact that our new registration law provides for biennial registration, the election of 1891, so momentous in its results, will be much affected by the character of the registration of voters this fall. The language of the law provides for a new registration this year and only a revision next year, and seems to have been cunningly contrived to enable Rasin and Thomas and Higgins to load the books with false names this year, when reformers may be expected to be indifferent and inattentive, so that the bosses may be spared the trouble of doing it a year hence when public attention will be closely directed at their schemes. Those persons, therefore, who are anxious to have a fair expression of the public disgust at the long abuse of public trusts which has logically culminated in the Archer defalcation, should see to it that every effort is made to keep the registration books clear of fraudulent names this fall. Every name put on in fraud this fall will doubtless remain to be used by a repeater in the great struggle the Ring will make next fall, for the law has been so altered as to make it very

hard to get a fraudulent name off once it has been entered on the books. To ensure fairness, the registration this fall must be carefully scrutinized by the agents of the Reform League, the only means yet found effective in preventing fraud. This is a costly work, however, and if we are not to be again delivered over to Gormanism for an indefinite period, a considerable sum must be raised. Already several public-spirited gentlemen, recognizing the importance of the League's work, although not themselves members of the organization, have contributed handsomely to its support. Others doubtless will do so when advised of the importance of the work now about beginning. Contributions may be sent to J. Wilson Brown, Esq., Treasurer, in care of Alexander Brown & Sons, Baltimore.

THE movement of the People's Municipal League in New York, having for its object the overthrow of the besotted and thievish gangs of professional politicians who have so long robbed and disgraced the people of that city, has very naturally enlisted the sympathy and support of New York's most influential clergymen. The *New York Sun*, which is the chief apologist for bad government in New York as well as everywhere else, finds fault with those ministers of the Gospel who have entered on a crusade against what Carlyle would have called the Devilism of Tammany Hall. It says:

"There is no particular political creed enforced by the standard of any church as a prerequisite to salvation and as a qualification for membership. Hence in every flock there are wide divisions of opinion—Democrats, Republicans, Mugwumps, professional reformers, Prohibitionists, and political cranks of every variety, worship at the same altar. They are all sinners, but neither the more nor the less sinful under their religious teachings because of their opinions on politics. If, then, the parson sets out to separate them into sheep and goats, according as they agree or disagree with his own political notions and ambitions, and attempts to organize the church into a club of his party, will not the house of God be turned into a synagogue of Satan? . . . Meantime the great body of citizens will remain fixed in their determination that in this republic the separation of church and state shall be complete."

The cardinal fallacy of this argument lies in the sentence: "They are all sinners, but neither the more nor the less sinful under their religious teachings because of their opinions on politics." Those people, however, who hold to the "opinion on politics" that a mayor may properly give \$10,000 to a little child in order to get the political backing of the child's father; that a police force should be so managed that influential politicians may get rich by protecting saloons, gambling hells and brothels; that legislation should be sold at a price; that thievery is a necessary and pleasant incident attendant on all governmental work; persons, in short, whose political opinions attach them to any of the New York "machines," are greater sinners in the opinion of right-thinking people than those whose opinions compel them to abhor and attack those abominations. And so far from it being wrong for the clergy to lead in such an attack, no greater blessing could be vouchsafed to any American city than the advent of a Savonarola.

No more vigorous and entertaining discussion of the objects and effects of the reform law has ever come to our

notice than the characteristic utterances of Mr. Roosevelt at the recent hearings before the committee now enquiring into the condition of the civil service. He began thus:

I would like to make a brief statement, principally on the points that I have jotted down as you examined Mr. Lyman, and then I can answer any questions you may see fit to put.

In the first place, in answer to a question put to Mr. Lyman as to the special objects of these examinations. In response to that I will say that the object is twofold. We believe that by introducing this system of examinations, we will measurably improve the public service, and we believe that we will immeasurably better public life by taking the public service out of politics. I only speak for myself, for I have always thought that we had a pretty efficient and a pretty good public service; and while I think it can be bettered by the introduction of this system, I think the main point is to take the service out of politics. I regard as noxious any thrusting of the public service into politics, and I think that the benefit that will come will not alone come to the public service, but especially to those engaged in the duties of public life.

Mr. Stone. What objection have you to politics?

Mr. Roosevelt. None whatever. I like politics, but I object to being opposed in politics by a man who is in politics for the sake of the offices, for the sake of what he can make, and not because of his belief concerning the great public questions of the day. It is a bad thing for political life to have it controlled by a band of organized mercenaries paid from the public treasury.

The dialogue between him and Mr. Stone, apparently a somewhat wavering believer in the spoils theory, is often as good in its way as one of Landor's imaginary conversations in another. Here is a specimen:

Mr. Stone. Who is going to organize political parties and political programmes, and conduct political campaigns and torch-light processions? Are you opposed to torch-light processions?

Mr. Roosevelt. No, sir; I am not opposed to torch-light processions, but I know as a mere matter of personal experience, that in all my political combats I could do a great deal better with the young fellows who had my success sincerely at heart than I could with the office-holders. I would rather have the polls manned by disinterested young men who are interested in the cause, I mean by volunteers, than by the office-holding hacks. They will beat the hacks every time. There will never be the least difficulty in organizing the parties.

Mr. Stone. The question I asked was intended for a much narrower scope than you have given it. When I asked what objection you had to politics in the public service I referred more particularly to the man's relation to the service here in Washington, or wherever it may be. What objection, for instance, have you to this Administration, being a Republican administration, having control of the public work, and by that I mean having those in office who are interested in the success of that work and that administration?

Mr. Roosevelt. Ninety-five per cent of the work here in the Departments under this or any other administration is purely ministerial, and if a man is fit to do it, he does it because he wants to do his work faithfully, and because his chief makes him faithful and without the least reference to the politics of the President for the time being. The work of a clerk in our Commission, or in the Pension Office, or the Treasury Department, has nothing whatever to do with that clerk's belief in Harrison or Cleveland, in free trade or protection, or his belief or non-belief in free silver. His business is to do the work of the people. He has to perform certain clerical duties and certain other duties that have nothing at all to do with his outside political belief; and the moment that you begin to appoint men because of their politics, and not because they are able to do a certain line of work which is assigned to them, that moment you subordinate the efficiency of their work to their efficiency as politicians.

I have spoken with both Secretaries Blaine and Windom (and I do not think it is any breach of faith to quote what they have said), they both having been Cabinet officers in 1880, before the civil service law was passed, and being Cabinet officers in 1889, after the law went into effect, both expressed themselves to me warmly in favor of the law because it relieved them from pressure and enabled them

to get more work out of the employees prior to the change of parties. Under the old system just before elections the clerks all got demoralized. Each one was thinking of what influence he should have to get to maintain himself. Mr. Windom told me that one of the most painful experiences he had ever had was under the old régime, when the multitudes of Treasury clerks met him in the antechambers beseeching him that they should be spared; telling him that they had this influence or that influence, or that their influence had gone away, or that they understood that there was a movement being made to turn them out. That was the case when there was merely a change in administrations of the same party. He said he had come in now after a change of parties and nothing of the sort occurred, for the clerks felt a reasonable security in their positions as long as they behaved themselves.

Mr. Stone. I see the force of the objections you urge against having this entire army of office-holders used as a political machine in the interest of a party, and all that. . . .

The sketch of the daily routine of the work on the Civil Service Commission is remarkably vivid in its showing of how much valuable time and energy are wasted because the parsimony of Congress requires all the Commissioners to spend a large portion of their time in clerical work. We would quote more of it if we could; but the account of the pressure put on the Commission by spoilsmongering Senators is too good to omit:—

I would like to give an answer to Mr. Hopkins's question yesterday, as to what our work was. I would like to speak of what my work was yesterday. I got over to the office about 9 o'clock in the morning. The first thing to do was to answer the mail. If it were possible, I should like to have a stenographer to do my writing, but at the present time we cannot use the stenographers to do our correspondence, as we have such an insufficient force of clerks generally. First of all, I had to answer a dozen letters of various kinds.

I will give you samples of the letters. There were two from Congressmen and one from a Senator, wanting to know how it happened that a certain person passed an examination and had not been certified, and whether a certain man or woman that had passed and been certified was going to be appointed or not. Those letters were answered, and one letter went to the man himself and one to the Congressman, explaining where the man stood and what his position was. I then received a 12-page letter (and I mention it as a sample of the correspondence of every day) from a high federal officer bemoaning what he hastily concluded to be the utter break-down of the civil service system. He instanced a female copyist from one of the Southern States that had applied for an examination and was on our list while we were actually holding examinations under the pretense that we needed more men from the Southern States. I had to write a long letter explaining, in the first place, that we needed not females, and that having females on the list did not help us when the department asked for a male. The letter asked if it did not show the absolute break-down of the system to take two months to tell where an applicant stood. I had to explain that it was no more a break-down of the system than the delay of the Supreme Court of the United States in reaching a case for a year or two means the break-down of justice. The parallel is exact. Having innumerable things to do, we have to do the best we can and take the most important first. The writer of this letter also explained that this was "a wonderful young lady." I then looked up the young lady's case, and I found that she had failed to pass, especially in spelling; and I found that she spelled "events" with two *v*'s, and "mischievous" with an *f*, and "paired" she spelled "*p-a-r-e-d*," and misspelled eleven of the words given her. Her average was 45.

The next letter was from a man who was discharged under the last Administration out of the custom-house of New York, saying, as they all do, that he had been discharged purely on account of his politics; that it was because he was a Black Republican, and he now found himself barred by the year limit, and would I not instantly have that rule changed. I had to write him explaining that under his statement he suffered an injustice, but that the system really worked well as a whole and we could not possibly change it. Those are samples of the correspondence. At a quarter past 10 I came here, and as soon as I got back to the office at half past 12 I was met by two people,

one a Kentuckian who wanted to take a promotion examination, and who was in a hurry and wanted to go back to his wife and children in Kentucky. On account of the proper man being overwhelmed with work I had to attend to him. I showed him the papers and told him the kind of examination he was to have. Meanwhile there was a lady waiting in a furious temper because her daughter had failed to pass. She insisted that they were good Republicans, and the marking had been done by Democratic examiners. I finally showed her her daughter's papers, and that it had really nothing to do with politics. That made no difference. I think she threatened to write an article for the *Post*. That took me up to about a quarter past 1, and I went to lunch and came back about a quarter of 2. The regular work I am at is drawing up tables showing the observance of the law generally in the Postoffice Department for the first year of the present Administration. I worked for an hour at that. Then I had to go up-stairs to see how the examiners were marking those papers which are coming from the South.

That bill allowing the extra clerks in the Pension Office has been reported in the Senate, and we must have these Southern papers marked up in order to keep the apportionment all right. Our force are now turned in on Louisiana and Alabama. We are working like beavers at that. We are also at work getting up the figures for our annual report. While I was at that a man came to say that the superintendent of the railway mail service had made a demand for a clerk from the State of Georgia, and that the list was exhausted, and that we must have more railway mail clerks. That necessitated my at once going down and holding an impromptu conference with the other two commissioners, and then writing a letter to the Postmaster-General explaining to him that if the Postoffice Department could not deal fairly with us and give us something like its proper quota of examiners to do our marking, we would be unable to do their work. That we ought to have four examiners from his Department, but we have only one, and him only a part of the time; and that unless they would send down at least two men at once we would be unable to provide for the railway mail service; that it was an injustice to detail men to do the postoffice work from our force to the neglect of the work of the Interior Department, the War Department, the Treasury, and other Departments. As soon as I had written that letter a clerk came in at once to have me decide on the appeal of one of the bureaus here in Washington against our having refused to allow a special promotion under a certain rule to a man who claimed that we had allowed it to another man. The question came as to whether a man having been a file-striker had performed clerical work. I had to find out what a "file-striker" was; and I made my decision and showed it to my colleagues. By that time it was nearly 4 o'clock. I then spent an hour and a half working over these reports from the different postoffices. When I left the office Mr. Lyman was still busy in his room. That is a sample of the routine work of the day.

UNDER THE HAMMER.

THE Democratic nominating convention of the first congressional district of Louisiana, a fortnight ago, selected Gen. Adolph Meyer, as the candidate of the party for Congress, at the approaching election. A New Orleans despatch to the *New York Times* proclaims Gen. Meyer as "a millionaire candidate," and after a brief sketch of his life and services, civil and military, concludes as follows:

"The nomination to Congress from this district has belonged to Genl. Meyer, for many years, on account of his effective financial aid to the party, in past campaigns, and only when he refused to accept it was Mr. Wilkinson nominated four years ago."

It is, unfortunately, a too familiar fact, that places in the national legislature have been bought, of late years, almost without disguise, like any other commodity in the market. Indeed it could hardly be otherwise, when both parties freely recognize money as the most powerful and prevailing factor, not only in politics generally, but even in the great presi-

dential contest which turns the country upside-down every four years, and is supposed, preëminently, to elicit what is facetiously styled "the will of the people." But we do not remember to have ever seen before so precise and *naïf* a formulation, as that which is thus made, of the proposition, that a congressional nomination may, for years, "*belong*" to a man because of his "effective financial aid to the party." Theorists, philosophical and unphilosophical, have written a great deal more than has been read, concerning the origin of property, and the genesis of those "rights of property," the protection of which requires the occasional and salutary hanging of an anarchist or two. But preëmption rights as applied to public office, and especially in a republic, have never yet been scientifically discussed, so far as we are aware. It may be advantageous, therefore, in a certain sense, to have these boldly and publicly asserted and openly recognized in practice by the representatives of one of the great parties of the country. If any one, hereafter, should challenge Gen. Meyer's right to a seat in the House of Representatives, or venture to wonder how he came by it, the reply that it "*belonged*" to him, in consideration of moneys by him theretofore laid out and expended, would raise the issue, fairly, between "sentimental" and "practical" politics, and give to those who might discuss it, the advantage, at all events, of having the point in issue distinctly raised. We all know, that of the many shining qualities of our own Senior Senator, his ability to raise money, and his skill in its judicious application, are those which commend him most to that governing circle of his party, in which "results" are the only recognized principles. We have seen how the same virtues have made Mr. Wanamaker our Postmaster General, and have given to Mr. Quay the same conspicuous position in the Republican party which Mr. Gorman has occupied, as a Democrat, in the recent "dickers"—as the *New York Times* irreverently calls them—which have illustrated the dignity and measured the statesmanship of the Senate. But the field of these national examples is too wide for practicable scrutiny. It is far too large for an ordinary lens and much more so for the microscope. Collecting money from unknown sources, all over the country, and spending it in unknown ways, where it will do the most good, of course involves much buying and selling by wholesale, but the particular deals do not appear. When, however, a man is nominated for a particular place, on the express ground that it "*belongs*" to him, because he has bought it—as Falstaff said that he bought his knave at Paul's—the thing becomes tangible. It is complicated with no fooling about "the cause" on the one side, or "legitimate expenses" on the other. It supplies a study in the nude, without any embarrassment from draping.

We are not aware that there is any single statesman, in Maryland, who is so far the absolute owner by purchase of any prospective nomination, as to be entitled to embrace it in a schedule of his personal assets. Nobody needs to be informed, of course, that we have and have long had among us, what the old poet calls "a custom-house for sin," in office-getting, and it would be no difficult task, perhaps, to indicate some of the self-sacrificing patriots who volunteer to collect the duties. But we have not many millionaires among us, in active politics, and we doubt whether much money is laid out in advance, with us, in buying political "futures." Our tariff, we fancy, has but few fixed rates, and is applied, for the most part, on the sliding-scale principle—that is to say, the principle of getting the most that can

be got. The rule, but recently promulgated by our Democratic managers, that no name shall go before the people, at the primaries, unless the gentleman who bears it shall, previously, have called up and settled at a figure prescribed for him, is doubtless founded on the same idea as the maxim of the doctors of a century or two ago, which recommended that the fee should be asked for, when the patient was in the most pain. But that tax is a mere affair of entrance money. What the serious statesman pays for is not the privilege of entering, but the certainty of winning, and we are inclined to think that, in our practice, such transactions are generally of the sort known in the grain trade as "spot cash." There have been no cases, we believe, in our home market, in which a title to office has been recognized as vested, by reason of a surplus, to the candidate's credit, from past contributions. As a consequence, no man, here, can know, precisely, what it will cost him to own a nomination, until he has found out what the other man may be willing to pay for it. Past liberality may occasionally establish a sort of inchoate lien, but a gentleman can rarely be certain that a place "belongs" to him, until it is knocked down to him as the highest bidder. It will, consequently, be seen, that, with the best intentions, we are not yet quite up to the Louisiana idea.

The reader will hardly make the mistake of supposing that the subject with which we have been dealing is not a very grave one, because the absurdity of some of its developments may render it difficult, at times, to discuss them with gravity. We are not yet sufficiently familiar with the sight of public office disposed of under the hammer, to be able to stifle the sense of the ludicrous, which is excited by the contrast between the practices of our politics in that regard, and the loftiness and loudness of our political platforms and pretensions. Practically, we know that all the executive appointments of the Federal and State governments are as merely the stakes which go to the winners at the polls, as the prizes and bets which are won at a horse race. Such knowledge is sickening and sad enough, Heaven knows, to every lover of his country, and every friend of popular self-government throughout the world. And yet, although the thimble-riggings of individual politicians, here and there in a corner, may be but the same thing in substance, infinitesimally developed, their very pettiness and impudence sometimes suggest the ridiculous, rather than the painful aspect of political corruption. We trust that there is no foundation for the very general reports which we hear, as to the prominence of the money question in the current political negotiations in Baltimore. It is known to everybody, that a prominent State office is filled by an incumbent, who could never have reached it by any possibility, but for the freedom of his "financial aid to the party." The managers who nominated him are understood to be as yet in doubt, as to which of two of their stock company—each almost equally as unfit as the other and as the incumbent—shall be his successor. These doubts, it is said, are not likely to be removed until the proposals of the two aspirants shall have been opened and the bids noted. There is also at least one nomination for Congress which is said to be hanging on a question of amounts. With the high contracting parties involved, anything of the sort is so entirely possible—nay, reasonably probable—that it is, unhappily, not safe to discredit, altogether, the degrading rumors to which we have alluded. They afford us, at all events, the opportunity of saying, by way of serious and

timely warning, that if the Democratic party desires, as it needs, to bring out its full voting strength at the next congressional election in this city, it will have to put candidates in the field who have not been soiled by familiar association, heretofore, with the baser influences which have dragged the party down, and whom the people shall not recognize as the nominees, for cash, of the Ring Machine.

THIS YEAR'S WORK FOR REFORMERS.

AT first sight the present seems to be an "off" year for Maryland reformers. In the city, besides congressmen, the only officers to be elected are members of the council, and, however important their choice may really be, it hardly gives room for an independent movement holding out any promise of success. Possibly in a few wards the facilities provided by the Australian law for non-partisan nominations may here and there administer a salutary rebuke to grossly improper regular candidacies, but it would be rash to expect so happy a result unless the ring offers unusually disreputable men to unusually enlightened constituencies. As to the congressional elections, if any of our readers take a profound interest in these, it will be because they are so profoundly interested in getting votes on their side on Federal questions that they will overlook the sins of the candidates against honest government and pure politics. In the sixth district, where it seems hard to find a Democrat willing to engage in a more than doubtful contest, the Democratic candidate may be, for this very reason, a fit man, but elsewhere we know already what sort of men and even, for the most part, what men the bosses have chosen to represent us. Their state chairman is given the fifth district, their city chairman the third. Mr. Hodges believes that he will go from the fourth, everybody else believes that Mr. Rayner will; *arcades ambo*; those who do not think congress a fitting stage for the antics of mountebanks may view their rivalry with judicial impartiality. Nor to such onlookers is it a matter of great moment whether in the first district a eulogist of Gene Higgins and blatant enemy of the civil service law is succeeded by himself or by a man with the smirched record of ex-Governor Lloyd. In presenting such candidates to the people of Maryland, the "selfish oligarchy" which controls our dominant party has emphasized the warning given by its choice of Mr. Compton to succeed Mr. Archer, and by Mr. Rusk's late utterances about the Business Men; a warning that, while its leaders are glad to have dupes and catspaws, and ready to furnish the needful bait in cajolery and affectation of changed opinions, they have no purpose to loosen by a hair's-breadth their grip on either the party or the State government, and that they feel for those they hoodwink hearty and, we must add, oft-proven contempt. Assuredly it is strange that anybody of common sense should need this warning: that Mr. Gorman after all is still Mr. Gorman, and Mr. Rasin still Mr. Rasin, and that they, and their fellows and followers act, and will continue to act, after their kind, would seem as bald a truism as that the leopard cannot change his spots nor the Ethiop his skin, and yet every now and then some gullible person, "well meaning" perhaps in that sense which justifies the old saying as to where good intentions make a pavement, begins with the utmost gravity to rub at the markings on "Arthur," and to lavish enamel on "Free," and claims himself the true and original discoverer and lawful patentee of a brand new

infallible device to ensure at once universal "harmony" and thoroughgoing "reform within the party."

We refer to this singular and discouraging feature of our local politics, because there is some ground to fear lest the same mischievous and ridiculous part should be played this year by some citizens who have heretofore earned the community's respect and confidence by zealous and effective service in the cause of good government. It is not unlikely that among the authors of the present agitation for tariff reform some may have hoped that, besides its natural and salutary fruit of enlightening and stimulating public opinion in Maryland, it might have the incidental advantage (what Mr. Cowen would call the 'by-product') of making Mr. Gorman's position as head of the Democratic party in the state too obviously inconsistent with his professed opinions to be tenable. Whether any of these gentlemen were in fact so far "troubled with youngness" in things political as to caress this illusion we do not know; if they were, it must have been effectually dissipated ere this: instead of their edging Mr. Gorman out of the party as a heretic, they run great risk of seeing him transform their very organization into an instrument to attain his own ends.

His invitation as an honored guest to Pen-Mar means more than a rather humiliating *amende* for their pointed failure to invite him to the recent conference: for him and his lieutenants it will serve further as a welcome distraction of public attention from the startling but legitimate fruits of their long-continued misrule, exposed by the Archer defalcation and the joint committee's report, and even as, in some sort, a rehabilitation in public opinion sorely needed after so fresh and so ugly a scandal. If, after doing him this good turn, the local Tariff Reform Associations throughout the state blossom out into campaign clubs for Mr. Gorman's congressional nominees, they will be in much the same case as Mr. Winkle's horse. That animal was warranted not to shy "if he met a vagin-load of monkeys with their tails burnt hoff," but his subsequent behavior "looked very like shying" notwithstanding: they may be earnestly vouched for as the quintessence of reform, but to unprejudiced observers they will "look very like" simply another "Annex to the Ring."

What we have just said must not be misconstrued: *we do not advise any Maryland Democrat to promote the success of a Republican nominee for Congress in his district by voting for him, or voting for an independent candidate, or not voting at all.* It is true that all of the Republican candidates are not yet known, but there is not the smallest reason to expect that any one of them will be in character and standing more fit than his destined competitor for the position they will alike seek. On the contrary, if we may reason from Mr. Mudd, whom we do know, to the other four whom we do not, we should say that Democrats might reasonably enough support their own ticket, even where headed by perhaps the least estimable of their politicians, on the principle that, while there may be but small choice, in rotten apples there is yet some choice. We should have considered it *à priori* impossible that any successor in his seat could make us regret Mr. Compton, but Mr. Mudd has performed the feat. And, if such a man as he has shown himself is the best the Republicans can offer us in a district where they have some hope though no assurance of victory, what can we expect of them where defeat is, since the last gerrymander, a foregone conclusion and the nomination is sought merely to found on it a claim to share in future spoils? Nor do we fail to recognize that

in certain contingencies a good citizen may justifiably vote for a bad man in preference to one much better (*à fortiori* to one as bad or worse) because the former, from whatever motives, will resist a policy which the latter is pledged to support and which the voter believes disastrous to the country, and that many of our most thoughtful and patriotic citizens do believe this of the present policy of the Republican party, as foreshadowed by the McKinley Tariff and the Lodge Election bills. Whether this belief be or be not well founded it is neither our province nor our purpose to discuss; we only state an obvious fact in saying that it is shared by thousands who are neither mere blind partisans nor apologists for any form of fraud on the suffrage, and such as these may well feel bound to vote even for a Hodges or a Rayner if thus only can their votes be made to tell. But it is one thing to vote for such a man avowedly as a distasteful choice of evils, and quite another thing to canvass, make speeches, raise money in his behalf, to publicly applaud his merits, stand sponsor for his candidacy and claim credit for his success. As the most honorable station in certain unhappy times and countries is a private station, so in a campaign like this, an honest man, if he be also wise, will take a back seat; to avoid greater ill he may be reluctantly compelled to help those he holds unworthy of respect or confidence, but he will inflexibly refuse them the countenance of his fellowship. And there is the less excuse for another course in this instance, because active co-operation with the bosses will be a work of supererogation. All that these need to win (in the first four districts at least) is that decent people should let them alone. Given this, the rest is provided for. The last Legislature manipulated boundaries, as Mr. Hodges explained some months ago to his usual audience of reporters; the result has become to this extent certain unless independent candidates are nominated. To insure for tariff reform four votes as trustworthy and disinterested as Mr. Gorman's own, the tariff reformers have only to do nothing: if they do more to this end it may help Gormanism a year hence—it cannot help tariff reform now. But we do not urge true reformers to do nothing. On the contrary, we look upon idleness in their case at present as more than ever the probable parent of mischief. Macaulay says the passengers on an old-time East India-man were fairly forced during their six months' seclusion either to quarrel or make love: the reformers who have so long been in the same boat are not of the gushing type to relish lovemaking; they should not therefore, in the absence of a present *casus belli*, search for one in the past. During the several reform campaigns of the last eight years many errors of judgment were undoubtedly committed by the earnest but excited and comparatively inexperienced men who successively directed them. It is no great merit to recognize these now in cool blood and aided by the notorious superiority of hindsight over foresight. Nor is it in anywise surprising that among leaders virtually self-constituted and associated by mere stress of circumstances in a difficult and unfamiliar task, differences of opinion should have arisen regarding the expediency or good taste of measures which turned out for the worse. But while the useful lessons of repeated failures must be resolutely and practically accepted to ensure final success, sterile dissensions, uncharitable recriminations, captious criticism, unwarranted imputations of motive, are never in order; these serve but to impede the good work, to delay the day of promise, or make the struggle longer or harder.

Reform in Maryland needs all the real friends it can find; to throw away any of them through "uneconomical superfluity" of censure for past shortcomings or a fanciful tremulous anxiety as to what they might or might not conceivably do hereafter in all sorts of purely hypothetical contingencies, would be a woful waste indeed, to be punished, in all human probability, by a future want no less woful. If, however, bygones are wisely allowed to be bygones, useful work is not far to seek by hands that itch for it. We shall not attempt prematurely to forecast the developments of the next twelvemonth, but any one having eyes must see that reformers can aid in rescuing the state from the gang of political freebooters who have so long disgraced and plundered it (and this rescue is what and all that "reform" in Maryland now means), in one of two and of only two ways: either they must influence the dominant party to make good nominations or they must punish it for bad ones by defeat at the polls. Which method will be the more effective in 1891 to give us a worthy Legislature, Mayor and City Council, it would be useless now to discuss; the two are in nowise mutually exclusive and we have little doubt that room will be found for the use of both. But that either (the first no less than the second) may be effective at all, an indispensable condition is the assurance that the election of next year shall be sufficiently fair to make the independent vote felt. Much good may perhaps be done by using this vote as a scarecrow to the bosses; but "Free" won't scare two councilmen-worth if he knows he can write down his majority beforehand: for him and his like it will always be cheaper to hire repeaters for hard cash than to buy off malcontents with the nomination for office of really able, courageous and honorable men.

The new law certainly increases very seriously the difficulty of cheating on election day or buying votes in market overt, and it seems incredible that even with Governor Jackson to appoint the officers who shall administer this law (or rather to register their appointment by the Ring), we can see again what we saw in 1875 or 1885. But such "wealth," as the novelists say, of fraud, may not be needed, and it must be remembered that the Australian ballot law presupposes an honest registration. Its safeguards are meant primarily to check abuses at the polls; the "mariners" of the Marsh Market precinct are not known in Australia. Now, the changes made by the last Legislature in our registration law were inspired by such various motives and expressed in some instances in language so confused and obscure that without practical experience of its working it is hard to say whether, as a whole, the law has been improved or made worse than it was, but there can be no doubt as to one fact: while it may perhaps be easier under it than before to obtain a full and fair registration in the first instance, if this is neglected it will be much more difficult than it was to correct errors through the courts. The provisions for removing causes from one judge to another and for appeals on questions of law undoubtedly will and undoubtedly were intended to so cripple the exercise of this necessarily summary jurisdiction as to make it, in great measure at least, practically valueless, and if at the sessions of the Registrars, soon to commence, the lists are crammed with names of ghosts and dummies, these will undoubtedly be there still in November of next year, for what useful purposes "Professor" Fritz Bucheimer would well know.

The Baltimore Reform League has therefore concentrated

on the supervision of this registration its whole attention and all the resources at its command. At an expense which has very seriously taxed its modest revenues, it has supplemented its previous information as to the voters entitled to registration in the city by the result of investigation made in many precincts by persons carefully selected for the purpose, and although the work has been done as unobtrusively as thoroughly, it is in a position to aid the officers of registration in their work more systematically this year than ever before. Luckily, moreover, certain of these officers (*i. e.* the Federal Supervisors) are neither directly nor indirectly appointed by the ring, and the latter's experts in fraud have learnt by sad experience that a prosecution in the United States Court amounts to more than a farce even for them. Properly sustained by its members and all other friends of honest election methods, the League can do much towards assuring a full, fair and free vote and a just count not only this year, when these may be worth less than usual, but next year also when they may be worth much more; but it imperatively needs this support. Its means are already wellnigh exhausted, and the labor and expense involved in such a task as awaits it can be fully appreciated only by those who have personal knowledge in the premises. No better use could be found for either the time or the money of any one who believes with Mr. Wirt and with us that the one duty of the hour for all good citizens of Maryland is to *smash the bosses*: whoever helps the League may be sure that he assists the one organization which Gorman and Rasin and Compton and Hodges and Rayner *et id genus omne* hate heartily, implacably and with reason.

MR. ROOSEVELT DOES BATTLE FOR THE REFORM LAW.

SOME weeks ago Commissioner Roosevelt challenged Gen. Grosvenor, Mr. Ewart, and the other enemies of the merit system to prove their often-repeated charges about the impracticability of the questions asked in the examinations. At a recent meeting of the committee now engaged in investigating the effects of the reform law, Mr. Roosevelt had an opportunity to relieve his mind on that subject and some others. The following account of the scene is taken from the *Boston Post*, though with some abridgment:

Civil Service Commissioner Roosevelt did battle before the Civil Service Investigating Committee yesterday in defence of the law against the criticisms of Congressmen who have attacked it. He was loaded for Mr. Grosvenor, and not only for him, but all the rest who had said a word against the civil service reform or were ready to take issue with him on the question. Representatives Grosvenor and Houk were present, each to maintain his cause. Before the close the antis quietly departed from the room, and Commissioner Roosevelt was left champion of the field. Mr. Grosvenor declared that he was not opposed to the merit system; that he was in favor of civil service reform. Then he criticized the present Civil Service Law quite vigorously. He declared that one of the eight appointees from his district was not a citizen of Ohio and that he knew nothing of the rest. The one whose citizenship he disputes was a young man named Putnam, whose papers showed his citizenship to have been witnessed by reputable citizens of Ohio and sworn to by himself. Mr. Grosvenor said the Commission, by false pretences, induced people to travel many miles and incur expense to take examinations when there was no chance of their getting appointments. He cited fifty of his constituents who had been so treated. He very savagely criticized the Commission for sending to the South to get candidates to fill the new places in the Pension Office. He said the Commission was probably following the spirit and letter of the law in trying to fill the quotas of ex-Confederate States. But it spoke bad for the law. He also charged that the pervading spirit of the Civil Service Law kept old and incompetent clerks in the department.

Mr. Roosevelt then made a reply to General Grosvenor. He started out by reading a letter from General Grosvenor to him, in which General Grosvenor stated that he was to appear before the committee to-day to reply to Mr. Roosevelt's statement to the com-

mittee that assertions made by him in a speech on the floor of the House concerning appointments in his district were incorrect. Mr. Roosevelt asked if Mr. Grosvenor had not said to the committee that he was not opposed to the civil service reform and was not in favor of the repeal of the law. Mr. Grosvenor replied that he would say that now. Mr. Roosevelt then quoted from Mr. Grosvenor's speech, in which he said he would vote for the repeal of the law. Mr. Grosvenor said that this must be taken in connection with other statements; that he meant to repeal this law and replace it by some other. Reference was then made to Mr. Grosvenor's statement that his understanding of the meaning of the civil service plank in the Republican platform was to turn the Democrats out and put Republicans in, and Mr. Grosvenor said that any one who was not so dreadfully in earnest about the matter would understand that this was a matter of pleasantry. Mr. Roosevelt said he supposed he was lacking in a sense of humor. Mr. Roosevelt then proceeded to go over General Grosvenor's speech and reply to it.

Mr. Grosvenor suggested that the speech was made on the floor of the House under the protection of the Constitution, which provided that he should not be called to account for it anywhere else. If Mr. Roosevelt wanted to reply to it he should wait until he got a seat in the House, and then go back to the musty records and make a reply to the speech. Later on he said he had to go on the floor of the House and had no time to listen to a reply to his speech. Taking his hat and papers, he departed.

Mr. Roosevelt then took up the statement that people in Grosvenor's district were induced to travel distances to take examinations with the idea that they would get appointments when, in fact, they never were appointed, though they passed the examination. To this the Commissioner replied that every effort was made to fully inform all candidates of the conditions under which they took the examination. They were fully informed as to their chances of appointment. As to Mr. Grosvenor's statement that the Commission had sent all over the South after candidates for the new positions in the Pension Office, he said it was a sufficient contradiction of his other statement. He said that there had been great difficulty in getting candidates to fill up the quotas of the Gulf States. During Mr. Cleveland's Administration the quotas of these States were still not filled. In the State of Louisiana it was impossible to get candidates, and the State was twenty behind its quota. It was not until now, under a Republican administration, that Louisiana's quota had been filled. The Commission did not know the politics of these candidates, but the fact of their coming from Louisiana suggested that they might be Democrats. Mr. Roosevelt denied that any inef-

ficient clerks were kept in the departments by influence of the Commission, and added that if Mr. Grosvenor would ask for the dismissal of these clerks on the charge of incompetency the Commission would not interfere. In relation to the charge that Mr. Putnam was not a citizen of Ohio, he said he would have the matter investigated on Grosvenor's charge, and that if the young man were shown to have sworn to a false statement as to his residence, he would be promptly dismissed. There was no charge against the Civil Service Law or reflection by Mr. Grosvenor he did not reply to. He then looked around for Mr. Houk, but that gentleman was not there, and the Commissioner was sorry there was not another anti-civil service Congressman to be put down.

Mr. Lehlbach read a question left by Mr. Grosvenor, asking why it was, if the appointments were proportioned among the several States, that Mr. Lyman, Mr. Campbell, Mr. Webster and Mr. Doyle, all being salaried men in the Commission, were from Connecticut. Mr. Roosevelt replied that none of these were within the classified service. Doyle was from New York, Campbell was not in the service, and Lyman and Webster were appointed by the President and confirmed by the Senate.

SPECIMEN EXAMINATION PAPERS.

THROUGH the courtesy of Commissioner Roosevelt and the Post Office Board in Baltimore we are enabled to show our readers specimens both of questions proposed and of answers submitted at the recent examination for post office clerks. A series of very good answers are printed in the left-hand column, and an atrociously bad set of answers appear in the right-hand column. Under the patronage system this candidate who spells *systematic*, *scistomatic*; who makes a copy from dictation that a twelve-year-old school-boy would be ashamed of, and whose writing is almost illegible, might, by pressure, force the postmaster to give him an appointment; while the other candidate whose work proves him to have the requisites of a good clerk, might fail for want of a "pull." Under the merit system the latter is almost sure of an appointment, and his illiterate and unfit rival is absolutely certain not to get one.

FIRST SUBJECT.—ORTHOGRAPHY.

1ST EXERCISE.—Write, in the spaces below, the abbreviations for the names which will be given by the Examiner:

1. Cal.	5. N. Dak.	8. San Fran.	1. Cal.	5. N. Da	8. San Fran
2. Mont.	6. Esq.	9. Ass't.	2. Mon.	6. Esq	9. Ass
3. Ave.	7. Apr.	10. P. M. Gen'l.	3. Ave.	7. Aprl	10. Po Mar Gen.
4. Fla.			4. Fla.		

Mark 100.

Mark 50.

2D EXERCISE.—Spelling, as dictated by the Examiner—the words to be written in the blank spaces below:

1. Systematic	8. Omission	15. Copyist	1. Scistomatic	8. Omission	15. Copyest
2. Thoughtfully	9. Precision	16. Miscount	2. Thoughtfully	9. Prescision	16. Mist Count
3. Unsealing	10. Advertising	17. Erroneous	3. Unsealing	10. Advertiseing	17. Erroniest
4. Preparing	11. Scene	18. Illegible	4. Preparing	11. Scen	18. Illegeble
5. Enterprise	12. Assistant	19. Readable	5. Enterprise	12. Assistant	19. Readeable
6. League	13. Superintendent	20. Steady	6. League	13. Superintendent	20. Steady.
7. Necessity	14. Secretary		7. Nesesity	14. Secretary	

Mark 100. Average 100.

Mark 40. Average 45.

SECOND SUBJECT.—COPYING.

1ST EXERCISE.—WRITING FROM DICTATION.

To Examiners.—The copying exercise on sheet 3 will be used for the dictation exercise for this sheet. When clerks, carriers, and messengers are examined at the same time, the same dictation may be used for all.

N. B.—Spelling, use of capitals, punctuation, and all omissions and mistakes will be taken into consideration in marking the exercises of this subject.

Penmanship will not be marked on this exercise.

One of the Examiners will dictate an exercise of not less than ten lines so distinctly that all persons being examined can hear him. The passage will first be read for information, and then be dictated in phrases of five or six words, at the rate of from fifteen to twenty-five words per minute. If from any cause the competitor miss a word, he should not pause, but leave a blank space and go on with the next words he hears. Three minutes will be allowed after the dictation for punctuation and correction.

Persons failing to pass an examination may, after six months from the date of their failure, file new applications, and be re-examined.

No person who has passed an examination, shall, while eligible on the register supplied by such examination, be re-examined.

Re-examinations, other than as specified above, can be had, only by special permission of the Commission, and such permission will be given only in very exceptional cases, where special reason exists on account of sickness, and then only upon affidavit of the facts.

Every appointment is made for a probationary period of six months, at the full salary attached to the position, at the end of which time, if the conduct and capacity of the person appointed have been found satisfactory, the appointment is made absolute.

Mark 100.

Persons Failing to Pass an examination May ater Six Month. ater Date of there failure May File New Application and be Re-examined while elegeble suplied by such Examinations be Re-examined. Reexamination Specified above can be had oly by Special Permission and such Permission will be given oly in very Exceptionled Cases oly where Special reasons exist on account of sickness and then aply upon Affidavid) of the facts every appoint is made for a proba-tion period of Six Months at the full sallery.

if the Conduct and capasy of the person appointed have bein foun satisfactory the appointment is made absalut.

Mark 0.

THIRD SUBJECT.—COPYING CONTINUED.

2D EXERCISE.—WRITING FROM PLAIN COPY.

N. B.—Spelling, use of capitals, punctuation, and all omissions and mistakes will be taken into consideration in marking the exercises of this subject.

Penmanship will be marked on this exercise. Copy the following precisely, punctuating, capitalizing, and *italicizing* as in the copy :

Persons failing to pass an examination may, after six months from the date of their failure, file new applications and be re-examined. No person who has passed an examination shall, while eligible on the register supplied by such examination, be re-examined.

Re-examinations other than as specified above can be had only by special permission of the Commission, and such permission will be given only in very exceptional cases where special reason exists on account of sickness, and then only upon affidavit of the facts.

Every appointment is made for a probationary period of six months, at the full salary attached to the position, at the end of which time, if the conduct and capacity of the person appointed have been found satisfactory, the appointment is made absolute.—*[Circular of Instructions.]*

A perfect copy was made by this applicant.

Mark 100.

Persons failing to Pass an examination may after Six months from the Date of there failure file new Applications and be re-examined. No person who has Passed an examination shal while Eligible on the Register Supplied by such Examination be Re-Examined.

Re-examination other than as specified above can be had Only by special permission of the Commission and such permission will be Given only in Very Exceptional Cases where Special reasons exists on account of Sickness, and then only upon affdavit of the facts. Every appointment is made for a Probationary Period of Six months, at the full Salary attached to the position at the End of which time if the Conduct and Capacity of the person appointed have been found Satisfactory, the appointment is made absolute,

Mark o.

FOURTH SUBJECT.—LETTER-WRITING.

N. B.—This exercise is designed chiefly to test the competitor's skill in simple English composition, knowledge of the rules of punctuation, and conception of the proper form of a letter.

In marking the letter, its errors in form and address, in spelling, capitals, punctuation, syntax, and style, and its adherence to the subject, will be considered.

The handwriting in this exercise will help to determine the rating on "penmanship," which is the second subject, but will not be taken into consideration in ascertaining the "marks" of the letter.

Write a letter giving a general description of the city or town in which you reside.

The competitor must avoid allusion to his political or religious opinions or affiliations. The letter must contain not less than 125 words, must be addressed as follows: "To the United States Civil Service Commission, Washington, D. C.," and must be dated at the place where the examination is held. The examination number, and *not the name of the competitor*, must be used for a signature to the letter.

Baltimore City College, Aug 5. 1890.

"To the United States Civil Service Commission, Washington, D. C.,"

Gentlemen:—

I am asked by you, for a general description of Baltimore City.

Now, although not thoroughly acquainted with every portion of the city, I think I can give sufficient description for the purpose.

According to the recent census, Baltimore city stands seventh in population, of the cities in the United States; it is the largest and most important city in the state.

It is a great centre for Oysters, consuming and packing more than anywhere in the Country.

We have four fine Parks in the city, Druid Hill in the northern section, Patterson in the eastern, Riverside in the southern and Harlem in the western.

We also have several fine Hotels, among which are the "Carrollton" cor German and Light, "Rennert" cor Saratoga and Liberty, "Altamont" Lanvale st and Eutaw Pl. and "St. James" N. Charles and Centre sts.

Hoping that this letter will prove satisfactory, I am

Yours Very Respectfully

No 37.

Marks.—Form 88, Style 85, Matter 85, Average 86.

Baltimore Md Aug 5th 1890

To the United States Civil-Service

Commission. Washington D. C.

Dear Sirs I write you a Description of the part of the Country that I Reside in it is a bout Two Miles from Reisterstown Md it is a Thriving Section it Has the Western-Maryland R. R to its Convenience and Reisterstown and Glyndon are Growing Towns we have Churches and School houses Convenient it is suplied with Three Camp Meeting Grounds Each of Them are well Conducted and Largely attended, our Locality is as Healthful as Any in Maryland the Inhabitant are Genery Farmers there Products are Wheat Corn Potatoes and Hay. Some of them Deal Extensive In Cattle

Respectuly

No 26.

Form o, Style 10, Matter 40; Total 50. Average 17.

The immense superiority of the better of these papers over the other could only be made plain by a *fac-simile* reproduction. The neatness of type fails entirely to show the extraordinary slovenliness of the bad paper.

CIVIL SERVICE COMMISSIONER ROOSEVELT says the Commission will endeavor to distribute the additional pension office clerks recently provided for among those States which have not yet received their full quota of appointments. The Southern States are exceedingly backward in putting in their applications, and some of them have not received more than fifty per cent. of the appointments they might have had, providing they come up to the requirements of the law. It is the practice of the Commission to divide up the appointments among the several States according to their population, and they have a system by which they determine what percentage of appointments shall go to each State. Whether the applicants from the Southern States fail to come up to the requirements of the examinations or not, Mr. Roosevelt is unable to say, but the fact remains that there are not enough eligibles from those States to fill the respective quotas. Maryland and Virginia are exceptions, for these two States are beyond their limit by something over ten per cent. According to Mr. Roosevelt's calculation, South Carolina has only received about 17 appointments under the civil service law, when she might have had 50; Georgia 25, when she might have had 47; North Carolina 25, when she might have had 42; Alabama 20, when she might have had 39. Florida is an office-seeking State, as the records showed that she has had more than her share by a small margin. In making the new appointments provided for in the new pension bill, it will be the pleasure of the Commission to try and increase the representation from the Southern States. To that end a series of examinations will be held in all the Southern States at such time and place as may be hereafter determined by the Commission. The examinations in the South have not been as largely attended as they might have been, and it rests, to a considerable extent, with the people themselves whether or not they enter the public service. If they pass the required examinations many of them will be appointed.

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OFFICE, 56 WALL STREET.

NEW YORK, April 28, 1890.

I beg leave to inform the public that the subscriptions received in response to the call issued by this Committee have been sufficient to warrant it in proceeding with the work entrusted to it. A contract has been closed with Mr. DANIEL C. FRENCH of this city, for an heroic bronze bust, to be placed upon a column of rich Swedish granite. Mr. FRENCH's "Minute Man" at Concord, Mass., his "Thomas Starr King," just completed for the City of San Francisco, and his bust of "Emerson," are generally accepted as among the best works of this kind which have been produced in this country. The location of the monument cannot be determined upon until the model shall have been completed.

A small additional sum is desired to defray the expenses of the ceremonies of unveiling, etc., and subscriptions will still be received by the undersigned.

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Sec'y and Treas.

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The Republican machine in its turn has elaborated a tariff bill such, and no other, as it believes will help its election chances. The tables are turned. We have protection for Republican districts, and free trade for Democratic districts.

If it were not so serious, all this would be laughable as the play of children or fools. In fact, it is a mockery of government. It is but stating the commonest principle of government to say that any legislation touching our present tariff should be the result of the unbiased investigation and report of skilled men. Yet such statement only emphasizes the chimerical quality of the hope of such legislation under the boss system. And the same is true generally. The enactment of our public laws is advocated with the halting advocacy caused by the skeleton in the party closet—the fear of losing the spoil of office. Those interested in all questions which relate to the currency, to taxation, to the regulation of the liquor traffic, to our great Indian trust, or which cluster around the cause of labor, or any other subject arising with a progressive people, have found and will find that the measure of relief granted is gauged by its supposed effect upon the continued power of the Quays and the Gormans over the spoil of office.

THE PREY OF THE BOSSES.

With their power well in hand as they have had it for years, the bosses prey upon all they help or can harm. Formerly the Indianapolis postoffice paid \$1200. In 1888 the pension office in that city was called upon for \$600, part of which was collected in violation of law. In that year the Indiana Republican candidate for reporter of the Supreme Court paid \$2250. The candidates for the judgeship of the courts sitting at Indianapolis are each regularly assessed \$500 upon a salary of \$2500. In larger cities and offices all over the country these figures are many times multiplied, and when these sums are again multiplied by the number of state and national offices which still pay assessments, the result shows a startling sum of money to be devoted to the perpetuation of the buccaneering power which extorts it. Great moneyed interests can be helped or hurt by boss legislation. Jay Gould gave his check for \$50,000 to the late John J. O'Brien to the use of the O'Brien machine, and Mr. Wanamaker, then a new recruit to the machine, suggested that the Northern Pacific Railway should help the campaign of 1888 with \$100,000.

With the money thus gathered the bosses in the struggle for the offices leave their mark in the shape of 20,000 floaters in Indiana, and in like proportion in Rhode Island, Connecticut, New York and other states.

Our boss system of officeholders, with its paramount boss and a graded line of under-bosses, has thus become a quasi-feudal system, without the romance or the courtesy or the honor of feudalism. It is the footpad in armor. It uses various interests for its own ends and lets itself for hire to various interests. Destroy it and leave every reform and every interest standing alone, and spontaneous discussion, followed by the untrammelled action of the people, will reward every agitation with that result to which the civilization of the country entitles it.

Therefore I say that the destruction of the spoils system ought to regulate individual political effort. Not that other reforms may not have sympathy and support. But in every case there comes a time when the roads part. Then there can be no compromise, no hesitation. The pursuit of these bloodsuckers upon all our civil government should be relentless. To cease this attack at any point and unite with this common enemy with the hope of benefiting some other object is to strengthen the common enemy and fill him with joy. Such deviation prolongs the unequal struggle on our hands and does not accomplish its object.

Our cause has suffered and is in danger of suffering from such deviation in a single case only; but that is a case of such magnitude as to cause concern and call for protest. I refer to the number of thinking and distinguished men who are entirely with us in opinion, but who would now lay aside civil service reform on behalf of, or would now subordinate it to effort for a modification or abolition of, the tariff. They are certainly mistaken. It was useless that they joined their clean-handed efforts with such efforts as the use of the offices to break down the refractory protectionist Congressman Randall, and with the wholesale subsidy of the Western press, and with the use of the pension bureau as a political machine, and with the use of the civil service as a trip-hammer to help one-half of the people strike the other. The means do not justify the end. Civil service reform wars against such weapons, no matter in what hand or cause.

Deviation from it now but helps to raise up more bosses and strengthen the boss system. The Congressman from the Indianapolis district is a typical instance. He has ability, and in trying circumstances he has displayed the highest skill in unscrupulous manipulation of the offices. He is the enemy of the merit system. His issue is tariff modification. To follow him upon that issue is to help build up a man who might become to Indiana what Platt is to New York, Mahone to Virginia, Quay to Pennsylvania, and Gorman to Maryland. The thought is intolerable. And yet I submit that the advocacy of tariff modification, as it is now offered, gives no satisfactory reward and actually helps the bosses to obscure civil service reform and extend their own rule.

Thus the poison of office—exploitation for spoil—is left with increased virulence to course its way through every hamlet, town and city in all the states of this Union. It ruins public morals. It is

the destroyer of nations. No man can look at our national, state and city governments and deny that it is the crying evil of our time. The call to destroy it rings in the ears of every man who loves his country. Our faces should be always towards it, and our hands should be always against it.

THE RELATION OF CIVIL SERVICE REFORM TO OTHER REFORMS.*

FOR the past ten years our government has been and it still is engaged in a costly but indispensable work, that of restoring the national defences by sea and land, grown dangerously obsolete, through the progress of military and maritime industries since the close of our civil war. The experience of this great undertaking has shown that a sufficient and appropriate plant must be first provided to afford a reasonable prospect of success in any form of mechanical construction on a large scale. To build good steamships and cast good guns we must have suitable shipyards and foundries: attempts to obtain the product without furnishing proper tools in the first instance have invariably resulted in disappointment: an inadequate plant means an imperfect output, short-lived at best, and of limited and uncertain efficiency while it lasts. That we should seek to make something first and to get the means of making it afterwards is *a priori* illogical: the same method has been proved by trial at once wasteful and ineffective.

It is the function of Civil Service Reform to provide for all other reforms, whether legislative or administrative, in our polity, the necessary plant for their work. They can become realities only through the instrumentality of public men fit to mould them in a shape for lasting and practical utility, and our politics for a generation's space before the growth of Civil Service Reform had supplied no public men of this type, and can now supply only here and there one of them, a fruitful and promising but as yet infinitesimal leaven for the lump in which it is hidden. To suppose that the politicians who make up the great bulk of either House of Congress will or can deal worthily with the problems presented by our tariff, our currency, our pension system—to ask that they and their humbler fellows in State Legislatures and City Councils should furnish remedies or even palliatives for public evils arising from the liquor traffic or from labor disputes is, to my mind, as irrational as to expect figs from thistles: to try to get such work out of such workmen is as if Secretary Tracy should order another Maine built on the same stocks and with the same materials that might furnish forth an old seventy-four.

This incapacity does not, however, arise from the undoubted fact that most of our public men are intellectually, or for want of education, incapable of understanding the merits or appreciating the importance of these questions. A very limited acquaintance with our legislative bodies leads me to think that these treat most satisfactorily the topics about which their members know and care the least, since they are then open to the influence of volunteer experts. When there is neither "money" nor "politics" in a proposed measure, the average American politician is a very fair legislator, provided that reputable citizens will take the trouble to tell him just what he should do. He is usually timid and patient, anxious (when it costs him nothing) to conciliate public opinion and accustomed to being bored: he repeats so constantly the party shibboleth that he may have half persuaded himself he believes that, but beyond it he has few prejudices and no opinions. He is therefore a good subject for judicious guidance, and, since he considers all enthusiasm as factitious and all professions as insincere as he knows his own to be, he is protected from the contagion of a visionary fanaticism. But in measures relating to the questions I have mentioned he finds always either "money" or "politics" or both, and in such case he is utterly wanting; wherever there may be some one able and willing to buy him, his sale depends only upon the amount and form of the price offered, and *ex necessitate rei*

*A paper read at the annual meeting of the National Civil Service Reform League at Boston, October 2d, 1890, by Charles J. Bonaparte.

a would-be purchaser is found as soon as his public action begins to touch the pockets of wealthy or influential persons or classes, long accustomed to control legislation by systematic corruption. As an illustration, take the question of Tariff Reform. Whether the tariff should be based upon principles of Free Trade or of Protection—that is to say, whether its aim should be primarily to produce the greatest revenue while imposing the least burden on those taxed, or to make some or all branches of productive industry in the country more profitable to those pursuing them—it is neither my province nor my purpose to discuss. Whichever principles we adopt, their application in modifying our present laws involves the sacrifice or advancement of powerful interests—powerful, because able to dispose of much money or many votes. A change in the laws cannot at once meet the view of both producers and consumers of the article affected; it must inevitably injure pecuniarily one class or the other as individuals, although, of course, if wisely conceived, it may benefit both as members of the community. And although mere consumers make up usually a mass too amorphous and unwieldy to be conscious of its interests or able to defend them, inasmuch as the finished product of one industry constitutes, in numberless instances, the raw material of another, a bitter strife and a keen competition for legislative favor between different groups of producers must attend any attempt to change, whether in one direction or the other, the existing provisions of our revenue laws, be these, as a matter of fact, wise or unwise, salutary or the reverse. The task demands real statesmanship and of no mean order: a veritable Serbonian bog of intrigue and bribery will be created if those who grapple with it have any but the highest standard of morality and honor. What, then, is their standard? It has been within a few months fairly enough defined by one of themselves.

"The purification of politics," says a Senator of the United States, "is an iridescent dream. The decalogue and the golden rule have no place in a political campaign. The object is success. To defeat the antagonist and expel the party in power is the purpose. The modern cant about the corruption of politics is fatiguing in the extreme. It proceeds from the tea-custard and syllabub dilettanteism, the frivolous and desultory sentimentalism of epicenes." There is certainly nothing obscure or equivocal about this language; it expresses a theory of ethics which all can understand, and with which the world is unhappily familiar. *Mutatis mutandis* it might be echoed and is acted upon by every unfaithful servant or trustee, every dishonest trader, every habitual swindler, every common thief. All of these hold practically that "the decalogue and the golden rule have no place in" their trade, all consider that for them "the object" and the only object "is success," all find "cant" about their own corruption "fatiguing in the extreme," although I doubt whether either they or the Senator object to this because it is insipid: it "fatigues" them because they know it is true. The man who uttered these words may not be a wholly normal specimen of professional politicians: comparatively few of these would publicly admit that in any field of thought or action they had just as much and just as little conscience as a brute: perhaps the majority would try to persuade themselves that they had more. It is unusual to find one to whom the sentiments natural to a man of integrity and honor have become so unfamiliar that he cannot even see the practical advantage of counterfeiting them, who is not a hypocrite only because his utter want of sympathy with rectitude prevents his understanding that the simulation of rectitude may pay. But the words themselves, if exceptionally candid, none the less describe with substantial truth the code of morals recognized more or less consciously by our politicians and logically resulting from the conditions of their business. When out of office "to . . . expel the party in power is the purpose" of their labors, not as a means, be it remembered, but as an end; not that they may thus gain something great for the country or for humanity, but that each one of them may gain something little for himself. "The object is success, to defeat the antagonist," but only that the victors may seize and

enjoy his place: the use they will make of it is a wholly secondary consideration, or rather this is not considered at all; it goes without saying that they will use power when they have gained it, only to retain their hold on it as long as possible and to make all they can for themselves out of it meantime. And in their efforts to attain this end, efforts as purely selfish as the struggle of a carnivorous animal for his prey, moral restraints are unknown, and the promptings of patriotism, of charity, of self-respect, have no place. Any regard for the decalogue or the golden rule seems to them "dilettanteism" and "sentimentalism"; for "practical" men these are

"Words, mere words."

In plain English, then, the profession of politics, as understood by a spoilsman, is an essentially immoral profession, like the profession of a gambler or a confidence man. An honest man may enter it, but he must, sooner or later, cease either to be honest or to be a politician.

It is surely needless to speculate how those to whom one or another change in the tariff may mean wealth or ruin will treat men such as these. The saying is not of yesterday:

"In quorum manibus iniquitates sunt dextera eorum repleta est muneribus."

It will be more to the purpose if I point out that the character of our public men and the inducements wherewith alone they can be approached with reasonable hope of success by those seeking favors at their hands, explain the curious phenomenon, so often noted and lamented by tariff reformers, that they seem to have no idea of proportion in dealing with our industries, and often sacrifice one of them to advance the interests of another, although the latter may be utterly insignificant, both in amount of capital and in number of laborers employed, when compared with the former. Supposing legislative action inspired by a thought of the public good, such a course is, on any conceivable theory of political economy, inexplicable, but, supposing such action to be inspired simply by some form of bribery, direct or indirect, it is intelligible enough. Two or three men can corrupt more promptly and secretly, and with less risk of subsequent indiscretion, and consequently more effectively and safely, than a score or a hundred can. A single capitalist, having nobody else to inform or consult as to his course, and able to tell with almost mathematical accuracy what profits will accrue to him from a given law when made, and how much he can therefore afford to invest in the requisite law-making machinery, will have great advantages in his competition with a multitude of manufacturers, scattered throughout the country and unaccustomed to act in concert, of whom each will usually seek to throw on others the burden of defending their common interest, and among whom there is danger, proportioned to their number, of finding some "epicene" too much affected by "tea-custard and syllabub" views of ethics to perceive the necessity of indulgence or even of discreet silence regarding the peculiar methods of modern American statesmanship.

I have used the tariff as an apt illustration, but what I have said applies with equal truth to our pension system or our currency, or any other subject of national concern in which there is room for gain or loss to individual interests. Conflicting theories about bimetalism or a single standard do not impede a rational solution for the silver question: the wealth and influence of our "silver kings" do; we should hear little enough about "dependent pensions" or "service pensions" if the would-be pensioners were few in numbers or had no votes. For I need hardly say that whether a man is bribed to vote against what in his best judgment he believes to be the public interest by so much cash in his own pocket or by the payment or promise or hope of cash for the party-treasury, or by the expectancy of thus getting offices or votes or help of any kind for himself or others, makes no manner of difference as to the moral question. A politician may as well, so far as his self-respect or his public utility is affected, be owned by a rich man or a rich corporation as by the Farmers' Alliance or the Knights of Labor

or the Grand Army of the Republic: he is a bale of the same goods, whatever may be his trade-mark.

To rid our country thoroughly and once for all of these dangerous and noxious counterfeits of statesmen, and to thus make room for the genuine article, which we produced in good measure a hundred years ago, we have only to do away with the incidents of public life which have arisen within those hundred years and made it no fit career for honorable men. Washington, Jefferson, and Adams, Patrick Henry and Alexander Hamilton grew up from another political soil from that which nourished the Senator I have quoted; if we would have again among our rulers "epicenes" and "dilettanti" such as these we must "thoroughly purge" our meadows of that which has choked out the good wheat and given them over to tares and cockle. We must do away with the swinish scuffle for support at the taxpayers' cost which has become all that "politics" means to the mass of our public men, and make a political campaign once more something in which the decalogue and the golden rule have a place. When we have done this—in other words, when we have practically applied the essential principles of Civil Service Reform throughout our federal, state and municipal governments, we shall have again, as we had once, under the same conditions, men in public life able to consider in proposed changes of law more than the hopes they may arouse of personal or party gain. And when we have thus deserved such rulers and, by deserving them, obtained them, we may hope for those reforms which only their rule can give us. To ask that Civil Service Reform wait while we reform the tariff or the currency, or anything else, is to ask that a surgeon cut out the tumor first and sharpen his knife afterwards, that a shipwright wait for his dockyard and meantime build his ship.

DRIFT.

PAR nobile fratrum! Mr. Quay goes to Mr. Gorman to make a bargain for the sale and delivery of Republican measures, as naturally as one drop of water joins with another. They are two of a kind. Mr. Gorman is the "Boss" of the dominant party in Maryland, and has so thoroughly steeped it in corrupt and dishonorable politics that he has driven into revolt, again and again, those Democrats who care more for the public welfare than for party shackles. Mr. Gorman was the evil genius of Mr. Cleveland's Administration, as Mr. Quay is of Mr. Harrison's. It was Gormanism that from 1885 to 1889 furnished to the nation the worst examples of vicious appointments, and made such a smirch upon the record of the Administration as gave Republicans the right to charge it with infidelity to the pledges which Mr. Cleveland had made.

And now Mr. Quay makes his deal with Gorman! Certainly: what could be more fit? Mr. Quay is the dead-weight of discredit which the Republican party has had to endure. He is to Mr. Harrison's Administration what Gorman was to the one that preceded, though he is a greater load. Mr. Archer, who despoiled the State treasury of Maryland, was, it is true, one of the Gorman political clique, but it was he, not his chief, who committed the act, and he was discovered, tried, and imprisoned for it. He has not even asked to be made a Senator of the United States.

That Mr. Quay and Mr. Gorman should arrange the deal is also perfectly natural. They are both "operators" in politics, as Mr. Gould is in railroads and Mr. Rockefeller in oil. Public affairs are a commodity to both, to be dealt in on the political exchange.—*Phila. American*.

SENATOR GORMAN came over from Washington by a late train yesterday afternoon and took a parlor at the Hotel Rennert. Soon after his arrival Messrs. Bernard Carter, Thomas M. Lanahan, John P. Poe and I. Freeman Rasin dropped in and were shown to the Senator's room. They remained in consultation about an hour and a half. Senator Gorman and Mr. Rasin got into a cab together shortly before nine o'clock and were driven to the Union depot, where the Senator took the 9.20 train for Washington. The suit of the creditors of the Chesapeake and Ohio Canal will be argued before Judge Alvey in Hagerstown this week, and a friend of Senator Gorman said that the conference had a bearing on the canal question.—*Balto. Sun*.

MR. PORTER, the Superintendent of the Census, publicly proclaimed his opposition to civil service reform. In his disposition of the offices under his control Mr. Porter has faithfully carried out his views on the subject. In his recent testimony before a House committee, in reply to a question, he said he did not remember that he had appointed any Democrats to office in his bureau. The only test of fitness which Mr. Porter has appeared to regard as essential is allegiance to the Republican party. He has not himself issued any written declaration to this effect, but he has expressed no disap-

proval of the act of census supervisors who have, in official circulars, announced their purpose to appoint Republicans only as enumerators. It is understood as a fact that in all the multitude of appointments under the census bureau no Democrat has been selected, unless it was impossible to find a Republican for the place.

Perhaps, had some other qualifications than party fealty been deemed requisite in appointees, there would not be so much complaint of the inaccuracy of census statistics. It is certain there has been much more complaint than ever before in this respect. It is also true that never before has the census bureau been used to such an extent to promote partisan purposes.—*Balto. Sun*.

WE presume that it would have been impossible to secure the services of Gen. Walker as Superintendent of the present census, as he became President of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology several years ago, and would probably have found it impracticable to leave his post. But it would have been possible to secure a Superintendent of the Walker type: a man of the highest character and the most approved qualifications; a man who would have made fitness the test of appointment, and who would gladly have availed himself of the opportunity to bring his office under the Civil Service Law; a man whose work would have commanded the respect of the whole country.

Instead of such a man, what did the President give the country? A Superintendent whose reputation was that of a self-seeker, unhampered by nice scruples in his quest of office; who was appointed because he had been the editor of a subservient party organ; who began operations by proclaiming his contempt for civil service reform; who is believed—and especially by those who know him best—to be entirely capable of any degree of "fooling" with the figures that was likely to escape detection. From Francis A. Walker we made the abrupt descent to Robert P. Porter.

A sample of Porter's methods is afforded by the system adopted to take the census of this city. Here is the metropolis of the nation, a vast aggregation of people from all parts of the world, speaking all sorts of languages, living in all kinds of crowded buildings. The task of taking the census in New York was beset by the utmost difficulties, and required the services of the very highest type of enumerators that could be secured. What type did we have? The method adopted by Mr. Porter's representative in this city was to send out to the "Jakes" and "Barneys" and "Mikes" who "run the machine" in the various districts this circular:

DEAR SIR: You will please forward to this office the list of applicants that the Republican organization of your district desires to have named as census enumerators. This list must be sent here on or before April 1.

Yours,

C. H. MURRAY.

—*Evening Post*.

WE condemn the Administration for its open repudiation of the letter and spirit of the civil service laws, for making wholesale removals and appointments for purely partisan purposes, and for permitting the interference of Federal officeholders in Massachusetts politics—an interference in striking contrast with the course of the holders of the same offices under a Democratic Administration.—*Massachusetts Democrats*.

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NEW YORK, April 28, 1890.

I beg leave to inform the public that the subscriptions received in response to the call issued by this Committee have been sufficient to warrant it in proceeding with the work entrusted to it. A contract has been closed with Mr. DANIEL C. FRENCH of this city, for an heroic bronze bust, to be placed upon a column of rich Swedish granite. Mr. FRENCH's "Minute Man" at Concord, Mass., his "Thomas Starr King," just completed for the City of San Francisco, and his bust of "Emerson," are generally accepted as among the best works of this kind which have been produced in this country. The location of the monument cannot be determined upon until the model shall have been completed.

A small additional sum is desired to defray the expenses of the ceremonies of unveiling, etc., and subscriptions will still be received by the undersigned.

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VOL. VI.—No. 11.

BALTIMORE, NOVEMBER, 1890.

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THE MONTH.

MR. GORMAN'S vaunted astuteness seems to be deserting him. Only a year ago his party pledged itself to the Australian ballot in Maryland. A month after the election was won, he called his subsidized editors together in secret at the Carrollton Hotel, and enjoined them to oppose the enactment of an Australian ballot law by the Legislature. But the affair was so stupidly managed that his commands to repudiate the platform became known to everybody, and when the Legislature met he was both disgraced and defeated, and the law was passed. A wise man would have let the matter rest, but Mr. Gorman now recalls to the public mind his failure and his perfidy, by making a speech before the thugs and hoodlums of Tammany Hall, in which he sneers at "new-fangled election laws that obstruct the voter and take up his time, all to prepare the nation for the very last strike that this Republican party is to make to take your liberties away." It is needless to say anything of the patent untruth of this statement. But its stupidity is phenomenal. Where were Mr. Gorman's wits when he missed so good an opportunity as the present to score the Republican party for the opposition which its leaders made in this State to the Australian ballot law? Is he so ignorant of daily affairs as not to know that, after pledging the Republican party to the Australian ballot in their last canvass, its leaders have just been defeated in an attempt to have the Court of Appeals declare the law unconstitutional? Mr. Gorman's reputation for shrewdness will not survive many more such blunders as these.

THE Republican politicians have made a great blunder in opposing the Australian ballot law in the courts. They have for years stood with the Independent Democrats in their efforts to have this law and an improved registration law enacted. They specifically pledged themselves to the Australian ballot in their platforms. To oppose it now in the courts lays them open to a charge of hypocrisy. Their course in this regard is of a piece with the fatuity that has characterized all their acts since they got control of the Federal patronage.

WE have had many instances of the intimidation of public servants by politicians, but the notorious ex-Sheriff Fledderman is, so far as we know, the first to introduce political persecution into private business. A man named Murphy, one of the employees of the Brush Electric Company of this city, was acting as a United States supervisor at the recent registration. In the course of his duty he instituted prosecutions against several Rasin heelers for frauds upon the registration. According to his statement recently published in the *Critic*, Fledderman interested himself to have these prosecutions stopped, and had enough influence with Mr. Baker, the manager of the company, to cause him to threaten Murphy with the loss of his place, unless he withdrew the charge of fraud against the Rasin heelers. Mr. Baker has been arrested on a charge of intimidating a United States supervisor.

THE community is indebted to the Taxpayers' Association for exposing the scandalous job of the registration printing contract, and for forcing Mayor Davidson to a plain choice between the Ring's interests and the people's. The choice the Mayor made is unfortunate for his reputation. The Association showed that the printing contract was given to a favored house, without advertisement, without competition, and at an excessive price, one-half greater than a fair rate. The loss to the city is \$4000. The facts were fully presented to both the City Council and the Mayor. Nevertheless, the one passed and the other signed an ordinance ratifying the job. The printers who got the contract were the Dulany Company, who have long enjoyed a political pull at the City Hall.

This pull seems to have drawn the Mayor rather far from the position he took when he asked the people for their votes. He then said: "What the people of this community desire is an administration of the office of Mayor by those methods of common sense, economy, business integrity, and sagacity by which men achieve success in private and corporate enterprises. . . ."

"My conception of the duty of a public servant is that he should have an eye single to the performance of the duties of the particular office in which he is placed, with no stretch of vision beyond it; that he should carefully consider and guard the general interests of all the citizens, and not the interests or wishes of *individuals seeking private profit from the public loss.*"

These were, indeed, as Portia says, "good sentences and well pronounced," but in failing to live up to them the Mayor has illustrated afresh that it is "easier to teach twenty what were good to be done, than to be one of the twenty to follow his own instructions."

It seems to be conclusively proved that Mr. Porter, who was himself appointed as a reward for partisan service, has made his appointments of census supervisors and enumerators the spoils of small politicians. The ill results are now coming to light all over the country. In New York City alone there is discrepancy of 200,000 names to be accounted for either as the result of gross carelessness or deliberate fraud. The general result is so bad that the expert whose articles in the *Evening Post* have attracted much attention thinks that it is now "practically certain that the census returns of the total population of the country will themselves demonstrate the defective character of the canvass by which they were obtained, far more conclusively than any number of partial recounts are at all likely to do."

Whenever administrative offices are made party spoils, the result is the same—partial or total failure.

IN any attempt to judge of the performance by President Harrison of the promises of his party platform to reform the civil service, the report of the Investigating Committee of the League upon Presidential Postmasters deserves grave consideration. The conclusion which must be reached by every candid enquirer is that the performance has fallen woefully short of what was promised. In the first four months

of the Administration's existence, 560 presidential post-offices were vacated, but only 24 by death. The remaining 536 resigned, were not reappointed when their terms expired, or when the office became presidential, or were removed. Of those removed "22 had an average service of nearly four years," says Mr. Wanamaker, in his official report. The committee calls particular attention to this singular statement. It means that if A, B, C, and D are four good postmasters of Democratic party faith, and A has been in office two years, and B, C, and D have been in three years and eleven months, their terms, when averaged, would be *nearly four years*; which is taken as sufficient ground for removing all four, including A, who has been in only two years.

In the first year of the Administration the entire number of changes in the presidential postoffices was 1783, or over 65 per cent of the whole number. The entire number of deaths in this time was only 48. The number of resignations was 374, and as to these the committee made an elaborate enquiry to ascertain whether such resignations were forced for political reasons. The first method tried was to send letters to the men who had resigned, asking their reasons for resigning; and when these reasons were given, to write to the new incumbent, asking his version of the facts. Mr. Clarkson, very characteristically, did what he could to prevent answers to these enquiries being given, by issuing a statement to the Associated Press, to the effect that the enquiries of the committee were intended for political use, and intimating that answers had better not be returned. Answers were returned, however, in 143 cases, and the specimens of these printed by the committee are of the greatest interest. They show as nothing else has done the complete usurpation of the appointing power by members of Congress, and prove that in most instances the resignations were forced by a threat that the incumbent would soon be removed anyhow and would be made to lose a sale of his office fixtures unless he resigned promptly. The committee concludes after careful examination that "many of the so-called resignations were not such in fact, but that the changes thus made were in spirit and essence removals for political purposes."

The report also goes into the matter of Mr. Wanamaker's truthfulness, which, as often before, is found not to bear examination.

These are the facts. In February last, Mr. Foulke wrote to the superintendent of the Railway Mail Service, asking for copies of the daily bulletin, which shows the removals made from day to day. Mr. Wanamaker refused to permit the bulletins to be examined by Mr. Foulke, saying that the department was governed by a well-established precedent, which denied the public the right of inspecting these papers, and calling them "privileged and confidential." This is a very extraordinary description to give of the daily bulletin, which, in reality, is issued to the newspapers for publication every day; and Mr. Foulke, in his ignorance of Mr. Wanamaker's ways, thought that there must be a mistake. So he called upon Mr. Wanamaker and was again refused permission to see the copies of the bulletin. In April Mr. Wm. Potts asked for the information which the bulletins contained, and was told by Mr. Wanamaker that it could not be furnished because of lack of facilities for copying, and that outsiders were not permitted to perform any work in connection with papers on file in the department. To the editor of the CIVIL-SERVICE REFORMER, who asked for a part of the information contained in the daily bulletin, Mr.

Wanamaker wrote that if the REFORMER would correct certain unspecified, and indeed un-written, falsehoods, "we should be glad to furnish you with any information at our command." Mr. Foulke, in a letter to the President, says he thinks "you will see that these statements are not consistent." To this the President made no reply other than to acknowledge the receipt of the letter.

The report also points out very forcibly the importance of making the daily bulletin of changes in the service a public record, as the only means of enabling the Postmaster-General to avoid incurring the distrust of those who believe that the public service should be administered with such publicity as not to shrink from examination.

The report is, on the whole, a very severe rebuke to the Administration. At the same time it is a monument to the candor of its chief author, Mr. Wm. D. Foulke, who by this means has exculpated himself for whatever blame may have attached to him for assuring a Baltimore audience on a certain occasion that "Gen. Harrison is a keeper of promises."

Up to within a very recent period a sufficient number of applicants could not be found from the Southern States to give them their proper quota in making appointments under the civil service rules. The people in that section probably believed that they would not be fairly treated, and the eligible lists were very meagre, indeed. In July last Mr. Roosevelt invited a large number of Southern Congressmen to his office, among them Messrs. Crisp of Georgia, Herbert of Alabama, Stewart of Texas, McRae of Arkansas, Price of Louisiana, and others, together with the correspondents of the New Orleans *Picayune*, the *Times-Democrat*, the Atlanta *Constitution*, and the Memphis *Appeal*. He declared his purpose to bring the eligibles from these States up to the required number, and asked the aid of these gentlemen in getting as many people as possible to take examinations for the positions of clerk and copyist, assuring them that they would be fairly treated and that no discrimination would be made against Democrats. The result of this interview has been most satisfactory. Special examinations were held for the purpose of bringing up the quota of the Southern States, and the consequence has been that these quotas are now nearly full. Take the case of Louisiana, for example. Formerly there was only twenty-five per cent of the quota of that State upon the eligible list. Now the eligible list is nearly full. In the years 1886, 1887 and 1888, before the present Commission came in, there were only ten clerks on the register. These had passed the examinations with low averages, the highest being 78, and only four appointments were made. After the present Commission came in there were only two men additional up to the summer of 1890, when Mr. Roosevelt made this announcement to the congressmen and editors of the Southern papers. Since that time thirty-four names have been added to the list, and there have been fifteen appointments made to the War and Interior Departments out of the seventeen men standing highest on these lists. The highest were taken, with only two exceptions, showing a total absence of partisanship in making the selections. On the list of copyists, prior to last summer, there were only fourteen. After the interview with the Southern congressmen twenty-two were added, and five appointments made out of the six names standing highest. This is in Louisiana alone. From all the Southern States, which were behind in their quotas, nearly two hundred appointments were made.

These facts need no commentary, but they ought to be published for the information of all those who believe in civil service reform. Our authority for these statements is Mr. Wm. D. Foulke, who has recently spent much time in Washington in an investigation of the present working of the reform law, and of the abuses of patronage.

THE campaign just closed has been marked by a relapse of the Republican politicians into their old habit of assessing government clerks in Washington. Under President Arthur the practice was broken up, and it was not revived under President Cleveland. General Harrison has permitted it to begin again and to go on unchecked, notwithstanding the protests of Mr. Roosevelt, expressed through the newspapers. A word or a line from the President, assuring the unfortunates that they would be protected if they declined to be robbed, would have sufficed to have put a stop to the practice; but the President had not the manliness to give such an assurance.

How much the President's broken faith is responsible for the overwhelming defeat of his party no one can say; but a defeat so crushing and complete must have had many concurrent causes, and doubtless disgust at a promise-breaking President was one of them. Disgust at Wanamaker, with his petty falsehoods; at Clarkson, with his brutal, frank and bold application of spoils principles in thousands of post-offices; disgust at Ingalls, with his cynical professions of contempt for morality in politics; disgust at Quay, the unpunished felon, who ruled the Administration,—all of these helped to swell the tide of condemnation which has engulfed representatives, senators and President. The depths have covered them; they sank into the bottom as a stone. However party feelings may be lacerated in our Republican friends, decent people everywhere, without regard to party, must enjoy certain results of the Republican defeat. Mr. Ingalls disappears beneath the waters. All who deny that the decalogue and the golden rule have no place in politics, must rejoice that the author of that phrase has no longer a place in them. Even more gratifying is the fact that Quay has at last been sent to that limbo whither the people of Virginia some years ago sent Mahone. With Ingalls gone, Quay gone, Mahone gone, it begins to look as if Maryland might before long make an end of Gorman. The mills of God grind slowly, but with exactness grinds He all. The same appeals to the conscience of the people which led to the defeat of these three typical spoils men must be continued to be made in Maryland, until we too redeem the honor of our State. Perhaps the next mercy to be vouchsafed us by a kind Providence will be the disappearance of Gorman in Maryland and of his friend and fellow-worker, in New York, Gov. Hill.

THE RIGHT MAN IN THE RIGHT PLACE.

WE know of no place where our senior Senator could be stationed with more unquestionable propriety than on a Tammany platform. A friend and patron of Archer addressing successors and disciples of Tweed!—could there be a better orator for the audience, or a better audience for the orator? What he said on this happy occasion is of no great moment. Had any one else given Tammany credit for Cleveland's election we might have been startled, but neither this statement nor any other from him will surprise

those who know our "statesman." Macaulay erred in saying: "A man who has never been within the tropics does not know what a thunderstorm means; a man who has never looked on Niagara has but a faint idea of a cataract; and he who has not read Barère's Memoirs may be said not to know what it is to lie." It is unlikely that Mr. Gorman has read Barère's Memoirs; we believe they have never been translated, and his close attention to those studies which make up the curriculum of Mr. Fritz Buchheimer's University has left him, unless we are misinformed, no leisure for foreign literature. For some reasons this may be regretted: he would have found Barère's sentiments and actions, if tested by his own standard of morality and honor, even more commendable than those of Dick Croker and Mayor Grant; but for the particular purpose indicated by Macaulay he has no need to read these Memoirs or anything else: however imperfect it may be otherwise, in this respect his education is complete. Nor is there cause for wonder if the man of all others responsible for the incidents and results of our elections in 1875 and 1885 should sneer at safeguards to the suffrage intended to make their repetition impossible, especially when assured, as he might well be, of hearty applause from hearers to defeat whose shameless frauds and unblushing bribery was the aim of the Tilden laws, those first steps in the path of ballot reform. But, however appropriate may have been his appearance as the ally of Tammany against "Fusionists" in New York, this but increases our regret that an unreasonable prejudice in the public mind, or rather the necessity on his part of pretending to share this prejudice, prevented his lending a helping hand to a brother boss when sore pressed by other "Fusionists" in Pennsylvania. It was indeed well that Mr. Blaine should give what aid and comfort he could to Quay and Delamater; he should know how to feel for men persecuted as they have been with unkind charges which they cannot resent because, unhappily, these are true; but the author of the Mulligan letters was really entitled in this good work to the active co-operation of his associate in other enterprises. It was hard that the cordial sympathy which we cannot doubt Mr. Gorman felt for his fellow-senator could take no tangible form. For, although it can hardly be truly said that these two worthies make up

"Two souls with but a single thought,"

since the single thought of the one is the welfare of Arthur P. Gorman and the single thought of the other that of Matthew S. Quay, they constitute, of a surety,

"Two hearts that beat as one"

in hearty hatred of every man who still believes that the decalogue and the golden rule *have* a place in our politics, and of every law or custom or rule of life inspired by this belief. Quay's recent troubles, too, must have endeared him to Gorman, for they are precisely what the latter has had to deal with in the past and what alone he fears in the future. The union of honest Democrats with honest Republicans in effective hostility to scoundrelism in public office under either party name is what defeated his constitutional convention, overthrew Morris Thomas, brought thorough exposure and inadequate punishment to some few of his wretched tools through the agency of the Reform League, extorted successively some fraction of the needed amendment in our election laws from the grudging and reluctant legislatures of 1888 and 1890, and four times within *seven years* (in 1883, 1885, 1887 and 1889) has shaken his hold on the State and threat-

ened his political life. And to escape these dangers he has again and again appealed (unfortunately with too much success) to the very partisan and sectional prejudices which have been the sheet-anchors of hope for Quay. Maryland Democrats have been asked to give, and, we are sorry and ashamed to say, have given, impunity and an opportunity for further mischief to "Free" Rasin and "Sonny" Mahon and "Hack" Quinn, and all the other parasites who belong to the Democratic party as leeches and ticks belong to a body on which these have fastened, because they have been told that to shake them off would endanger the life of their party. Republicans in Pennsylvania have within the past few months been deafened with entreaties to spare similar vermin for the same reason. The Citizens' Republican Committee in Philadelphia is the exact counterpart of our Business Men's Democratic Association—an assemblage of respectable cats-paws to be used by the bosses, and, when no longer needed, treated with the contempt they deserve, who shut their eyes tight and stuff their ears with cotton, and then proclaim that they neither see nor hear anything which should prevent a good citizen voting the "straight" party ticket. Perhaps it is rather a caricature than a copy of Mr. Blaine's plea that Delamater should be elected governor to save protection, when our *Evening News* asks for a Democratic city council as an endorsement of tariff reform and a rebuke to Speaker Reed, but the underlying principle is precisely the same. While you, who bawl for "protection," and your neighbor, who bawls for "free trade," are shaking your fists in each other's faces, yonder sly scamp, who cares nothing for the doctrines of either, quietly rifles the pockets of both. It is by making honest men fall out that these rogues come by what isn't their own. Moreover, Mr. Quay's desire to "own a governor" must have seemed very reasonable to the proprietor successively of Lloyd and Jackson, and if Delamater is rather a poor specimen of this kind of live-stock, Mr. Gorman has no reason to despise him when compared with his own last investment. It is true that Quay calls himself a "protectionist," but then Gorman called himself a "protectionist" also for many years, and ceased to pose as one so recently and so suddenly that he can hardly think the worse of his brother boss for this trifling difference. He well knows that a "practical" man like Quay has no "epicene" squeamishness about laying aside his principles, but will change them as he would his underclothing, or as Gorman did his own, whenever others will suit him better. Indeed we do both injustice in suggesting that either has changed or might change his *principles*; these are and will be always the same for both—the "principles" of the Vicar of Bray. As Rube Burrows or Jesse James might here wear a white mask and there a black one, so our political banditti call themselves in Maryland Democrats, in Pennsylvania Republicans, but they are really neither Democrats nor Republicans in either State, and are always ready, if it should pay them, to sham the opposite of what it has paid them to sham before.

The true and vital interests of such men are the same everywhere; they would perpetuate animosities and dissensions by which they profit, inflame a party spirit which they may abuse for selfish ends, confuse and mislead worthy citizens as to their duty by playing on their foibles of temperament or education or history, and finally prey upon the country as the maggot on the plant. Tammany and Quay and Gorman are natural allies; they have all common aims and common enemies, and they join hands in the great struggle which, now in one form, now in another, here

within existing party organizations, there without, sometimes openly, sometimes beneath the surface, goes on without truce and throughout the Union, the struggle between those men and forces which would make and keep room in our body politic for honor and conscience, patriotism and civic duty, and those men and forces which would make and keep the whole fabric of our National, State and Municipal governments simply one vast den of thieves.

CORRESPONDENCE.

MR. CLEVELAND'S MOTIVES.

45 WILLIAM STREET, NEW YORK, October 27, 1890.

EDITOR OF THE CIVIL-SERVICE REFORMER.

Sir:—You published in the last number of the REFORMER two papers which discussed incidentally the motives which led President Cleveland to send his tariff message to Congress. This was a matter of so much public importance, and must occupy such a large place in our political history, that I feel bound to state my own knowledge respecting it. I speak also on the authority of others thoroughly well informed as to the facts, and well known to all interested in civil service reform—Mr. Burt of New York, and Mr. Winslow Warren of Boston.

The fact is that Mr. Cleveland, and the Secretary of the Treasury, Mr. Fairchild, were led to take the ground they did on the subject of the tariff, not from any disposition to throw the subject of civil service reform to one side, but from a conviction that under the laws then existing the surplus in the Treasury was increasing at such a rapid rate as to threaten the prosperity of the country, and to make it their absolute duty to recommend a reduction of tariff taxation. Many of the party leaders, and especially those who had been most hostile to civil service reform, were very much opposed to the sending of such a message. They thought Mr. Cleveland's popularity and the success of his Administration to be such that he was sure of re-election, and the party was sure of success in the approaching election. Mr. Cleveland was pressed very strongly on the subject. His reply was in accordance with his character. "I am here," he said, "as the servant of the people, and I must do my duty to them. If they think it proper to elect some one else as my successor, that is for them to say. As long as I am President I must do my duty to them, and I feel that it compels me to send this message to Congress."

Yours respectfully,
EVERETT P. WHEELER.

THIRD REPORT OF THE INVESTIGATING COMMITTEE OF THE NATIONAL CIVIL SERVICE REFORM LEAGUE.

PRESIDENTIAL POSTMASTERS.

To the Executive Committee of the
National Civil Service Reform League:

Your special committee, appointed to inquire into the condition of the Federal Service and the operation of the reform law, has completed its investigation of removals and resignations of presidential postmasters during the first year of the present administration.

It gave us satisfaction to note in our last report the improved condition of the Patent Office and the adherence to civil service principles in its management. We are not able to discover the same adherence to business methods in respect to the changes made among presidential postmasters. In investigating these changes we have attempted to ascertain:

- 1st. Their number.
- 2d. The motive, whether made for political reasons or to promote the efficiency of the service.

Our first effort was to ascertain what changes had been made. For the purpose of obtaining official information, our chairman opened a correspondence with the officers of the Post-office Department, which is fully set forth in the following letter addressed by him to the President on March 27, 1890, and in the letters therein referred to and annexed to this report:

WASHINGTON, D. C., March 17, 1890.

HON. BENJAMIN HARRISON, President of the United States.

Dear Sir:—On February 20 I wrote to Mr. J. Lowrie Bell, General Superintendent of the Railway Mail Service, asking him how I

could secure copies of the Daily Bulletin of the orders affecting the Postal Service and obtain access to past files of this Daily Bulletin. On February 21 he answered that it could only be furnished for official purposes; that the file was kept at his office; and that, if I would call and show why I should examine it, I would, if proper, be allowed to do so. On February 22 I answered, saying that a special committee was recently appointed by the National Civil Service Reform League to inquire into the present condition of the Civil Service with reference to this reform, and that I was placed in charge of this work in Washington, that a list of appointments and removals of postmasters was necessary, and asking whether I might be allowed to look over these past files and take copies of such portions as might seem necessary, or whether such inspection would be inadmissible. On March 1 I received an answer from Postmaster-General Wanamaker that the department was governed by a well-established precedent, which denied to the public the privilege of inspecting papers in appointment cases for many sound reasons, in furtherance of which such papers had invariably been deemed privileged and confidential with the department. It will be observed that I asked nothing more than to inspect past files of the Daily Bulletin in the office of the General Superintendent of the Railway Mail Service, and that I am told that such papers have invariably been deemed privileged and confidential.

Thinking there must be some misapprehension on the part of the Postmaster-General, I wrote him on March 6 that the files I desired to look over were the files of the Daily Bulletin containing lists of appointments and men removed, and not any other files, and that I understood these were given to the public press, and did not see how they could be deemed confidential. I stated that all I desired to see was a record of the removals and appointments, and not of any other files or papers relating in any other manner to such removals and appointments. To this I received an answer from the Postmaster-General, dated March 11, politely requesting me to call upon him at my earliest convenience. On the afternoon of March 14 I accordingly called upon the Postmaster-General, but he declined to permit an inspection of these files of the Daily Bulletin, telling me I had no business to see them.

On April 26, 1889, Mr. William Potts, Secretary of the League, asked Mr. Wanamaker for information as to the names of postmasters who have died, resigned or been removed since the incoming of the present administration, and the names of those who have been appointed during the same period, and also their offices. Mr. Wanamaker replied May 10 that the information asked was furnished daily through the press in announcing the appointments made, and that the changes were furnished in manifold to the representatives of the press, embracing the name of the office and the former official, the cause of the change, whether from resignation, death, improvement of the service, or removal, and the name of the new appointee. Mr. Wanamaker said that it would be impossible for the working force of the department to furnish the special information sought, and that it would be a violation of the regulations to admit outsiders to perform any work in connection with the official and legal papers of the department.

On June 18, 1889, Mr. J. Hemsley Johnson, the editor of the *Civil Service Reformer*, a newspaper published in Baltimore, wrote a letter to the Postmaster-General asking for the total number of removals in the Railway Mail Service between March 4 and June 1, 1889. Mr. Wanamaker answered that there was a daily statement given to the public press of all the changes made, and added the following: "As we understand it, your paper has thus far given scarcely anything but misrepresentations by way of alleged facts to the people in discussing this question. We are very much gratified to see this change in your disposition and a desire to deal frankly and fairly and to come to first sources to gain official facts before taking up official discussion. Therefore, if you are ready to begin the discussion on the basis of truth and candor, and willing to correct the false statements heretofore made in your journal, and to say frankly to the public that said previous information was wrong, and that you henceforth intend to discuss matters connected with the Postal Service intelligently and fairly, on actual official data, we should be glad to furnish you with any information at our command."

I enclose copies of this correspondence for your inspection.

Without considering now whether the record of removals and appointments is not so far a public record as to entitle any citizen to its inspection at such reasonable hours as may be consistent with the business of the department, permit me to say that the refusals to allow it ought to be more consistent. Mr. Wanamaker refuses to allow me to look over the files of appointments and removals because such papers have invariably been deemed privileged and confidential, and yet he tells Mr. Potts and the editor of the *Reformer* that they are furnished daily to the public press. He says to Mr. Potts that it would be impossible for the force of the office to furnish the special information, and a violation of the regulations to admit outsiders to obtain it; and yet he says to the editor of the *Reformer* that, if the latter will retract certain unspecified statements made in that journal, and say that the *Reformer* intends to discuss matters connected with the Postal Service on actual official data, he will be glad to furnish that paper with any information at his command.

I think you will see that these statements are not consistent, and before publishing this correspondence I respectfully submit it for such consideration as it may seem to you to deserve.

Very respectfully,

WM. DUDLEY FOULKE.

EXECUTIVE MANSION, WASHINGTON, March 19, 1890.

Hon. WM. D. FOULKE, Washington, D. C.

My dear Mr. Foulke:—The President directs me to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 17th inst., with the accompanying copies of correspondence.

Very truly yours,
E. W. HALFORD, *Private Secretary*.

Your committee is of the opinion that the lists of postmasters removed and appointed ought to be a public record,—that any person dealing with the department should have the right to know who is the lawfully commissioned officer, when he was appointed, and when his term would expire, and ought not to be required to establish a special interest before being permitted to inspect this list, any more than if it were the record of a court of justice or of a legislative body. If the Postmaster-General has the discretionary right to refuse such inspection, the exercise of this right cannot fail to incur the distrust of those who believe that the public service should be administered with such publicity as not to shrink from examination.

The past numbers of the Daily Bulletin issued to the press had become scattered and lost before your committee was appointed; and it is impossible thus to obtain a complete official list of the changes made, especially in relation to fourth-class post-offices. The results of our inquiries will perhaps show why the Postmaster-General considered it necessary to refuse access to this information. The mere number of such removals (which the department offered to furnish) would of itself throw no light upon the motives for which they were made; and without the names of the offices, of the men removed, and of the new appointees, it would be manifestly impossible for us to obtain information of value. We have, however, been able to obtain this information so far as the changes in presidential post-offices are concerned, in other ways; and, if it is not derived wholly from the Postmaster-General's own lists, it is because he declined to furnish it.

A partial enumeration of the changes in presidential offices, those made between March 4 and July 1, 1889, had been already given in the report of the Postmaster-General for 1889. It is as follows (see p. 19):

By deaths.....	24
By resignations.....	176
By expirations.....	105
By offices becoming presidential.....	119
By removals for various reasons.....	136
Total.....	560

And the report says of these removals, "55 were removed upon inspectors' and other official reports, 23 others had served over four years, 22 others had an average service of nearly four years, and the remaining 36 were removed to secure a better service." This report reveals a curious system resorted to in the Post-office Department to explain removals. In the first place, changes made by resignations and by expirations of terms are excluded before these removals are counted. Then we are told that among the men removed, 23 had served over four years (although the term for which they were commissioned had not expired), and "22 others had an average service of nearly four years." This is certainly a peculiar reason for the removal of an efficient postmaster before the expiration of his term.

If A, B, C and D are four unexceptionable postmasters, and A has been in office two years, and B, C and D have been in three years and eleven months, this will give an average term of "nearly four years"; but it is rather a poor reason for the removal of even B, C and D, to say nothing of A, who has served only two years, and whose average is thus extended by this involuntary companionship. There is no claim that these men are removed for improper conduct, nor even to secure a better service; for those classes are specially mentioned. According to the Postmaster-General's report, each of these removals appears to be without other reason than the iniquity of serving an average term with some other unknown person of "nearly four years."

But the statements in this report go further: "55 were removed upon inspectors' and other official reports; while the remaining 36 were removed to secure a better service." It thus appears that as to this remainder there were no official

reports in reference to the good of the service; and the information upon this point must have come from unofficial sources. We shall examine hereafter somewhat in detail the character of such information and the way in which these removals were made.

The nominations to presidential post-offices are sent by the President to the Senate and appear scattered through the records of Congress. An examination of these records has enabled us to ascertain the changes in these offices with substantial accuracy. The changes in presidential offices made during the first year, as given by Mr. Clarkson, First Assistant Postmaster-General, are as follows:

1. On deaths.....	48
2. On resignations.....	374
3. On expirations.....	521
4. On offices becoming presidential.....	227
5. Removals,	
A. On inspectors' and other government officials' reports.....	298
B. Upon expiration of four years' service and second commission not yet expired.....	201
C. Upon undoubted evidences of mismanagement, without reports.....	114
Total.....	613
Total.....	1783

The entire number of presidential postmasters, according to the report of the Postmaster-General on July 1, 1889, was 2662 (see p. 12). 227 offices became presidential between March 4th, 1889, and March 4th, 1890, according to Mr. Clarkson's statement above. Of these, 119 had become presidential on July 1st, 1889, according to the Postmaster-General's report above referred to. 108 offices therefore became presidential after July 1st, 1889, and before March 4th, 1890, making the total number of presidential offices on March 4th, 1890, 2270. It is thus shown that over 64 per cent of these officers were changed during the first year of the present administration. The statement made by the Post-office Department, however, indicates that only 613 of such changes, or about 23 per cent, have been made by the removal of the incumbents, and that the remaining changes have been upon deaths, resignations, expirations of terms, and upon the respective offices becoming presidential. It will be noticed that the number of changes owing to the death of the incumbent is only 48. The changes on account of the offices becoming presidential are in their nature very similar to removals, since there would appear to be no better reason why an efficient fourth-class postmaster should be displaced, when the business of his office increases so as to make it presidential, than why the same change should be made if the office had always been presidential. If such change is made for political reasons merely, it is equally a violation of the promise that "fidelity and efficiency" should be "the only sure tenure of office."

We determined, however, in view of the graver evils resulting from changes made during the incumbents' four years' term, to confine our attention to the more important case of resignations and removals, and to ascertain,—

1st. Whether the alleged resignations were voluntary or were made under pressure for political reasons; and

2d. Whether the removals were, as alleged in the above statements of the Postmaster-General and First Assistant Postmaster-General, made upon official reports and upon other undoubted evidences of mismanagement and "for the good of the service," or whether these terms were used as a cloak to cover removals made for political reasons.

Your committee, therefore, addressed to each postmaster removed or resigned, as well as to his successor, a communication calling for the facts regarding the change. The following was addressed to the postmaster removed or resigned:

Dear Sir:—We understand that you were displaced from the office of _____ on the _____ day of _____. Would you be willing to state to this committee the circumstances of this change?

1st. Were any causes assigned for it? if so, what were they, and by whom assigned? If you resigned, was your resignation requested or suggested? if so, by whom? If in writing, will you kindly enclose a copy?

2d. By whom were you succeeded?

3d. To what political party do you belong? To what party does your successor belong?

4th. What political services did you render while in office? What position, if any, did you hold in your party organization? Were you connected with any newspaper? If so, give its name.

5th. What political services, if any, did your successor render in the last campaign or previously? What position, if any, did he hold in the party organization to which he belonged? Was he connected with any newspaper? if so, give the name of such paper.

6th. Do you know upon whose recommendation or influence, if any, you were displaced or your successor appointed?

7th. Give any facts known to you regarding the motive or reasons for your displacement and his appointment.

8th. When did your term of office expire?

9th. Please state as specifically as possible any facts you know regarding the efficiency of the administration of the office before and since your removal.

10th. Who was your predecessor, and how long had he held office?

11th. When were you appointed?

When the answer to such communication was received, we embodied the substance of such answer in a letter to the new appointee, with the request that if in any respect the information was incorrect, or he desired to add any other facts in reference to the change, he would communicate the same to your committee. In all cases where the postmaster removed or resigned did not answer our inquiries, the appointee was addressed in the following letter:

Dear Sir:—We understand you were appointed to the office of _____ on the _____ day of _____, in the place of _____.

Previous to your appointment, had you any experience in the duties of the office? If so, what was it?

What political claims, if any, had you upon the office?

Did you take part in the last campaign? What position did you hold in the party organization, if any? Are you a member of the Republican party? Were you connected with any newspaper (if so, what was it? and in what capacity?)

Upon whose recommendation or influence was the appointment made? What were the circumstances which led to your appointment?

When did your predecessor's term of office terminate?

In thus getting information from both sides, and giving both postmasters a chance to be heard, we believed that we would arrive at the truth as nearly as it was possible to do so by written correspondence. The answers to these communications were filed, tabulated and classified; and from these answers we are enabled to report, it is believed, with substantial accuracy in regard to the system pursued. We made these inquiries in 927 cases, 574 being removals and 353 resignations. We have received answers in 558 cases (a little more than 60 per cent of the whole number concerning which inquiry was made), giving more or less fully the information asked for. In 321 of these cases the answers came from the postmasters removed or resigned, in 90 cases from the successor only, and in 147 cases from both. Shortly after we commenced addressing inquiries to the new appointees, First Assistant Postmaster-General Clarkson, in an interview sent through the Associated Press to all the leading papers in the country, said:

We are receiving letters from newly appointed postmasters who have been addressed in this way. The inquiries sent out, in every instance that I have seen, show that the case has been prejudged and the change made assumed to be wrong. It is evidently an effort to get statements from removed and disappointed officials for political use, and some of the letters show an intention to try to induce the new postmaster to make statements of defence where no defence is needed. The postmasters seem to realize that they have reports to make only to their superior officers. No political capital can be made out of these changes. The President has made no removals except for cause—for delinquency in official duties, inefficiency of service, or violation of law. He has refused to make any changes for partisan reasons. Changes made for cause have been on the reports of inspectors, showing a demand for the change in the interest of the public service.

It is hardly necessary to say that, if the First Assistant Postmaster-General had desired to convey to these appointees an intimation that they were not to answer these inquiries, or, if they did answer, what the tenor of the answer should be, he could not well have used words more aptly chosen for the purpose.

RESIGNATIONS.

We received answers in 143 cases to our inquiries as to resignations. In 95 of these it appeared that such resignations were voluntary, and in 48 cases that they were not voluntary but were requested by the Congressman of the

district or by other influential parties who were believed to have the disposal of the office in their hands. In some cases inducements were offered in the shape of a postponement of the time for the change or an offer by the proposed successor to pay a good price for the fixtures of the office when the appointment should be made; and sometimes the resignation was procured by threats of immediate removal. Among the instances of such resignations we would call attention to the following letters from J. P. Dolliver, M. C., to Patrick Cain, postmaster at Fort Dodge, Ia., written ten days after the inauguration of President Harrison:

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES UNITED STATES,
WASHINGTON, D. C., March 14, 1889.

Mr. P. CAIN, Fort Dodge, Ia.

Dear Sir:—Will you have the kindness to forward to me, to be filed in the department, your resignation as postmaster at Fort Dodge, to take effect on the appointment of your successor?

Very truly, J. P. DOLLIVER.

P. S.—If this is done, your successor will not be named till July 1.
J. P. D.

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES UNITED STATES,
WASHINGTON, D. C., April 4, 1889.

Mr. P. CAIN, Fort Dodge, Iowa.

Dear Sir:—Your letter enclosing your resignation as postmaster at Fort Dodge, to take effect July 1, is received. I thank you for the promptness and willingness with which you have decided to lay down the cares of an office on the change of administration.

Hoping you may be as successful in your future political moves as you have been in the past,

I am yours very truly, J. P. DOLLIVER.

The following letter from M. S. Brewer, M. C., to Charles Cowan, postmaster at Ovid, Mich., speaks for itself:

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES OF THE UNITED STATES,
PONTIAC, April 18, 1889.

CHARLES COWAN, Esq., Ovid, Michigan.

My Dear Sir:—Your letter of the 17th duly received and contents noted. My dear fellow, you last fall were a very "offensive partisan": in fact, it was the worst case of that fatal malady that I had knowledge of in this district. *I feel it my duty to have a change made in postmaster at your place as soon as convenient.* There will be many cases in presidential offices where *I shall feel perfectly willing to let the applicants hold their time out*; but in your case you seemed to stake your political or rather your official life on the result of the election, and the tide of fortune moved against you. I have no personal or revengeful feeling in the matter, but deem it my duty to do what I can to make the change suggested. I am in no great hurry about the matter, and do not wish to oppress you in any way. Permit me to suggest that, if you will place your resignation in my hands to take effect at the close of the present quarter, the 30th of June, *I will arrange it that you can hold on till then.* I simply make this suggestion for your consideration. I shall start for Washington to-morrow night, and would be glad to know about the matter before leaving.

I am truly yours, M. S. BREWER.

P. S.—This will be kept confidential, should you wish it.

(The italics in all the letters in this report are ours.) The postmaster resigned.

The following is the correspondence between George W. Andrews, former postmaster at Murphysboro, Ill., and Geo. W. Smith, M. C.:

1922 H STREET, N. W., WASHINGTON, D. C., May 20, 1889.
Hon. GEORGE W. ANDREWS, Murphysboro, Ill.

Friend Andrews:—So far, I believe, your conduct and mine has been in keeping with the friendly relations existing between us. Circumstances now are such that I am compelled to act a little earlier than anticipated in reference to the postoffice at Murphysboro. Your conduct toward me has been manly, gentlemanly and honorable. The favor will not be forgotten. By your voluntary resignation, placed confidentially in my hands, you placed me in a position to favor a political opponent and a personal friend. I have carefully guarded your future as I would wish you to guard mine. Matters have arisen, personal to myself, which absolutely demand immediate action on my part. Those matters I cannot make public. I desire to have the appointment of a postmaster at Murphysboro at once. In the nature of things, you know it will be several days after an appointment is made before the office could possibly change hands. On receipt of this, wire me at my expense O. K., and I will at once settle the matter. Do not ask the reasons for such a request, as you can as a politician readily account for it in various ways. Your record will be clear. Treat this communication in the same manner you would wish such a one from yourself to me treated. Wire immediately on receipt of this. On receipt of such despatch I will understand that your resignation already sent me, which by its

terms was to take effect July 30, is, by your consent, to take effect immediately.

It is raining very hard here. In fact, it rains about one-half the time. With kindest regards, believe me, very truly,

Your friend,

GEORGE W. SMITH.

Copy of Telegram.

May 23, 1889.

To G. W. SMITH, 1922 H Street, N. W., Washington, D. C.

You have my permission to O. K. it, if desired.

G. W. ANDREWS.

J. P. Gaspar, postmaster at Kingsley, Ia., resigned on Jan. 30, 1890. The circumstances leading to his resignation are clearly shown in the correspondence between him and J. S. Struble, M. C., of which he has sent us the following copy:

LE MARS, IA., Aug. 26, 1889.

PETER GASPAR, Esq., Kingsley, Ia.

Dear Sir:—Within the last eight or ten days such movements have been made in relation to the Kingsley post-office as convinces me that it will be wise for you to look the inevitable in the face and prepare for a change. If you see proper to tender your resignation quietly, I will forward the same without recommendation, thus leaving you to be the apparent mover in the case, and willingly surrender the office *you have so acceptably filled* during your term.

One other potent feature in the case is the fact, as I am advised, that the parties in whose store the office has been, and is now kept, are defendants in a case brought by one of the highest authorities in the State to enjoin them from selling liquors unlawfully. This, as you can see, gives me good ground to recommend your removal. I prefer, however, that you should resign, if you desire to do so, rather than to recommend your removal. Let me hear from you by return mail, and believe me,

Yours very truly, I. S. STRUBLE.

Of this Mr. Gaspar writes us:

My reply to Struble was, in substance, that I would like to know the cause of my proposed removal (in justice to myself), and would rest the case (on my part) with the Republican patrons of this office.

Here is Mr. Struble's second letter:

LE MARS, IA., Aug. 31, 1889.

J. P. GASPAR, Esq.

Dear Sir:—Replying to your favor of the 28th inst., will say that as yet I am not prepared to advise you upon what ground your removal may be recommended. It has not been decided to recommend; but action in that direction is quite probable at an early date.

Am strongly of the opinion that it would be better all round, and be just as well for you upon any substantial point, if you tender your resignation rather than have charges preferred against you, as I am informed there will be soon.

Yours truly, I. S. STRUBLE.

Copy of letter written to one John McIntosh:

LE MARS, IA., Aug. 30, 1889.

JOHN MCINTOSH, Esq., Kingsley, Ia.

Dear Sir:—I am in receipt of yours of the 28th inst., replying to which I will say that it only adds to my embarrassment, already sufficient by reason of having to choose between Republican applicants for post-office, to be informed that some of my Republican friends in and about Kingsley are desirous of having the present postmaster retained, and especially if such friends will allow themselves to become to any considerable extent concerned in the matter. The line on which I have acted is this: to make no move myself with a view to having Democratic post-office incumbents displaced by Republicans until such time as the Republican patrons of the office should themselves lead off in attempts to have a removal and a new appointment, or four years from appointment had expired. This has been my position in relation to the Kingsley office; and I have kept quiet about it until a number of Republicans became active in the matter and evinced a strong desire that a change might occur.

My opinion, after some experience about these post-office matters, is that, when Republican patrons to any considerable extent begin to act relative to a change, the sooner thereafter the case can be disposed of, on a basis of the expression of the Republican patrons, the better for the party and community; and so I feel now in relation to the Kingsley case. The sooner a new man is appointed there, the sooner the community will recover from the agitation and possible excitement in relation to the appointment of the most important official of the town. I wish the Republican patrons of the Kingsley post-office, however they may appreciate Mr. Gaspar, might take a sensible view of the situation, and come as near as possible uniting in the thought of an early disposition of the case in the interest of the party and the peace of the community. It is my understanding that substantial charges will be preferred against Mr. Gaspar; and, if such shall be the case, I will, accordingly, consider them, and make up my mind as to whether or not I will, in a comparatively short time, decide between the applicants, and recommend the one who, in my

opinion, has the greatest weight of Republican sentiment in his support, not being governed by number merely. This is my feeling now, supported, as it is, by the strong belief, based, as I have indicated, on some experience, that the most satisfactory way out of a post-office controversy is as early a decision in the case as can intelligently be reached upon consultation with the Republican patrons. Shall be pleased to hear from you on this or any other subject at any time or to meet you personally.

Yours truly,
I. S. STRUBLE.

James S. Catherwood, former postmaster at Hoopston, Ill., writes that "Joseph G. Cannon [M. C.] was here looking for a cause to remove me. I tendered my resignation on condition that they would buy the fixtures." Charles W. Warner, the new appointee, writes: "Catherwood, knowing he had only six months to serve, was anxious to sell his outfit to some responsible Republican successor. Mr. Cannon [M. C.] called an election. There were six candidates. I received one hundred and fifty-eight out of three hundred and ninety-one votes. Catherwood thereupon resigned, and I was appointed."

Another method is shown by a letter from Mr. Frank C. Morse, the postmaster appointed by the present administration at Colfax, Wash. He says:

The history of the matter is this: Mr. Berry was Sheriff of this county and a candidate for re-election. Being defeated at the polls, he circulated a petition asking his appointment as postmaster. Five days before his term of office expired, Mr. Berry started to Washington with his petition, taking the resignation of Mr. La Rue (the former postmaster) with him. How he obtained this resignation I do not know; but I was afterwards shown a copy of a contract made between Mr. Berry and Mr. La Rue, in which Mr. Berry agreed to pay Mr. La Rue \$1000 for the office fixtures in case Mr. Berry should be appointed postmaster, and I have always believed this procured the resignation. All this occurred before I had taken any steps towards securing the appointment. In fact, I knew nothing of Mr. La Rue's intended resignation; nor did I know that Mr. Berry had started for Washington until he was gone some four days, the whole matter being kept as secret as possible. As soon as it was learned that Mr. La Rue had resigned, Mr. Fullerton and others of my friends circulated a petition asking for my appointment. Mr. Fullerton procured a second resignation from Mr. La Rue; and my petition, Mr. La Rue's resignation, and a copy of the contract above mentioned were sent to Mr. Allen [John B. Allen, then M. C.], and my appointment as postmaster followed in due course of time.

W. N. Hensley, former postmaster at Columbus, Neb., and now County Judge of Platt County, informs us that he was told on various occasions by the leaders of the Republican party that he would be removed, first in May, 1889, and again in July, and finally by the confidential political advisers of Mr. Dorsey (the Republican Congressman of the district), that his removal would be ordered about the first of September, and that charges would be preferred against him. He says that, upon request, he was permitted to see such charges, and found same to be that he was appointed to the office for political services rendered his party, and for no other reason. These charges were signed by the man who became his successor and a few others. He says: "I was led to believe that my removal was only a question of a very short time, unless I resigned."

The statement made by Carl Kramer, the present postmaster, is: "Mr. Hensley resigned because he knew *he could get a better price for his fixtures than than at the end of his term*, and mainly because he wanted to enter at once the race for county judge." Mr. Kramer does not deny or qualify the statement as to the charges made by him for his predecessor's removal."

Mr. W. T. McGinness, postmaster at Minden, Neb., says: "Why I resigned was because W. D. Hart (my successor) had everything his own way. It was 'take so much, and resign at once, or I will not take your outfit.' I was too poor a man not to accept." A letter of inquiry from the committee to Mr. Hart failed to elicit an answer.

From such instances as the above, the conclusion is obvious that many of these so-called resignations were not such in fact, but that the changes thus made were, in spirit and essence, removals for political purposes.

Respectfully submitted,

WM. D. FOULKE, Chairman. WAYNE MACVEAGH,
CHAS. J. BONAPARTE, SHERMAN S. ROGERS.
RICHARD H. DANA,

A WANAMAKER PHOTOGRAPH.

"Now, fancy how it would seem to you if a gentleman who had requested you to call on him were to greet you as Mr. Wanamaker did me: 'Mr. Foulke, I suppose I ought to feel angry at you, because you have deliberately published falsehoods about me. But I do not feel angry.' I inquired immediately, 'What have I said that was not true?' Then he tried to dismiss the subject by saying: 'We will not go over the details, because I don't suppose you meant to say what was not true.' 'The trouble with civil-service reformers,' said he, 'is that they do not consider that anybody can tell the truth but themselves.' He also criticised Mr. Bonaparte and the Baltimore civil-service reformers. He thought Mr. Bonaparte might have come to Washington and found out the facts. I could not forbear inquiry. 'Did you ask Mr. Bonaparte to come?' 'No,' he answered, 'he knows the way, and he could have found out from the files of the office whether the statements he had been making were correct.' These were the very files, mark you, which he has refused to let me see. 'Mr. Wanamaker,' said I, 'the beginning of the feeling of which you complain, as far as I am concerned, grew out of a letter which was written by Mr. Marshall Cushing, your secretary, in which he asked 'why both parties should not abandon their insincere professions for the civil-service law and have the patriotism to go back to the old system.'"

"Mr. Cushing entered while we were talking. The Postmaster-General asked: 'What had I to do with that letter?' 'Mr. Cushing,' I answered, 'said that it was written in your behalf.' Mr. Wanamaker retorted that he did not know of a letter of that kind. I produced a copy of it and showed it to him. He glanced it over and replied: 'But this letter merely says the inquiry was made *in behalf of a Cabinet officer*. It doesn't say it was made *in my behalf*, and Mr. Cushing was not my private secretary at that time.' 'He became your private secretary soon afterward,' I responded, 'and it was natural to infer that he meant you.' Mr. Wanamaker at first seem disposed to argue the point. I turned to him and asked: 'Mr. Cushing, who was the Cabinet officer for whom you wrote that letter?' Before he could utter a word the Postmaster-General cut him off with: 'Never mind; that has nothing to do with it.' I was now convinced. 'Mr. Wanamaker,' said I, 'this letter was written by a man who shortly afterwards became your private secretary, and when I ask him to say who the Cabinet officer was for whom he wrote it, you won't let him speak. Don't you think there is a pretty strong inference to be drawn from that?' 'Oh, well,' said the Postmaster-General, 'I didn't tell him he should not answer you. I have nothing to conceal. He is at liberty to tell you what you want to know.' 'Then, Mr. Cushing,' said I, 'what Cabinet officer was it for whom you were making these inquiries?' 'I was making them,' he answered, 'in my own way; but the officer for whom I was writing happened to be the Postmaster-General.' 'It seems, Mr. Wanamaker,' I remarked, 'that my inference was correct.' 'I don't know,' answered the Postmaster-General, 'how that letter was written. I never saw it before.'"

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NEW YORK, *April 28, 1890.*

I beg leave to inform the public that the subscriptions received in response to the call issued by this Committee have been sufficient to warrant it in proceeding with the work entrusted to it. A contract has been closed with Mr. DANIEL C. FRENCH of this city, for an heroic bronze bust, to be placed upon a column of rich Swedish granite. Mr. FRENCH'S "Minute Man" at Concord, Mass., his "Thomas Starr King," just completed for the City of San Francisco, and his bust of "Emerson," are generally accepted as among the best works of this kind which have been produced in this country. The location of the monument cannot be determined upon until the model shall have been completed.

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VOL. VI.—No. 12.

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THE MONTH.

THE Mayor deserves credit for his effort to induce the Council to throw the stationery contracts open to all responsible bidders. The favored contractors are the Dulaney Company. The same scandal attaches to the system of restricted bidding which a year ago caused the people to demand the opening of the city oil contracts to competition. It is in small leaks like these petty jobs that our taxes dribble away.

MR. CONWAY W. SAMS, of the Nineteenth Ward, puts himself on record in the Council against the discreditable selection of Briscoe as clerk. He has also astonished the politicians by returning to the street railways, and the steam railway companies also, the passes which, as is the custom, they sent him when he entered the Council. He did it very quietly, without calling notice to the fact at all, to make capital of it. Mr. Sams is opposed to the system of bribery which now obtains everywhere in our politics—bribery with money, with railroad passes, with public office, or with contracts.

As the bad weather of winter comes on our streets become more filthy. In many places, after a day of rain, the mud is so deep that no one can cross without having shoes and clothes soiled, and sometimes ruined, by splashing ordure. The Mayor has written to the heads of the street cleaning department on the subject, and obtained as a reply the statement that the street car companies dirty the streets by scattering sand along the tracks. As to the great body of streets on which there are no tracks, we would suggest to the Mayor that the explanation of their filthy state is that the street cleaning department is not a working force but a political machine. By giving them places upon it, poor wretches are bribed to help to carry elections for the ring. They have done their share of dirty work when the elections are carried, and consequently they cannot be expected to do much more in the way of sweeping. Introduce here the labor service system in vogue in Boston, and Baltimore's streets will be as clean as those of the Hub. Continue the present system, and they will become as dirty as those of New York. Even a spoilsman like Mayor Latrobe has said that under a better system our streets could be cleaned for \$100,000 per annum less than we now pay to keep them dirty.

A CONTROVERSY has arisen between our city officials and Mr. Porter over his easily assailable census. The question is whether Mr. Porter's showing of the growth of Baltimore's debt in the past ten years is correct. The difficulty seems to be that Mr. Porter relied in his calculations upon the statement of the city's financial standing, prepared by Mr. Latrobe and Mr. Robb, in 1880. If Mr. Porter had known how much reliance Baltimore people place on the financial statements of Messrs. Robb and Latrobe, he would have instituted an independent enquiry before accepting their version of the facts. This knowledge would have saved him a good deal of bother.

MR. HENRY A. RICHMOND, in a letter which we print elsewhere, calls attention to the notable extensions of the Civil Service Law in Buffalo, by Mayor Bishop. If properly enforced, the new rules will take away from the councilmen nearly all their patronage, a consummation devoutly to be wished.

MR. WELSH, of the Indian Rights Association, is indignant at the criminal folly of President Harrison in displacing good and experienced Indian agents on the Sioux reservations. In managing savages nothing is more important than to have their respect and confidence. Disregarding this patent fact, in order to reward some political services, the President has recently given the Cheyenne River and Pine Ridge Agencies, where the most dangerous Indians live, to new and inexperienced men. If an Indian war breaks out there, as now seems probable, Mr. Harrison's reflections over his breach of his promise to make fitness and not party service the sole test in appointments, will not be sweetened by the thought of his responsibility for the murder of women and children by ruthless savages.

IN this issue we print another of the reports upon President Harrison's performance of his campaign pledges. Mr. Foulke and the other members of the Investigating Committee are very properly severe upon the President who permitted hundreds of postmasters to be removed on secret charges after having himself denounced the practice thus:

I do lift up a hearty prayer that we may never have a President who will not pursue and compel his Cabinet officers to pursue a civil service policy pure and simple upon a just basis, allowing men accused to be heard, and deciding against them only upon competent proof and fairly—either have that kind of a civil service, or, for God's sake, let us have that other frank and bold, if brutal, method of turning men and women out simply for political opinion. Let us have one or the other. They will not mingle. It was the conflict of these currents—the President on one side, endeavoring to be responsive to his self-imposed pledges, and the pressure of his party on the other—that has driven those who were at the heads of the departments, in the attempt to preserve and maintain the President's professions and at the same time to give to the hungry who were demanding to be fed—it was an attempt to reconcile the irreconcilable that has brought this wretched condition of things in which men and women are condemned without a hearing. Let us have one or the other, pure and simple.

EVEN the politicians seem to be learning that patronage does them more harm than good in carrying elections. They are beginning to agree with the wise man who said years ago that every office bestowed by him made nine enemies and one ingrate. Mr. Henderson, who was ignored by the President in the distribution of places in Maryland, but whose political experience is probably sufficient to give weight to his opinion, notwithstanding the disturbing influence of ill-temper upon his judgment, attributes the defeat of his party here to the dissatisfaction produced by patronage. The stalwart spoilsman Bayne says: "Not a few Republicans who were dissatisfied because of the distribution of the patronage either stayed away from the polls or voted for McKaig or the Prohibition ticket." Representative Houk, of Tennessee,

reform was shown by his vehement attacks upon the Civil Service Commission at the last session of Congress, seems to be getting new light. He is quoted as saying: "The defeat is principally attributable to the matter of offices and dissatisfaction at the distribution of patronage, a dissatisfaction that always follows a change of administration from one party to another."

Senator Sherman also, whose interest in reform has never been very keen, had his eyes opened. In a recent speech he said:

In 1888 the people of the United States trusted us with their political power. Now, the first power was the power to appoint postmasters and all the various officers of this great government of ours; and that power, instead of being a strength to any party, is a weakness to any party, and upon that basis nearly all the public men who fall in public life by the wayside fall by the exercise of patronage. I say to you now, if I had the power I would not allow a member of Congress to recommend any man for any office whatever. I would take from your political agents all the power that is vested in them by custom—not by law; I would take from them all that power, and I would not even allow a member of Congress to recommend postmasters, because it is an element of weakness; it weakens the member of the House and Senate, and it makes a cause of constant trouble and quarrel, and I think the time will soon come, and the Republican party will be the agent in that great reform, when a law will be passed separating entirely the appointing power from the law-making power.

Holding these views, Mr. Sherman should aid the Commission to get funds enough to carry on its work; and should also advocate in the Senate the passage of the Lodge bill for taking the post-offices out of politics.

In view of the great Democratic victories in New York, Massachusetts and Maryland, Mr. Gorman's denunciation of the Australian ballot system, as "a scheme to send the Democratic party to the rear," ought to make that prescient statesman feel silly. In one sense, however, his characterization of the law is correct enough. It was devised for the purpose of sending to the rear the kind of Democrats, and Republicans too, who rule the depraved population of the slums, and bring them to the polls to vote under orders. Of such is Mr. Gorman's friend, Mr. Sonny Mahon. Among the tramps who infest the filthy dens of the first and second precincts of the ninth ward, for example, Mr. Mahon and his brother Jimmy are autocrats, and what they say there "goes," as certainly as the commands of Captain Kidd prevailed on board his pirate ship. The Australian law in such districts is found ineffective to insure secrecy of voting. The population seemed on election day to prefer to have it known that they voted as they were told, and one of the ballot clerks looked over the shoulder of almost every voter when he marked his ticket. But in the decent parts of town, public sentiment generally upheld the enforcement of the provisions for secret voting, and the voters retired to the booths unwatched. It was possible, however, owing to the narrowness of the sides of the booths, for the ballot clerks to form a pretty good idea, by watching closely, if they chose to do so, whether the voter made one stencil mark or two, that is, whether he voted "straight" or "scratched." This is easily remedied, of course, by making the screens larger. As a rule, too, the rooms chosen were hardly large enough to accommodate all the persons entitled by law to be present, but this was generally productive of no harm, as the officials generally agreed that a certain number of the United States marshals and State police should cool their heels out on the street. A most important controversy arose just before the

election as to the right of the United States supervisors to go into the booths with the ballot clerks when assistance is to be given to illiterates, with a view to supervising the conduct of these clerks. Eminent counsel have disagreed as to the power of the supervisors in the matter. The controversy can be readily adjusted by a slight amendment to the law, doing away with the ballot clerks. They are expensive, they crowd the room, and they are unnecessary; for the most illiterate man can tell the head of Lincoln from the Hickory Tree. Moreover, as we said above, the ballot clerks can be used to evade the cardinal provision of the law for ensuring secrecy. Our view of this matter is sustained by a well-informed writer in the *Morning Herald*, who says:

The key to the situation under the new election law, in the eyes of the "practical politician," is the selection of ballot clerks. Buy up the ballot clerks and the entire illiterate vote, and the semi-illiterates who ask for "assistance" can be gobbled up by the party making the purchase.

In a number of precincts on Tuesday very little attention was paid to the details of the law. Ballot clerks gave "assistance" and marked ballots on the slightest provocation without administering the necessary oath to the illiterate or supposed illiterate voter. This was due principally to ignorance. It may, however, be presumed in the case of a stiff contest like that of last fall over the Mayoralty or the State ticket, pains would be taken by both parties to see that neither disregarded any of the little details of the new law, which are, after all, the most important.

WE wish that all of our readers were acquainted with the decided merits of the *Civil Service Chronicle*, of Indianapolis. The paper is now nearly two years old, and it shows no signs of decline from the moral earnestness and vigor which characterized its first issues. It is conducted by Lucius B. Swift, at great personal sacrifice of time and labor, and it deserves the support of all reformers. One of the most valuable and interesting departments of the *Chronicle* is that devoted to exposing the feudal system which now obtains in this country, with the bosses as overlords, and the small politicians as retainers holding their offices on condition that they work for the success of the boss at primary and general elections. New facts, bearing out this analogy of our modern politics to outworn European customs, are put in a singularly striking way in every number of the *Chronicle*. The most recent issue contains a number of paragraphs from various newspapers, showing how officeholders everywhere are compelled to give time or money to help their bosses in their fights. The following are specimens:

The arrangement now is for President Harrison to leave Washington for this city Sunday night. He will arrive here Monday night and return to Washington Tuesday afternoon or night. Attorney-General Miller and Private Secretary Halford will accompany the President. With the exception of the President, Mr. Miller and Mr. Halford, nearly all the Indianapolis men holding Government positions at Washington are here to vote. *Several came in last evening, among them the President's barber.*—*Indianapolis News*, Nov. 1.

According to the officers of the various State associations, who have been very active in the work of driving voters home, not less than 5000 Government employes will be absent from their posts next Tuesday for the purpose of voting in their respective congressional districts.—*Washington dispatch to New York Times*, Oct. 29.

Another extract, too long to print here, shows how Ernst Nathan, Collector of Internal Revenue in Brooklyn, issued a circular to liquor and tobacco dealers, intended to intimidate them into voting for the Republican candidate for Congress.

ON THE MAKE.

WE have had a good deal to say lately about Senator Gorman. For this we make no apology, since his campaign for re-election to the United States Senate has already begun. He is now engaged, as indeed he has been for months past, in highly characteristic intrigues designed to ensure the choice of Gorman men for the Legislature, especially in counties where the better people of the Democratic party are in control of the party machinery, and where, consequently, he has most to fear.

Having thus early brought himself forward as a candidate, his fitness for the post he occupies and would retain is a timely subject for discussion by the independent press. To justly appreciate his claims upon the confidence of the people of Maryland we need not review, at least not just at present, his whole career. Many persons may no doubt have forgotten under whose patronage and with what professions of political belief he entered public life, but this is perhaps ancient history. When his position as Senator gave him the ear of President Cleveland, how he requited the President's confidence is a matter of public notoriety, and it is equally well known that he first attained the Senatorship by a piece of political strategy which quite outdid the performances of Bret Harte's "heathen Chinee," and inflicted a wound not yet healed, upon the confiding natures of Mr. Whyte and Mr. Colton. Truthful George, in describing Mr. Gorman's election, might appropriately quote from the ballad:

"He played it that day upon William
And me in a way I despise."

For us, however, these matters have but a subordinate importance: it is more to our purpose to enquire whether, since he gained his seat, his conduct has been such as to redeem in some measure the means which put him there, or has made him the first and greatest among the many phenomena in our politics of which worthy Marylanders must feel ashamed. Since Mr. Gorman's elevation to the Senate his methods have not changed. His connection with the sale of legislation at Annapolis has been open; even his friend Mr. Carter has not hesitated to call him the "Generalissimo of the lobby," and belief in the fitness of that epithet is not lessened by his possession of a large private fortune, after twenty years of continuous occupancy of public office at moderate salary, without any ostensible calling other than "politics." We do not mean to be understood as saying that Mr. Gorman's gains from the lobby have been his only revenues from politics. Public men of the Quay-Gorman type often make profitable connections with corporations, by showing various channels in which they can be useful, both directly to their employers and indirectly to themselves. Such a relation Mr. Gorman has established with a syndicate of politicians, which embraces such models of political and commercial morality as Messrs. Blaine, Elkins and Davis. One of their ventures in common is the building of a railroad known as the Piedmont and Cumberland: and Mr. Gorman's connection with this road, and with the investment of the State Sinking Fund in its bonds, furnishes a fair illustration of his political methods and morals, if the subject be studied in view of that unpleasant episode in our recent history, Stevenson Archer's defalcation.

When a Treasurer or other fiduciary has been caught stealing money or bonds, the important inquiry is not simply into the amount of his direct stealings, but into the whole

administration of his office and the history of his appointment. Were any people specially interested in having him made Treasurer? Were any people specially benefited by his official acts? If so, were the people who derived benefit the same who had him appointed? The shortage, great or small, gives a *reason* for investigation, but does not set its bounds. In the case of Archer, two obvious and pertinent lines of inquiry occurred to every intelligent man considering the subject, and yet for a reason which is not hard after all to explain, neither was pursued by the joint legislative committee last spring.

The first of these was, "How did it come about that a man notoriously embarrassed, known to every bank officer in Baltimore to be perennially 'hard up' and in perpetual quest of some one who would lend to him, was put into such an office as that of State Treasurer?" In view of his pecuniary condition, there is nothing really remarkable in Stevenson Archer's having stolen the public money. Whoever should put a bankrupt into such a place would know that he was exposing the Treasurer to the most powerful temptation. It is so unusual to place a man known to be in cruel straits for money in a position of such responsibility, that anybody who helped to do so must have had some special reason for his act. What motive, then, had Mr. Gorman to induce, as every one knows he did induce, Legislature after Legislature to elect Stevenson Archer State Treasurer? A second and perhaps more plain and urgent subject for investigation was the nature of Archer's investments as Treasurer. It is most suggestive that this question should have been virtually ignored by Mr. Poe and his colleagues.

That no enquiry into these facts was made by the Investigating Committee was not due to a failure on the part of the press to suggest it. The *Sun*, in an admirable article on the subject, thus forcibly expressed the public demand for a thorough exploration of the dark places:

Rumor has it that investments were made in coupon bonds, the securities of private corporations in which influential State politicians were largely interested, but which were not of the class of securities in which the State's money ought properly to have been invested. The investigation will not be satisfactory or complete unless the public is informed what securities these are, and how and through whose influence the State's money was so invested. It is a question not simply of exposing the State Treasurer's personal or private transactions, but of protecting the public interests, and preventing the manipulation of the sinking funds in the interest of powerful politicians who may be tempted to use their power and their opportunities to fill their own pockets at the people's expense. The investigation in this direction should be fearlessly conducted, no matter where or whom the lightning may strike.

And it is equally essential that the investigation should be conducted with open doors, so that the whole people of the State may see and hear. There should be no sittings with "closed doors," no secret sessions, no "closeting" with anybody or by anybody in the people's business. However particular leaders, or even the present organization of the Democratic party, may be affected by the downfall of the Chairman of the State Central Committee, this is not a case of washing the dirty linen of a political party, which may be properly done within doors and in private. It is the people's affair. It is the people's money which has been misappropriated. It is the people's trust which has been betrayed. The people have a right to know all about it—all the ins and outs of the matter—down to the smallest details. There is nothing that should be hidden, and nobody who should be screened. Any attempt to smother investigation or to withhold the facts—the whole facts, and the bottom facts—from the people, will only have the effect of creating suspicion and distrust, for which possibly there may be no sufficient grounds, and which a frank and candid treatment of the subject from the outset may serve to dispel. Therefore, we repeat, let the investigation be conducted with open doors.

tion be as thorough and as public as it is possible to make it. The honor of the State requires it. The good name and the future welfare of the Democratic party imperatively demand it.

In spite of this emphatic demand for light as to the reasons for the remarkable investments made by the Treasurer, this line of investigation, which ought to have occurred to the most simple-minded, was not even entered upon by Mr. Poe and his committee. The resolution of enquiry, so promptly passed by the Legislature, was said to be drawn in such manner as not to call for or warrant it: if so, why was it so drawn? Since the committee has failed to enlighten us, we have ourselves looked into a single chapter, perhaps scarcely a verse, of the history of his investments; we now give the results.

Archer invested \$100,000 of the Sinking Fund in bonds of the Piedmont and Cumberland Railway Company. At the time this investment was made few people knew of this company, and still fewer of its actual condition. Yet every one would like to know whether those bonds were secured by such property as made them a suitable investment for the Sinking Fund, and, if they were not so secured, why was such an investment made? The Piedmont and Cumberland Railway is a short road, running from Piedmont down the valley of the Potomac river to Cumberland. Its bonded debt, of which the State took a part, is \$650,000. The property forming the security for that sum is a railroad only twenty-eight miles long, not yet entirely ballasted, that has never owned an engine, a car or a ton of rolling stock of any kind. It is simply a short piece of track operated by another company. It is built so low down in the river bottom (for the sake of cheap construction) that a large part of it is washed away at every high flood in the river; for some distance the track is actually chained or anchored to trees and rocks alongside, so that when it is washed away it may not go far. How close it lies to the river's bank may be judged from the one fact that in the short distance of twenty-eight miles there are no less than nine bridges! In other words, there has been practically no grading at all, and the track has been laid almost on the river bed. It is altogether such a railroad as that which out West got the name of "The Tip Up and Wash-away R. R." It has, furthermore, always been in hot water. The B. & O. R. R. people fought it at the start. Judge Alvey set aside one of its condemnations for right of way on the ground that it had a charter to run one way and was running in another. The Court of Appeals decided that its charter was good, but the decision came too late to prevent a mile of the road being torn up and thrown down the river bank. It is now involved in a litigation with Alexander Shaw, who claims that a large part of its betterments were constructed with money obtained by fraud. Whether this be true or not, of course we do not know, and we state it only to show that the road has been unfortunate and always in trouble. In view of all these circumstances, surely an investment more unsuitable for a sinking fund than these bonds could not easily be found, and since the publicity given to the matter by Archer's conviction, the company or its president has returned to the State Treasury the money paid for them.

We then come to the important question, "Why did Archer make such an investment? Who was both interested in having the bonds of that railroad floated and able to compel the Treasurer to buy them?" This involves a brief but interesting history. A clique of "political gentlemen" control the West Virginia Central Railway Company. That

railway ends at Piedmont, and is compelled to have an outlet to Cumberland, necessitating the construction of twenty-eight miles of road. Instead of building this at the expense and as a part of the railway they thus controlled, four or five of them organized a new company (the Piedmont and Cumberland), issued its bonds to an amount sufficient to build the needed piece of track, and then divided its stock among themselves, paying for this very little, if anything. If then these bonds could be floated, and the road built with the proceeds, the stockholders would have a road that cost them nothing, and their otherwise worthless stock would be given some value. The difficulty was to get any one to take such bonds. Any aid therefore given in floating them was a favor to the stockholders. Such a favor was conferred by Archer when he used the State's funds to give buoyancy to the trashy securities of a worthless road. Why? Senator Gorman owned the Legislature of 1888, which elected Archer Treasurer. Senator Gorman also owned 1000 shares of the Piedmont and Cumberland stock—Q. E. D.

If the people of Maryland wish another Treasurer such as Archer, by all means let them elect a Legislature which will re-elect Mr. Gorman. Let them also elect the Governor and Comptroller and Attorney-General whom he may wish elected. With so "harmonious" an "officialty" (as the most prominent gubernatorial candidate would term it) their finances will receive just precisely the amount and character of care which they deserve to have them get.

CORRESPONDENCE.

REFORM IN BUFFALO.

BUFFALO, N. Y., November 29, 1890.

Editor of the CIVIL-SERVICE REFORMER.

Sir:—I mail you the *Courier* of to-day, containing a notice of the extension of the classified service in the city of Buffalo. It is about the greatest stroke for civil service reform ever made in this section of the State. It practically brings under civil service reform rules every position in the city government (outside of laborers) that is possible under the charter as it now stands. The bad element is perfectly furious, especially the members of the Common Council, from whom is taken about all the patronage in the way of appointments which they formerly controlled.

The man who has done this thing is a plain, substantial business man by the name of Charles Bishop. He was elected mayor last year by what may be called a popular uprising. The Democrats had the sense to nominate him, while the Republicans nominated a man by the name of Carmichael, who was very strongly suspected of having a little too much fondness for contractors. The result was a crash. Bishop was elected by over 6000 majority, while the Republican candidate for City Engineer, whom we Reform Democrats supported, was elected by 3000 majority—difference 9000. This is doing pretty well on a vote of a little over 40,000. The sound men have never regretted the action they took in the matter. Bishop has proved himself to be a most honest, loyal public official; without the slightest pretence to be a statesman, he has shown that he is a straightforward, honest man, with as much backbone as any official I have ever met with. He has procured the indictment of twelve contractors on a charge of conspiracy in some paving contracts. He is utterly fearless, and lets the heathen rage as they may. All this is done in a very quiet manner, with no unkind words, always willing to listen to what any reputable man has to say to him, and seeming to be without ambitions for the future, as he told me that all he asked was that when he retired from public office the reputable men would say, "Bishop has done the best he could to fulfill his oath of office." Would that we had a few more such men in public life.

Very sincerely yours,

H. A. RICHMOND.

THE SPOILERS AND THE SIOUX.

INDIAN RIGHTS ASSOCIATION,

1305 ARCH ST., PHILADELPHIA, November 25, 1890.

To the Editor of the CIVIL-SERVICE REFORMER.

Sir:—I write to call your attention to a fact which I consider of great interest and importance, relative to the present disturbances among the Sioux Indians. Should you view it from the same stand-

point as my own, I trust that you may be inclined to bring the matter to the attention of your readers.

At the two most critical points in the Indian country, so far as Dakota is concerned—viz.: the Pine Ridge and Cheyenne River Agencies—two new and inexperienced agents, who know nothing of the Indians and how to handle them, have recently been appointed. At the Cheyenne River Agency the former agent, Dr. McChesney, who was one of the most capable men in the service, was recently removed against the most earnest protests of the Indian Rights Association. At the Pine Ridge Agency the former agent, Major Gallagher, was removed without our knowledge, so that it was not possible for us to act in the matter. The danger which seems to threaten white settlers in these two localities, and the great expense to which the United States Government is placed by sending troops for their protection, would seem to be sufficient excuse, even were there no other grave considerations in regard to the matter, for making an appeal to you. I have for ten years been a close student of Indian affairs, with no other motive for my efforts than that I desire to see an honorable and economical solution of this troublesome question. In the light of this experience, I can truly say that the adoption of civil service reform in the Indian service, whereby partisanship should be forever banished from it, is the one step which most needs to be taken.

If bloodshed and trouble are the outcome of present difficulties in Dakota, blame will rest on the shoulders of the Interior Department, which adopted this policy of political removals against the most earnest and repeated protests of those who well knew what serious results were likely to follow it, although they never imagined so grave a situation as the present.

Yours truly,

HERBERT WELSH.

MR. FOULKE TO MR. PORTER.

THE CENSUS RUINED BY SPOILSMEN.

MR. W. D. FOULKE, Chairman of the Executive Committee of the National League, recently addressed the following open letter to Robert P. Porter, Superintendent of the Census:

"Realizing at last that the census taken by you, through officials chosen by partisan machinery, has become so generally discredited that a personal defence over your own signature was necessary, you seek to show in an article in *Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper* that your work has been honestly and fairly done. You would be more successful in this effort if the methods pursued at the outset in the taking of the census had been less tainted by those political elements which were calculated to cast suspicion upon its results. As you have addressed the people and thus invited public discussion of your management, permit me to make a few inquiries through the same channel of the press.

"You say that a partisan census is an impossibility. If this be so, why did you recommend to the President that this census be taken by enumerators appointed upon the recommendation of Republican Congressmen and other influential party men? Why did you refuse to adopt the system by which appointments in your bureau should be non-partisan, made upon competition among those seeking appointment without regard to their political applications. The Civil Service Commission desired that the merit system should be applied to your office, but you resisted this just and reasonable demand, and insisted upon retaining the patronage of this vast bureau, with its 60,000 subordinates, and this patronage you parcelled out among politicians.

"Did it not occur to you that by this act you were sure to discredit the results of your work? Even if the enumeration were fair and accurate, was it not certain to be clouded by suspicion if made by one party alone? Would you believe in the accuracy of a Democratic enumeration made in the same way? Do you, in fact, believe in the accuracy of the police enumeration made in New York taken under Democratic direction? If not, how can you expect others to believe in the accuracy of your own? You say that even to hint at such an infamy as a partisan census is an outrageous assault upon the integrity of every one who has taken part in the work, and yet you assert that the police were appointed in New York for the sole purpose of finding more population than the Federal enumerators found, and that the general rule adopted was, 'When you are in doubt, add one.'

"Is not this an equally outrageous assault upon the

integrity of those who took part in that enumeration? If you can say this, why may not others say of the census that the purpose was to find a less population than existed, and that the rule was, 'When you are in doubt, subtract one'? Why are you silent in your article regarding the inferences to be drawn from the vital statistics of the metropolis?

"You say that your enumerators were selected with the greatest care from the best material available. How do you know this? You refused to subject your appointees to an examination in which their ability could be tested in comparison with that of others.

"You say that no one has been able to ascertain whether the discrepancies in the New York count are due to careless omissions in June or intentional additions in October. Is it not your duty to ascertain whether a discrepancy of 200,000 is due to the careless omissions of your agents? Do you expect the people to believe in the accuracy of your census when you admit that it is possible that 200,000 names have been left out by the careless omissions of your own enumerators? But why do you speak of these additions as 'intentional' and of the omissions of your own bureau as simply 'careless'? You say that a partisan census is an impossibility. If this be true, how could the enumeration taken by the police in New York have been partisan? If you suspect that, why should not others suspect the census? Is party bias, which influences men elsewhere, wholly absent in the Census Bureau? Is it not sure to be reflected, in the enumeration which you have taken, in the same manner that you believe it to be reflected in the enumeration taken by the New York authorities?

"But I desire to address you not simply as a citizen, but as a Republican—as one who, like yourself, did all I could for the success of the party in 1888. Our party promised in its last platform that the reform of the civil service, auspiciously begun under a Republican Administration, should be completed by the further extension of the reform system already established by law to all grades of the service to which it was applicable. So far as the Census Bureau was concerned, there could be no doubt as to its applicability. The places in that bureau are subordinate, non-political, administrative offices. The census is taken for the benefit of the whole country, not to carry out any particular policy of the Republican party.

"The merit system had already been applied successfully to a department entirely similar in character—the Bureau of Statistics—in Massachusetts. Carroll D. Wright, by whom the census was there taken, wrote as follows to the Civil Service Commission: 'The force supplied by you is very much superior to the one we should have been likely to have secured through the old method of personal application and the endorsement of friends. In intelligence, capacity, and in attendance upon work, our present force reflects the greatest credit upon the civil service system.'

"The pledge made in the Republican platform could have no possible reference to anything if it did not refer to such a bureau as yours, where experience had already shown the applicability of the reform system. Yet you recommended to the President a violation of that pledge and the retention of political patronage in the appointment of the 50,000 officers of whom you speak. Do you believe that any party can long retain power when the promises in its own platform become discredited?"

FOURTH REPORT OF THE SPECIAL COMMITTEE OF THE NATIONAL CIVIL SERVICE REFORM LEAGUE.

REMOVALS UPON SECRET CHARGES.

To the Executive Committee of the
National Civil Service Reform League:

Your special committee appointed to inquire into the condition of the federal service and the operation of the reform law would respectfully submit the following report as to the system of removals of presidential postmasters upon secret charges.

Out of 356 answers received to our

Questions whether or

not any cause for the removal was given to the man removed, it appeared that in only 47 cases was such cause assigned, in 10 cases the matter was disputed, and in 299 cases it appeared, from uncontradicted statements, that the incumbent was removed without any cause being given for his removal. In a very large number of cases he solicited information from the Post-office Department as to the character of the charges; but this information was almost invariably refused. If he ever learned what the charges were, he learned it by private inquiry from other sources, generally from hearsay and rumor merely. In many instances the new appointee, in answer to our inquiry as to the causes of the removal, while declining to state these causes himself, refers us to written charges on file in the department. As Mr. Wanamaker tells us that "all papers in appointment cases have invariably been deemed privileged and confidential with the department," and as the postmasters themselves are refused access to the charges upon which they are removed, but little can be done to lift the veil which conceals these secret accusations. The following instances are submitted:

William Wilson writes in regard to his removal from the post-office at Chadron, Neb.:

I immediately wrote President Harrison that I only asked the privilege and right of an American citizen,—that is, to defend myself; that, if there were any charges against me, I would like to have an opportunity to answer them. In reply I received the following (copy):

"Mr. WILLIAM WILSON, Chadron, Neb.:

"*Dear Sir:*—The President directs me to acknowledge the receipt of your letter, and to inform you that it has been referred to the Hon. Postmaster-General, to whom all further communications upon the subject should be addressed.

"Very respectfully yours,
ELIJAH W. HALFORD, *Private Secretary.*"

I was never able to hear from the Hon. Postmaster-General or any one else.

Jas. A. McKenna, postmaster at Long Island City, N. Y., was removed and no cause stated. On Sept. 6, 1889, he wrote to the First Assistant Postmaster-General as follows:

UNITED STATES POST-OFFICE,
LONG ISLAND CITY, QUEENS COUNTY, STATE OF NEW YORK,
Sept. 6, 1889.

Hon. J. S. CLARKSON, *First Assistant Postmaster-General,*
Washington, D. C.:

Dear Sir:—In the New York Tribune of August 27 there is quoted an interview with you, in which you are made to say that "the department was in constant receipt of complaints against Postmaster McKenna, some of them being of a serious character, and clearly proving careless management of the office."

Inasmuch as the President has seen fit to remove me from my position as postmaster at Long Island City, these charges will be a serious injury and drawback to me in any business I may now be obliged to take up, and, as I am not conscious of any dereliction of duty, I respectfully request that I may be allowed to inspect the charges referred to, or may be allowed to have a copy thereof, in order that I may submit an answer to the same, not hoping for retention in office, but to clear my future from a cloud that might otherwise rest over it. I have never heard of any charges against me, except as stated in the above interview; and I assume it is not the intention or desire of the President to have me leave my office under unfounded charges.

Very respectfully,
JAS. A. MCKENNA, *Postmaster L. I. City.*

The only answer he ever received to his communication was the letter of which the following copy was sent to us:

POST-OFFICE DEPARTMENT,
OFFICE OF THE FIRST ASSISTANT POSTMASTER-GENERAL,
WASHINGTON, Sept. 7, 1889.

Dear Sir:—In the absence of the First Assistant Postmaster-General, I have the honor to acknowledge your letter of the 6th inst., which will receive his attention on his return, in about a week.

Respectfully yours,
JOKER CLARKSON, *Private Secretary.*
JAS. A. MCKENNA, Esq., *Postmaster, Long Island City, N. Y.*

Elijah Ratnour, former postmaster of Weeping Water, Neb., wrote to the Assistant Postmaster-General asking the cause of his removal of which he had not been informed. The following is sent to us by him as a copy of the answer received:

Yours of Nov. 23, 1889, received, asking the cause of your removal. When your successor receives his commission, turn the office over to him without further notice.

Yours truly,
J. S. CLARKSON, *First Assistant P. G.*

Mr. Butler, his successor, informs us that the causes assigned for Mr. Ratnour's removal "are on file with the President."

Jacob Van Riper was postmaster at Rutherford, N. J. He was removed, and wrote to the President asking what charges, if any, had been preferred against him. The receipt of his letter was acknowledged by the President's private secretary on July 10, 1889, and he was informed that it had been referred to the Postmaster-General. He obtained no further information as to the cause of his removal.

Henry S. Farnum was removed from the post-office at Uxbridge, Mass., on Nov. 20, 1889, as he understood, upon the report of Inspector Stoddard, and his successor, Crysis T. Scott, was appointed by recommendation of Congressman Walker. Judge A. A. Putnam wrote to the Postmaster-General as follows: "I do very respectfully request of the department that Mr. Farnum be permitted to know for what specific cause or causes his removal from office was recommended, and, to the end that justice be done him and the state of facts bearing upon the matter of his removal be made apparent to the people of this town, he should be permitted to meet whatever charges may have been made impugning his integrity or competency." No information was furnished.

D. W. Pratt, postmaster at Farmington, Me., removed Dec. 18, 1889, writes: "I wrote the Postmaster-General last December, asking him what law I had violated. He acknowledged the receipt of my letter, but has never answered it."

Harry C. Evans was removed as postmaster at Bloomfield, Ia., and, when Congressman Walter J. Hays inquired on his behalf the reasons for the removal, an answer is returned of which Mr. Evans sends us the following copy:

POST-OFFICE DEPARTMENT,
OFFICE OF THE FIRST ASSISTANT POSTMASTER-GENERAL,
WASHINGTON, D. C., Feb. 3, 1890.

My dear Sir:—In response to your letter of January 30, asking to be advised "what, if any, charges were made against H. C. Evans, late postmaster at Bloomfield, Ia., as basis of his removal," I would say that the change was made on statements of reliable people in Bloomfield for the improvement of the postal service. It seemed a pretty clear case; and I would be glad to send you the statements, *except that they were made by private citizens and in a confidential manner.* The fact that Mr. A. H. Fortune, previous postmaster in the same city, was removed by President Cleveland before the expiration of his term, no doubt had something to do with the eagerness of the Republicans in Bloomfield to replace Mr. Evans with a Republican postmaster. I know personally the persons making the complaints, and was satisfied of the truth of their statements; and I presume it was largely on my assurance as to the sufficiency of these statements that the almost invariable rule adopted by the present Administration of sending an inspector to verify such statements was not followed in this case.

Very truly yours,
J. S. CLARKSON, *F. A. Postmaster-General.*
Hon. WALTER I. HAYES, M. C., Washington, D. C.

A. H. W. Carpenter, postmaster at New Bedford, Mass., addressed to the Postmaster-General the following letter:

NEW BEDFORD, MASS., April 26, 1889.

Sir:—Having learned through Mr. L. Le B. Holmes that I have been removed from the office of postmaster upon charges of incompetency and inefficiency, made by Pay Director Gilbert E. Thornton, United States Navy, and endorsed by Hon. Charles S. Randall, and realizing that there is no just ground for such a charge, I would most respectfully ask that the Post-office Department make a thorough investigation of the case, that I may have an opportunity to exonerate myself.

Very respectfully,
A. W. CARPENTER.
Hon. JNO. WANAMAKER, P. M. G., Washington, D. C.

But he failed to obtain this opportunity. He writes to your committee as follows in respect to his knowledge of the cause of his removal:

One day Mr. Gilbert E. Thornton, Pay Director in the Navy, called at the post-office and demanded that his letters should be given to him as soon as the mail arrived in the morning, *i. e.* that the mail should be gone through with and his letters given to him before the other patrons of the office were served. Now the morning mail brings to this office from two thousand to four thousand letters daily, and I have known it to go as high as fifty-five hundred.

There are usually from fifty to sixty people in the lobby upon the arrival of the morning mail, waiting for their letters to be boxed. I told Mr. Thornton I could not go through the mail and select his letters before serving the rest of the patrons, but that as soon as the

mail reached the office it would be distributed as quickly as it was possible to do it, and that then he should have his mail.

Mr. L. Le B. Holmes, of the law firm of Stetson & Green of this city, called upon the Postmaster-General, who told him I was removed upon charges of incompetency preferred by an officer of the Navy, indorsed by Charles S. Randall, Representative in Congress from this district. He declined to let Mr. Holmes see the charges, but I learned afterwards that the charge made by Mr. Thornton was inefficiency in not handling his mail properly when he was in New Bedford, the same being Government business. I know of no other charges that were brought against me.

Mr. L. Le B. Holmes, who was a member of the Republican City Committee of New Bedford, wrote as follows to the Postmaster-General in respect to his refusal to investigate this removal: "The investigation asked for would have fully shown all that I represented to you, and the groundlessness of the charges against Mr. Carpenter.

Yet the investigation requested was not granted, obviously because the department did not regard it important to ascertain the truth or falsity of the charges upon which it had removed Mr. Carpenter.

As a Republican who has witnessed the whole transaction, I ought to and do feel humiliated. It is a revelation as to the conduct of the Administration of my own party.

Its platform and the letter of acceptance of President Harrison distinctly promised that should not be done which I have seen done here with my own eyes. Nor is that even fairly stating it. Not only has an honest and efficient public officer been dismissed from the service on a charge of incompetency, but he has been turned out of office under a cloud, and denied even the opportunity of proving the utter falsity of such a charge.

If this is the spirit of civil service reform, civil service reform should be denounced by all honest men. The old way of removing an official because he was not of our party was more honest and decent."

A letter addressed to the new postmaster, and answered by him, failed to elicit any other or different statement of the facts concerning this removal.

William H. Greenhow, removed from the office of postmaster at Hornellsville, N. Y., addressed the Post-office Department on the 3d of December, 1889, asking if any charges had been filed against his management of the office. He received the following answer:

WASHINGTON, D. C., Dec. 6, 1889.

Sir:—Yours of the 3d inst. relative to charges against the management of the post office at Hornellsville, Steuben County, N. Y., and requesting a copy of same, has been received and placed upon the files of this office. In reply, I beg to inform you that it is not the custom of the department to furnish postmasters with copies of charges against them, except in cases provided by Section 25, page 727, of the "Official Postal Guide" for 1889.

Very respectfully,

J. S. CLARKSON, *F. A. Postmaster-General.*

[The section referred to is found among "Suggestions to the Public on Postal Subjects," and contains the following: "Copies of papers on the files of the department will not be furnished on the application of individuals except in cases where a suit is commenced and pending, involving the substance of the paper or document itself, and then only on the certificate of counsel showing that such papers or documents are material as evidence in the trial or preparation for trial of the cause, and stating wherein such materiality consists, with such other proof of materiality as may be required by the Postmaster-General."

It will thus be seen that by the rules of the department, as interpreted by Mr. Clarkson, no copies of charges can be furnished to the men whose removal is contemplated or perhaps already made.]

The following letter is from the Postmaster-General in regard to the cause of the removal of Mr. Langham as postmaster at Hawley:

OFFICE OF THE POSTMASTER-GENERAL,
WASHINGTON, D. C., Feb. 1, 1890.

Sir:—In reply to your letter of the 29th ultimo, I have to advise you that, according to the best information received at the department, a change in the office of postmaster at Hawley, Pa., was made in the interest of better mail service. Very respectfully,

JNO. WANAMAKER, *Postmaster-General.*

Mr. P. J. LANGHAM, Hawley, Pa.

James DeLaney was removed as postmaster at Orlando, Fla.; and, if any charges were made against his administration, he was unable to find out what they were. His successor, Mr. Ingram Fletcher, writes: "There were charges preferred against Mr. DeLaney by certain Republicans; but

what they were I know not, as I never saw them. Mr. Charles E. Ferguson and I believe in civil service reform; and, feeling, like most every other citizen, that Mr. DeLaney had made an efficient officer, we asked that he be retained until his time expired, unless he had violated some postal law. Mr. Ferguson asked to see the charges, but they were not shown to him."

Mr. H. E. Bundy was removed from the post-office at Oneonta, N. Y., no notice being given to him of any charges preferred, and he knew of none until his removal from office.

Mr. George E. Bachelder, the Post-office Inspector, who had inspected his office only a few weeks before the removal, writes to him a letter of which he sends us the following copy:

POST-OFFICE DEPARTMENT, OFFICE OF POST-OFFICE INSPECTOR,
ALBANY, N. Y., June 2, 1889.

MR. H. E. BUNDY, Oneonta, N. Y.

Friend Bundy:—I am surprised that there is a change in postmaster at your post-office. Supposed you would stay as long as any one differing from the present administration.

You have my best wishes for success in whatever you venture, as I am sure, from the executive ability shown by you in the management of the post-office, you are entitled to success in any business that you undertake.

Yours respectfully,
GEORGE E. BACHELDER, *P. O. I.*

The tendency of political intrigues for appointments and removals to perpetuate themselves cannot be better illustrated than by the case of the post-office at Wyoming, Ill. In this case the incumbent was removed, and no cause assigned, so far as he knew. This fact being communicated to Augustus G. Hammond, his successor, Mr. Hammond answers that the cause was the manner in which Mr. Thomas secured his own appointment, being the result of a political intrigue. Now, if this proceeding is to be used in like manner against Mr. Hammond upon the next change of administration, it is pretty evident that the removals upon charges and counter-charges could go on indefinitely, and this quite without reference to the fact whether the office had been administered efficiently or not.

Mr. J. H. Middleton, former postmaster at West Hoboken, N. J., states that no cause was assigned for his removal:

My successor was asked to make a charge, but answered, no charge could be made against me, as I ran the office to the satisfaction of the people.

To this, his successor, Julius Klumpp, answered:

I did not use my influence to have the said gentleman removed, or was asked to prefer charges, or that I said no charges could be made, as he ran the office to the satisfaction of the people. How could I say such a thing? Because we are aware and the good book says mankind is not infallible, consequently charges could always be made if required.

Your committee cannot too strongly express its reprobation of the continuance of this system of removals upon secret charges by unknown accusers without opportunity for defence, explanation, or denial. It is inquisitorial in its character, and totally inconsistent with republican institutions and with our present civilization. It encourages falsehood and slander, which are thus protected by the veil of official secrecy, and the confiscation of the office for the benefit of the informer completes the injustice. No efficient civil service can be procured until such a system is utterly overthrown. It leads to the appointment of the men who are the most unfit to carry on the business of the government, the slanderer and maligner receiving the place as a reward for his evil doings. This system could easily be abolished if the inspector or the department, previous to the removal, should be required to acquaint the officer accused with the nature of the charge against him and hear what he had to say. If such a vast number of removals were not made for purely political reasons, this would not be by any means an impossible or even a difficult task. It is only because the energies of the department and of the inspectors are exhausted in an improper and immoral effort to turn men out without cause for political reasons that they might find it difficult to give the necessary time to an investigation of charges, where publicity would be so guaranteed that they were honestly made.

It would be just as absurd to expect a judge to decide a

case properly when he heard nothing but the plaintiff's statement, as to expect removals to be properly made under such a system as this. Your committee is of the opinion that there is no evil in the spoils system as inherently wicked as this, whereby both the livelihood and reputation of innocent men are liable to be overthrown by secret and false accusations.

In connection with these removals upon secret charges, it may be well to recall the expressions made by Mr. Harrison in the Senate upon this subject in his speech of March 26, 1886, as reported in the *Congressional Record*, vol. 7. No. 3, page 2790, *et seq.* In reference to Executive nominations then pending in the Senate, he said:

Let me say now, that if the prompt and just demand which was made in many cases by the incumbents of these offices, when they were suspended under charges, to be advised of the character of those charges and to have an opportunity, however little it might influence the mind of the Executive, to place on file their ample refutation of the slanders and lies that had crept into the departments against them—if that demand had been allowed, I must believe that most of the cases that are held up before the Senate would have been withdrawn or have gone through. . . .

In many of these cases, it leaked out in the community where the officer resided that charges had been filed against him. Some base fellows had been used for that unholy office: and, being advised that charges had been sent, the appeal was made to heads of the different departments, and, I believe, in many cases to the President himself, to be advised of the character of the charges made. . . . Here was an accusation, a hearing, a sentence, and an execution without the accused being advised of the character of the charges against him. . . .

What is it these people ask? An honorable discharge after honorable service. That is all. They ask that they may go out of the offices, to the duties of which they have devoted themselves with conscientious fidelity, with an honorable discharge. . . .

As I shall show presently, Democratic newspapers and many Democratic Congressmen do not approve of the policy that stimulates and invites charges against the characters of men and women and hides these charges from the light of day. That is the issue; and, great as the constitutional questions involved here may be, it is practically a greater question whether this government in its civil service shall be administered as in the Star Chamber, where accusations may be lodged and heard and decided without the knowledge of the man whose interests are to be affected and whose character is to be blackened. . . . Will you unite here in support of a proposition which denies to a Republican removed knowledge of the charges filed against him in a public department of this government? . . . My colleague (Mr. Vorhees) arraigned the Senate because, he said, we were condemning the Attorney-General unheard. . . . What does he think, then, of these trials that have been going on from day to day in the secrecy of the Postmaster-General's office, with closed doors? These charges, by the thousand, are piled upon his table, and he assorts them over; and, without letting the persons accused know or have any intimation that they are accused at all, he deprives them of office and, so far as such a judgment can, of their good reputation. . . .

Mr. Harrison then refers to the case of the postmaster at Shelbyville, as follows:

Last summer he was suspended from office. It was understood through the town that some charges had been presented against him. The men who made them did not disclose themselves, and he could gather at home no intimation as to their character. Whether they affected his personal integrity, whether they charged a mal-administration of the office, or whether he was simply charged with being a Republican, he could not tell. He sat down and addressed the Postmaster-General a letter, asking in the most respectful way to be advised of the character of the charges against him. He got no answer. Need I add that? Who did get an answer? Failing to get an answer from the Postmaster-General, he addressed me this letter (here Mr. Harrison quotes the letter, asking for a copy of the charges preferred against him, and says): Upon that letter I wrote on the ninth day of July, 1885, this indorsement: "Respectfully referred to the Honorable Postmaster-General. I hope you will not deny the request of Mr. Bone to be advised of the character of any charges filed against him, and to have an opportunity to meet them. The slip he encloses from the Democratic newspaper shows how good an officer he has made; and his good civil record, with a long gallant service in the war for the Union, entitles him, I think, to a favorable consideration of his request," and adds: Not only this soldier's appeal to know, but my appeal in his behalf, went unanswered from the post-office, and remain unanswered to this day. I want to know if there is a Democratic senator here who approves of that sort of treatment of a citizen. I want to know if there is one who, much more, approves of that sort of treatment of a man who for four years fought for his country in the hour of its pressing danger. If the Democratic party means to unite upon this issue and in defence of these practices, then I welcome the issue.

Mr. Harrison then cites the case of Isabelle De la Hunt, somewhat similar in character, as well as a number of others, and says:

I do lift up a hearty prayer that we may never have a President who will not pursue and compel his cabinet officers to pursue a civil service policy, pure and simple, upon a just basis, allowing men accused to be heard, and deciding against them only upon competent proof and fairly, either have that kind of a civil service, or, for God's sake, let us have that other frank and bold, if brutal, method of turning men and women out simply for political opinion. Let us have one or the other. They will not mingle. It was the conflict of these currents—the President on one side, endeavoring to be responsive to his self-imposed pledges, and the pressure of his party on the other—that has driven those who were at the heads of the departments, in the attempt to preserve and maintain the President's professions and at the same time to give to the hungry who were demanding to be fed—it was an attempt to reconcile the irreconcilable that has brought this wretched condition of things in which men and women are condemned without a hearing. Let us have one or the other, pure and simple.

It seems incredible that the administration of the man who uttered these words should perpetuate this system of removals upon secret charges. Yet such is the fact.

Your committee concur most heartily with the expressions quoted above. They furnish the best standard of criticism possible of the system of removals which is still practised in the Post-office Department. It can never be unjust to the President to judge him by his own standard of duty, by his own conceptions of justice and fair play. The fittest condemnation of his own acts is found in his own words. Nor will it do to shift the responsibility from the Chief Executive to the heads of these departments. Mr. Harrison has told us why it cannot be so evaded: "I do lift up a hearty prayer that we may never have a President who will not either pursue or compel his cabinet officers to pursue a civil service policy pure and simple, . . . or," etc. It is not the Postmaster-General and his first assistant who, in the last analysis, is responsible. It is the President, who appointed Wanamaker and Clarkson, and who permitted these things to be.

Respectfully submitted,

WM. D. FOULKE, *Chairman.* WAYNE MACVEAGH.
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OFFICE, 56 WALL STREET.

NEW YORK, *April 28, 1890.*

I beg leave to inform the public that the subscriptions received in response to the call issued by this Committee have been sufficient to warrant it in proceeding with the work entrusted to it. A contract has been closed with Mr. DANIEL C. FRENCH of this city, for an heroic bronze bust, to be placed upon a column of rich Swedish granite. Mr. FRENCH's "Minute Man" at Concord, Mass., his "Thomas Starr King," just completed for the City of San Francisco, and his bust of "Emerson," are generally accepted as among the best works of this kind which have been produced in this country. The location of the monument cannot be determined upon until the model shall have been completed.

A small additional sum is desired to defray the expenses of the ceremonies of unveiling, etc., and subscriptions will still be received by the undersigned.

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